Public Policy
SYLLABUS

Introduction to Public Policy

Public Policy: Meaning And Nature, Emerging Discipline of Policy Sciences, Importance of Public Policy
Study: Modern Context, Contextual Setting of Public Policy Making, Policy Cycle: Constraints in Policy Making

Policy Making: Structures and Processes-I

Role of Legislature, Role of Bureaucracy, Role of Political Executive, Inter-Governmental Relations

Policy Making: Structures and Processes-II

Interaction Amongst Various Organs, Role of judiciary

Public Policy-Making: Major Determinants

International Agencies, Social Movements, Mass Media, Political Parties and Policy-Making Interest Groups and Policy-Making

Policy Implementation

Policy Implementation Problems, Role of Non-governmental Agencies in Policy Implementation
Role of Government Agencies in Policy Implementation-II, Role of Governmental Agencies in Policy Implementation-I

Policy Intervention: Case Study

Panchayati Raj (Rural Development), Industrial Policy, Anti-poverty Programmes, Land Reforms

Policy Impact and Evaluation

Policy Impact and Evaluation

Models of Policy Making

Policy Analysis: An Overview, Policy Making Approaches and Models of Policy Analysis

Suggested Readings:

1. Thomas R. Dye, Understanding Public Policy, Prentice Hall
3. Charles Wheelan, Introduction to Public Policy, W. W. Norton & Company
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO PUBLIC POLICY

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Public policy: meaning and nature
- Emerging discipline of policy sciences
- Importance of public policy study: modern context
- Contextual setting of public policy making
- The policy cycle: constraints in policy making
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the meaning of public policy;
- Throw light on the features of public policy;
- Highlight the significance of policy analysis;
- Explain the conditions mega and meta policies;
- Highlight the nature of state's role in public policy process;
- Explain the policy making process in dissimilar types of political systems; and
- Highlight the formulation of public policies.

PUBLIC POLICY: MEANING AND NATURE

Public policies are as old as governments. Whatever is the form, oligarchy, monarchy, aristocracy, tyranny, democracy etc., — whenever and wherever governments have existed, public policies have been formulated and implemented. To cope with the varied troubles and demands of the people the government has to create several policies, these policies are called public policies. This Unit tries to explain the meaning and types of public policy. It will highlight the dissimilar components of a policy and distinguish flanked by policy, decision, and goal. An effort will be made to bring out the relationship flanked by politics and policy, and importance and features of public policy.
will also be discussed.

**Relationship Flanked By Politics And Public Policy**

Before discussing the meaning of public policy, it would be better if we are clear in relation to the relationship flanked by public policy and politics. Policy making process is a part of politics and political action. According to Gabriel Almond, political system is a set of interactions having structures, each of which performs its functions in order to keep it like an on-going concern, it is a set of processes that routinely converts inputs into outputs. Almond classifies inputs of political system into generic functional categories like political socialization and recruitment, interest aggregation, interest articulation and political communication. Output activities are those which are accepted on through a political system in response to demands or stresses placed upon the system in the form of inputs. Outputs can take the form of governmental policies, programmes, decisions etc.

Another model on politics-policy relationship is the Feedback or the Black Box Model’ coined through David Easton. According to this model the remaining demands which have not been incorporated in the decisions and policies will again be fed back through the same process for the purpose of its conversion into decisions. These two models establish clearly the relationship flanked by politics and policies in a political system.

**Meaning Of Public Policy**

There are several studies in relation to the public policy and several scholars have attempted to describe public policy from dissimilar angles. Before explaining the meaning of public policy, let us first go through some of its definitions. Robert Eyestone conditions public policy as “the relationship of government unit to its environment. Thomas R. Dye says that “public policy is whatever government chooses to do or not to do” Richard Rose says that
“public policy is not a decision, it is a course or pattern of activity. In Carl J. Friedrich’s opinion public policy is a proposed course of action of a person, group, or government within a given environment providing opportunities and obstacles which the policy was proposed to utilize and overcome in an effort to reach a goal or realize an objective or purpose.

From these definitions, it is clear that public policies are governmental decisions, and are actually the result of activities which the government undertakes in pursuance of certain goals and objectives. It can also be said that public policy formulation and implementation involves a well planned pattern or course of activity. It requires a thoroughly close knit relation and interaction flanked by the significant governmental agencies viz., the political executive, legislature, bureaucracy, and judiciary. The following points will create the nature of public policy more clearly in your minds:

- Public Policies are goal oriented. Public policies are formulated and implemented in order to attain the objectives which the government has in view for the ultimate benefit of the masses in general. These policies clearly spell out the programmes of government.
- Public policy is the outcome of the government’s communal actions. It means that it is a pattern or course of activity or the governmental officials and actors in a communal sense than being termed as their discrete and segregated decisions.
- Public policy is what the government actually decides or chooses to do. It is the relationship of the government units to the specific field of political environment in a given administrative system. It can take a diversity of shapes like law, ordinances, court decisions, executive orders, decisions etc.
- Public policy is positive in the sense that it depicts the concern of the government and involves its action to a scrupulous problem on which the policy is made. It has the sanction of law and authority behind it. Negatively, it involves decisions through the governmental officials concerning not taking any action on a scrupulous issue.
Policy and Goals

To understand the meaning of policy in a better manner, it is very significant to create a distinction flanked by policy and goals. Goals are what policies aim at or hope to achieve. A goal is a desired state of affairs that a society or an organization attempts to realize. Goals can be understood in a diversity of perspectives. These can be thought of as abstract values that a society would like to acquire. There are also goals that are specific and concrete. Removal of poverty is a goal that the government wants to pursue. Public policies are concerned with such specific goals.

They are the instruments which lead to the achievement of these goals. If the government announces that its goal is to give housing to all the members of the deprived sections of society it does not become a public policy. It is a statement of intention of what the government wants to do. Several a times the government, for political causes, announces goals that it has little desire to achieve. In order to become a policy, the goal has to be translated into action. Programmes have to be intended to achieve specific objectives. As an illustration, let us look at the policy of poverty alleviation. Many programmes have been intended for this, e.g., The integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), The National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) etc. Each programme has certain goals to achieve within a specified time and each programme is provided with financial possessions and administrative personnel. These become concrete efforts to achieve a goal. Policy spells out the strategy of achieving a goal. Therefore policy is essentially an instrument to achieve a goal. Statement of goal docs not creates it a policy.

Policies and Decisions

A distinction needs to be drawn flanked by a policy and a decision also. Several a times the conditions are used interchangeably but that is not the correct usage. Individuals, organizations or government are constantly taking decisions. But all the decisions that are taken cannot be described as matters of policy. The essential core of decision-making is to create a choice from the
alternatives accessible in order to take an action, if there is only one course of action accessible then there is nothing one can choose from and so, no decision can be taken. A decision can be taken only when there is more than one alternative accessible. Therefore a decision is the act of making a choice. The whole science of decision-making has been developed in order to analyze the circumstances that can improve this activity and how a decision maker can improve his choice through expanding the number of alternatives accessible to him.

There can be two types of decisions, programmed and non programmed. Programmed decisions are repetitive and do not require a fresh consideration every time they are taken. These decisions are routine in nature and for these definite procedures can be worked out. Each decision need not be dealt with separately. In programmed decisions, habits, skills, and knowledge in relation to the problem are significant. For instance, once the decision to open the library from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. is taken, it does not require fresh consideration to keep it open throughout those hours. The decision is incorporated into procedures that are recognized for the purpose. Non programmed decisions are new and unstructured. No well laid-out methods are accessible for such decisions, each issue or question is to be dealt with separately. Such decisions are required in the situations of unprecedented nature, for instance breakdown of an epidemic, occurrence of earthquake, etc. Training in skills, needed for such decisions and innovative skill become relevant in this regard. Both the programmed and non programmed decisions have to be taken in a broad framework or course of action.

Public policy is the broad direction or perspective that the government lays down in order to take decisions. Each organization or the individual is enjoined to take a decision within a policy framework. Decision can be a one time action. Policy consists of many decisions that are taken to fulfill its aims. A policy consists of a series of decisions tied jointly into a coherent whole. There can be some parallel in the processes involved in decision making and policy making. Both are concerned with choice in the middle of alternatives
and for both similar processes can be followed in generating alternatives. But we should always keep in mind that policy is a more comprehensive term, as it encompasses a series of decisions and has a comparatively longer time perspective.

**Features Of Public Policy Making**

The meaning and nature of public policy will become clearer through throwing light on dissimilar features of public policy. Some of the major features of public policy making are:
• Public Policy Making is a Very Intricate Process: Policy making involves several components, which are interconnected through communication and feedback loops and which interact in dissimilar methods. Some parts of the process are explicit and directly observable, but several others proceed through hidden channels that the officials themselves are often only partly aware of. These hidden procedures are very hard, and often impossible to observe. Therefore, guidelines are often shaped through a series of single decisions that result in a ‘policy’ without any one of the decision makers being aware of that process.

• It is a Dynamic Process: Policy making is a process that is a continuing activity taking place within a structure; for sustenance, it requires a continuing input of possessions and motivation. It is a dynamic process, which changes with time, the sequences of its sub-processes and stages vary internally and with respect to each other.

• Policy Making Comprises Several Components: The complexity of public policy making as we know is a significant feature of policy making. Public policy formulation often involves a great diversity of substructures. The identity of these substructures and the degree of their involvement in policy making, vary because of dissimilar issues, circumstances and societal values.

• Policy Structure creates Dissimilar Contributions: This feature suggests that every substructure creates a dissimilar, and sometimes unique, contribution to public policy. What sort of contribution substructures create, depends in part on their formal and informal features which vary from society to society.

• Decision-Making: Policy making is a species of decision-making because it lets us use decision-making models for dealing with policy making.

• Lays down Major Guidelines: Public policy, in most cases, lays down general directives, rather than detailed instructions, on the main lines of action to be followed. After main lines of action have been decided
on, detailed sub-policies that translate the general theory into more concrete conditions are usually needed to execute it.

- **Results in Action:** Decision-making can result in action, in changes in the decision-making itself, or both or neither. The policies of most socially important decision-making, such as most public policy making are planned to result in action. Also policies directed at the policy making tools itself such as efficiency drives in government are action oriented.

- **Directed at the Future:** Policy making is directed at the future. This is one of its most significant features since it introduces the ever-present elements of uncertainty and doubtful prediction that establish the basic tone of almost all policy making.

- **Actual policy making tends to formulate policies in vague and elastic conditions; because the future is so uncertain.** It permits policy makers to adjust their policy according to emerging facts and enables them to guard against unforeseen circumstances.

- **Mainly Formulated through Governmental Organs:** Public policy is also directed, in part, at private persons and non-governmental structures, as when it calls for a law prohibiting a certain type of behavior or appeals to citizens to engage in private saving. But public policy, in most cases, is primarily directed at governmental organs, and only intermediately and secondarily at other factors.

- **Aims at Achieving what is in the Public Interest:** Though hard it might be to discover out what the "public interest" may correctly refer to, the term never the less conveys the thought of a “general” orientation and seems so to be significant and important. Furthermore, there is good evidence that the image of “public interest” powers the public policy making process and is so at least, as conceived through the several public policy making units, a “real” phenomenon, and a significant operational tool for the study of policy making.

- **Use of Best Possible Means:** In abstract terminology, public policy making aims at achieving the maximum net benefit. Benefits and costs take in part the form of realized values and impaired values,
respectively, and cannot in most cases be expressed in commensurable units. Often, quantitative techniques can so not be used in this area of public policy making but neither the qualitative significance of maximum net benefits as an aim nor the necessity to think broadly in relation to the alternative public policies in conditions of benefits and costs is so reduced.

- Involvement of Several Bodies/Agencies: Industrial workers, voters, intellectuals, legislators, bureaucrats, political parties, political executives, judiciary etc. are the several organs that participate in public policy making and can power the policy process to a great extent.

Types Of Public Policy

Having explained the features of public policy making, we will now explain: the dissimilar types of public policy. There are several types of public policy like substantive, regulatory, distributive, redistributive etc.
**Substantive**

These policies are concerned with the general welfare and development of the society, the programmes like provision of education and employment opportunities, economic stabilization, law and order enforcement, anti-pollution legislation etc. are the result of substantive policy formulation. These policies have vast areas of operation affecting the general welfare and development of the society as a whole. These do not relate to any scrupulous or privileged segments of the society. Such policies have to be formulated keeping in view the prime character of the constitution socio-economic troubles and the stage of moral claims of the society.

**Regulatory**

Regulatory policies are concerned with regulation of trade, business, safety events, public utilities, etc. This type of regulation is done through independent organizations that work on behalf of the government. In India, we have Life Insurance Corporation, Reserve Bank of India, Hindustan Steel, State Electricity Boards, State Transport Corporations, State Financial Corporations, etc., which are occupied in regulatory activities. The policies made through the government, pertaining to these services and organizations rendering these services are recognized as regulatory policies.

**Distributive**

Distributive policies are meant for specific segments of society. It can be in the area of grant of goods, public welfare or health services, etc. These mainly contain all public assistance and welfare programmes. Some more examples of distributive policies are adult education programme, food relief, social insurance, vaccination camps etc.
**Redistributive**

Redistributive policies are concerned with the rearrangement of policies which are concerned with bringing in relation to the basic social and economic changes. Certain public goods and welfare services are disproportionately divided in the middle of certain segments of the society, these goods and services are streamlined through redistributive policies.

**Capitalization**

Under the capitalization policies financial subsidies are given through the Union government to the state and local governments, such subsidies are also granted to the central and state business undertakings or some other significant sphere if necessary. Capitalization policies are dissimilar in nature than the substantive, regulatory, distributive, and redistributive policies as no provision for public welfare services is made through these.

**Stages In Public Policy Process**

A brief highlight on the several stages of public policy will clarify the actual process of public policy in India. Policy formulation is the first stage in public policy process. Through this process the demands of the system are converted into policies. But before this it has to be clearly recognized as to which demands require to be converted into policies. At the policy interpretation stage, the formulated public policy is further clarified and interpreted in order to create it fully understandable. The after that stage in public policy process is policy education. The government through several channels of mass-media attempts to create the masses aware of the formulated policies. After this comes the stage of policy implementation, when the policies are systematically executed through the dissimilar administrative agencies at the central, state and local stages. To ascertain the impact of policies, it is very essential to keep an eye on the implementation process, to see that expenditure does not exceed the possessions accessible and to see that policies are positively affecting those for whom they are being made. For this
proper monitoring of policy implementation has to be done, and policy evaluation stage is the final stage in policy process. Proper and appropriate administrative and adjudicative functions are needed for keeping a complete control in excess of the public policies.

The Rising Importance Of Public Policy

It is clear from the above sections of the Unit that policy is a purposive course of action in dealing with a problem or a matter of concern within a specific time frame. Before going into the question of importance which is attached to policy formulation, implementation and monitoring, it would be better to recapitulate the components of public policy.

- Policy is purposive and deliberately formulated. Policy necessity has a purpose or a goal. It does not emerge at random or through chance. Once a goal is decided the policy is devised in such a method that it determines the course of action needed to achieve that goal.
- A policy is well thought out and is not a series of discrete decisions.
- A policy is what is actually done and not what is planned or desired, a statement of goals does not constitute a policy.
- Policy also delineates a time frame in which its goals have to be achieved.
- Policy follows a defined course of action viz. formulation, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation.

Actually the scope of public policy is determined through the type of role that the State adopts for itself in a society. In the classical capitalist society, State was assigned a limited role and it was expected that the State would merely act as a regulator of social and economic activity and not its promoter. With the advent of planned view of development, State began to be perceived as an active agent in promoting and shaping societies in its several activities. This was measured as a great change in the role of a State. Public policies expanded their scope from merely one of regulation to that of development.
Expansion in scope led to many other consequences like several more government agencies and institutions came into being in order to formulate and implement policies. In India, the Planning Commission and its attendant agencies came into being in order to formulate policies and develop perspectives that could describe the direction which the country would follow.

So, the first major goal of public policies in our country has been in the area of socio-economic development. Wide ranging policies were formulated in the area of industrial and agricultural development. Several policies were converted into Statutes, like Industrial Development and Regulating Act or Land Tenancy Act. Others were kept as directives in the several plan documents. For all policy directions, the Five Year Plans became the major source. These policies were of two types, one of regulation and the other of promotion. Laws laid down what could be done or not done through the entrepreneurs. This could be in the larger area like what goods can be produced through the public or whether certain goods can be traded only through government agencies. Laws also specified how State agencies themselves were to give goods and services like electricity, transport etc. The State undertook similar responsibility in the social sphere. Dowry Act, Divorce Act, etc., are examples of this.

But socio-economic transformation was not the only problem when India became independent. There were also troubles of national integrity, the external environment was a source of threat, and the country had to develop appropriate policies to defend itself. Separately from this, there have been internal challenges. Regionalism has given rise to fissiparous tendencies that have to be countered in the long-term perspective. These would contain not only defense policies but also similar efforts at decentralization that make greater national cohesiveness. Therefore, since independence, public policies in India have been formulated with a view to achieve socio-economic development and maintain national integrity. These goals have been intricate demanding coherent policies. This has been a hard task because goals have had to be divided into sectors and sub-sectors. Several a times through its very
nature, policies have been contradictory. What may be rational for economic development may not be so for national integration. Therefore, the need of a strong Centre to cope with external threats etc. is significant but it may go against the principle of decentralization which gives for greater national cohesion of a heterogeneous society. This is the cause why ascertaining of the actual impact of public policy becomes a necessity.

These days policy analysis is acquiring a lot of importance in the realm of the study of public administration. This trend is observable all in excess of the world. The success of policy formulation, execution, and monitoring ultimately depends on the success of policy analysis. In India, this trend appeared with the launching of our Five Year Plans. As the years passed through, one Five Year Plan was followed through another and disillusionment started setting in. Goals of socio-economic development could not be achieved. Those who were supposed to benefit from the development effort began to lose. Attention shifted to the management and administration in order to discover out why the policies were failing to achieve their objectives. This investigation did not contain the questions of policies being right or wrong.

It took the crises of the 1960s to raise the issue of correctness of policy. Disenchantment with the development processes followed the two wars in 1962 and 1965. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) enforced a devaluation of the rupee in 1966 and a terrible drought ravaged the land throughout 1966-68. It became apparent that the development policies were in trouble. In the early 1970s another war, drought, and the oil crisis gave a jolt to the plan that had been followed until then.

The culmination was the imposition of national emergency in 1975 to cope with the rising dissatisfaction. It was the emergence of the turbulent period that led to the questioning of the policies that had been followed. It was no more a question of implementation alone. The argument that began to gain the popular view was that policy itself was faulty and all the blame could not be
put on administration. The first to pick up this line of reasoning was the discipline of economics. The economic failures dominated the scene and so it was natural that economists were the first ones to raise questions in relation to the appropriateness of policy. Students of public administration began to emphasize that implementation failures could also emanate from inadequacy of public policy and so policy analysis should also be incorporated in the area of study of public administration. This argument got support from certain developments in the discipline of public administration. In view of the everyday experience, it was becoming hard to sustain the classical concept of separation of politics and administration. This distinction categorized policy formulation and implementation as two separate activities. Policy formulation was regarded as a political activity and policy implementation an administrative one. But this distinction got increasingly blurred and it was not an easy task to determine where policy formulation ended and where policy implementation began. It came to be accepted that both were interactive processes and had to be seen in an integrated method. With this change in view students of public administration began to devote greater attention to the troubles of policy formulation and power of policy design on implementation. It is in this method that policy analysis has become a significant focus of study. Policy makers have also shown great interest in it because it ultimately helps in improving the effectiveness of policy. Several universities and research institutes are involved in policy analysis. The government gives for a lot of funds in this area.

**EMERGING DISCIPLINE OF POLICY SCIENCES**

**Meaning And Importance Of Policy Sciences**

A policy science is a systematic and scientific study of public policy. Policy formulation and implementation is governed through certain inherent principles. It is these principles that govern the policy choice and outcome. Policy sciences effort to discuss these principles in a systematic method. It strives to establish causal relations for the success and failure of certain principles. The main concern of policy sciences is with the understanding and
improvement of public policy making systems. According to Yehezkel Dror, it comprises:

- Policy analysis, which gives methods for identification of preferable policy alternatives
- Alternative innovation, which deals with the invention of new designs and possibilities to be measured in policy making
- Master policies or mega policies, which give postures, assumptions, strategies, and main guidelines to be followed through specific policies
- Evaluation and feedback, including, social indicators, social experimentation and organizational learning; and
- Improvement of meta policy, that is, “policy on policy making” through redesign of public policy making system, its organizational components, selection and training of its personnel, and reconstruction of its communication and information network.

Policy sciences is a new emerging discipline which is oriented towards the improvement of policy making and is characterized through a series of paradigms dissimilar in significant compliments from modern “normal” sciences. The place of policy sciences is related to the question of importance of the State and their public policy concerns. No area of enquiry can be significant if it has no social relevance. In order to benefit from each other, the discipline and practice have to have a dynamic relationship. The theoretical insights are very significant as they give both explanations and directions. The theoretical explanations enable to avoid the occurrence of same mistakes again and again. It sees that each successive policy benefits from the previous experience. Policy sciences assume importance because it has considerable scope for a comparative perspective. As public policies are universal and each country pursues certain set of policies, a science can always benefit from this rich comparative experience.

There is yet another dimension of the policy sciences which is related to the interdisciplinary character of the science. The public policies embrace every aspect of social life, so, the policy science can draw from the works of
the other disciplines like economics, sociology, history, science, and technology. In order to become effective, the usual dichotomy flanked by pure and applied research in policy sciences necessity be bridged, which is achieved through accepting the improvement of societal direction as its ultimate goal? As a result the real world becomes a main laboratory of policy sciences, and the test of the most abstract theory is in its application to the troubles of policy making. Tacit knowledge and personal experience necessity be accepted as a significant source of knowledge, in addition to more conventional methods of research and study.

The importance of policy sciences can be ascertained through emphasizing their distinguishing features. Efforts to distil the tacit knowledge of policy practitioners and to involve high excellence policy makers as partners in the building up of policy sciences are in the middle of the significant features distinguishing policy sciences from modern “normal” sciences. Though policy sciences share with normal sciences a main involvement with instrumental normative knowledge, in the sense of being directed at means and intermediate goals rather than absolute values, it is sensitive to the difficulties of achieving “value free sciences”. It tries to contribute to value choice through exploring value implications, value consistencies, value costs, and the behavioral foundations of value, commitment.

Actually the more the policy sciences develop the more should the policy making system be redesigned to avail itself of policy sciences knowledge and more should politics be reformed to permit full symbiosis flanked by political power and policy sciences knowledge. As policy sciences deal with systematic policy analysis and formulation of meta and mega policies, a little discussion on these characteristics would further highlight the meaning and importance of policy sciences. It should be remembered that while the main test of policy sciences is better achievement of measured goals through more effective and efficient policies, policy sciences as such are not directly concerned with the substantive contents of discrete policy troubles.
These deal with improved methods, knowledge, and systems for better policy making. In scrupulous, policy sciences are based upon a fusion flanked by behavioral sciences and analytical decision approaches. These also absorb several elements from decision theory, general systems theory, organization theory, operations research, strategic analysis, systems engineering etc. ... -

**Policy Analysis**

Policy analysts play a crucial role in the improvement of policies and so shape the major part of policy sciences. As an applied social science discipline, policy analysis employs multiple methods of enquiry and argument to produce and transform policy relevant information. The scope and methods of policy analysis are partly descriptive aiming at the production of information in relation to the uses and consequences of public policies. Yet policy analysis is also normative, since its practitioners seek as well as produce information in relation to the value of such consequences for past, present and future generations. Policy analysis so gives answers to questions that are designative (what are the causes and consequences of policies?), evaluative (of what value are policies?) and ad vocative (what policies should be adopted?).

Policy analysis, when viewed as a process of producing knowledge of/in policy processes, is so general that it comprises the whole spectrum of efforts to develop and apply specialized knowledge throughout history. It uses cause and evidence to clarify, appraise advocate solutions for public troubles. It goes beyond traditional disciplinary concerns with the explanation of empirical regularities through seeking not only to combine and transform the substance and methods of many disciplines, but also to produce policy relevant information that may be utilized to resolve troubles in specific political settings. Moreover, the aims of policy analysis extend beyond the production of “facts”. Policy analysts seek also to produce information in relation to the values and preferable courses of action. It comprises policy evaluation as well
as public advocacy. The relationship flanked by policy-informational components and policy analytic methods gives a basis for distinguishing three major shapes of policy analysis; these are prospective analysis, retrospective analysis and integrated analysis. Prospective analysis involves the production and transformation of information before policy actions are initiated and implemented. Retrospective analysis is confined to the production and transformation of information after policy actions have been taken. Integrated policy analysis is a more comprehensive form of analysis which combines the operating styles of practitioners concerned with production and transformation of information both before and after policy actions have been taken.

The policy analyst is expected to produce information and reasoned arguments in relation to the three types of questions:

- Values whose attainment is the main test of whether a problem has been resolved;
- Facts whose attendance may limit or enhance the attainment of values; and
- Actions whose adoption may result in the attainment of values and the resolution of troubles.

Policy analysts use three dissimilar approaches to study policy making. This is clear from the following chart:

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<tr>
<th>Approach</th>
<th>Primary Question</th>
<th>Type of Information</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Empirical</td>
<td>Does it exist (facts)</td>
<td>Designative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluative</td>
<td>Of what worth is it (values)</td>
<td>Evaluative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normative</td>
<td>What should be done (action)</td>
<td>Advocative</td>
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This policy analysis is concerned with facts, values, and actions; it is empirical as well as normative. As an applied discipline, policy analysis not only borrows from the social and behavioral sciences, but also from public administration, law, philosophy, ethics and several branches of systems
analysis and applied mathematics. Policy analysis has to provide appropriate weight to prudential and moral reasoning in relation to the policy means and ends. It has to be kept in view that principles and methods of analysis differ greatly depending on the nature of policy troubles and comprehensiveness of analysis. A proper and systematic policy analysis can create a thorough dent in our policy process troubles.

**Meta And Mega Policies**

Meta and mega policies are the significant contents of policy sciences. An understanding of these conditions can help us to comprehend the nature of public policy process. Dror uses the term meta-mega policies to cover both meta policies and mega policies. Meta policy refers to policies on how to create policies. They deal with the features of the policy making system, including, structure, and process patterns, personnel, inputs and stipulated outputs. The term mega policy refers to master policies which deal with overall goals, basic assumptions, conceptual frameworks, policy instruments, implementation strategies, and similar Interpol icy directives.

The concepts of meta-mega policy can be used behaviorally to describe and explain actual (past, present and expected future) phenomena. A meta-mega policy behavioral analysis can improve our knowledge concerning actual policy making through providing better frameworks for identifying and ordering data, and improved models for interrelating policy variables. The concepts can also be used normatively to indicate arrangements needed for better policy making. These two main uses of a meta-mega policy framework are inter-related, in the sense that all normative recommendations necessity be based, at least partly, on behavioral knowledge, and the collection of behavioral information depends, in part, on the uses of that information in which we are interested. So, meaningful and reliable application of these concepts to behavioral sciences requires comprehensive knowledge of actual behavioral sciences, meta-mega policies, of the relations flanked by behavioral sciences, meta-mega policies and behavioral outputs, and of the values which
we want behavioral sciences to advance.

One of the main utilities of the concepts of behavioral sciences should be to stimulate research, study, contemplation, design, and analysis focusing explicitly on meta-mega policy stage. The major metabolic issues relate to the basic modus operand of policy making systems, organizational components and policy making personnel, components patterning of policy making methods, phasing the methods in time stream, developing methods and techniques for explicit analysis. It deals with questions like what type of information is needed for good policy making. Which parts of information are cost effective? What arrangements are needed to collect and process that information? etc.

The main mega policy issues relate to the values at which policy making should aim, explicit determination of their impact, the costs (political, psychological, moral etc.) of classifying values, preferences flanked by outputs located on dissimilar points of the time stream. It deals with questions like, should policies be mainly directed at achieving specific goals, at providing options or at building up possessions?; how to encourage and to what extent encourage innovations in policy making?, etc.

Approaches To Policy Sciences

Two approaches to policy sciences have been recognized, one is the behavioral approach, and the other is the systems approach. Both the approaches aim at improving policy process. We will now briefly discuss them.

The Behavioral Approach

The focus of this approach is not so much on the substance of a policy as it is on the organizational structure within which policy making takes place. It lays stress on the individuals involved in the making and administering of the
policy. In other words, if a scrupulous policy or set of policies are adjudged less effective than it had been hoped, causes for failure will almost certainly be sought in the relationships in the middle of the personalities involved in the policy making process. Value orientations and socio-economic backgrounds of policy makers are regarded as relevant in this approach.

**The Systems Approach**

The focus of this approach is on the nature of policy process. It deals with the dissimilar steps involved in policy making. This approach is similar to systems analysis and resembles approaches which are presented under the rubrics of e.g. operations research, cybernetics and planning, programming, and budgeting system. Policy sciences, as per this approach, evaluate inputs in conditions of their relationship to the desired outputs; subsequently, the feedback it gets from the social system that receives these outputs is analyzed. The emphasis of this approach is on definition of the problem (e.g., goals of the system, programme objective), selection of criteria (or indicators) for operational sing or measuring these objectives, devising of alternative strategies for reaching these objectives, identification of costs and benefits of each strategy and feedback, re-evaluation and re-formulation of the implemented strategies.

**Views Of Easton, Lasswell, And Dror**

No discussion on emerging discipline of policy sciences can be complete unless the views of prominent scholars like David Easton, Harold Lasswell, and Yehezkhel Dror are taken into account. Their writings paved the method for the development of the discipline of policy sciences. We will, so, throw light on their contributions to policy sciences.

**David Easton**

David Easton occupies a very significant place in the modern political
theory. His power on the world of political science has been quite important. He is a significant contributor to policy sciences. He is one of the modern political scientists who pleaded, that the discipline of political science should be rooted in a new approach. Easton observed that the discipline of political science is in a state of crisis as its usefulness is being questioned. He thinks that this crisis prevails in the discipline in spite of an enquiry into the nature of the polity for more than two thousand five hundred years.

The political science discipline has been concerned for a long time with the concepts of the State and power. Though, it has not succeeded in fully explaining these two facets of a political order. He notes that “in spite of considerable research throughout the last seventy five years, there is limited knowledge in relation to the fundamental sharing of power in the middle of the basic social aggregates”. The discussion is more confined to given circumstances rather than the process of political change. The general discussion is embedded in equilibrium theory. With the result, he observes, “the major concepts are unclear and this reduces the discipline to a low position on a level of maturity in social sciences”. Easton strongly feels the need for a new theoretical approach. For the development of new theory, he provides three orientations necessary to fill in the gaps.

- The basic concepts of political science need to be reoriented in such a method that they are separate from the other types.
- The discipline necessity takes into account the new data and fresh experience.
- The role of value judgments is realized in formulation of the new theory.

Based on this new orientation, Easton thinks that the thought of a political system requires to be examined. As a part of this new exercise he suggests that we should start with the common sense thought of political life; this can start with a question; what is the nature of good life and what policies can seek to achieve these goals? Further in common perception, power has come to signify that state is a trick. It refers to policy making or troubles of
government and the power thrash about in the middle of individuals and groups.

Based on the above logic, Easton attempts to redefine the discipline of political science based on a new approach. As a part of it, he defines political process as “authoritative allocation of values for society”. There are three significant components of this new orientation viz; policy, authority, society. The essence of policy, according to Easton, lies in the fact that through it certain things are denied to some people, and are made accessible to others. It also comprises allocation of values and their empirical experience-implementation. Further, authority lies in the people who accept the allocation of the values. And this acceptance of authority may flow from a desire to confirm, fear of coercion or indifference and apathy.

The societal nature of the policy is the third concept helpful in isolating the subject matter of political science. The nature of the society is determined and conditioned through the method groups seek to satisfy all the circumstances for its communal subsistence. Authoritative allocation is one such condition. This also comprises a detailed study of institutional shapes. Easton is aware of the consequence of new orientation towards policy activities. It is necessary to admit that power has not been adequate as it is a relational phenomenon. So, it is pleaded that the concern of political science should shift to how policies are made and exercised. If authoritative allocation of values constitutes the base of the discipline, then the power and sharing of power can be studied. There is a further argument that each generation should describe its own image of political science with greater insight, as every succeeding generation has a better understanding of the phenomenon. Given the dominant trends of Our times, defining the discipline in conditions of authoritative allocation of values would be justified.

Easton pleaded that political science discipline should base its analysis and theoretical formulations on fresh data. This should contain situational data. The study of impact of institutionalized activity on policy should not be just
one dimensional. There should also be an effort to take into account psychological factors. The third aspect to be added is the legal characteristics of the situation and its inner dynamics. The law and its interpretations have been playing a very crucial role in policy making. Through adding these characteristics with a focus on public policy, the base of the discipline can be enlarged.

David Easton is one modern political analyst who pleaded for a strong moral foundation for the discipline of political science. He maintained that no discussion on a subject can be complete without a clear knowledge and understanding of its moral premises. He cautions that mere formal description of ethical premises does not meet the necessities for moral clarity. So, the discipline necessity goes into the question of value judgments. The values of individuals are partly emotional responses. The emotions are conditioned through the extent to which an individual desires a scrupulous state of affairs to exist. The question of moral propositions and value judgments of a political system or its processes can be studied and examined through public policies; for policies are basically value preferences of people in power.

Although David Easton’s main argument revolves approximately the public policy thrust, he also takes notes of its limitations. He opines that political science cannot at this stage be transformed into policy science. He thinks that it could be premature at this stage. He argues that policy science is in excess of enthusiastic to reform the political structures and processes. The reformative approach tends to be incremental and confined to minor adjustments. Easton pleads that policy sciences necessity go beyond the instrumentalism and contemplate values which can result in more drastic revisions and lend themselves to fundamental generalization explaining political change. In the absence of such an approach, Easton fears that the development of theory may get retarded.
Harold Lasswell

Lasswell is a political scientist who can rightly be described or categorized as a policy scientist. He was one of the first political scientists to write in relation to the policy sciences. Lasswell observes that “the policy sciences study the process of deciding or choosing and evaluating the relevance of accessible knowledge for solution of the troubles”. As a part of this exercise, unlike the conventional political science, the policy sciences can study the processes of non-governmental organizations and individuals. This implies that there is a need to enlarge the base of the discipline. Lasswell maintains that policy sciences are a problem solving activity. There are five intellectual tasks that it has to perform. The policy scientist necessity pays attention to these factors. These tasks are: i) clarification of goals; ii) description of trends; iii) analysis of circumstances; iv) projection of future developments and v) invention, evaluation and selection of alternatives. Now we will briefly discuss these tasks.

Clarification of Goals

This involves a question: What are the value goals of policy scientists? Lasswell thinks that it comprises two characteristics viz; a) pursuit of knowledge; b) analysis of power. He further pleads that the starting point of a policy scientist can be self-observation of conscious and unconscious perspectives which he himself possesses. It is also necessary to study how the values are acquired and what are the powers that form the values. Value troubles lead to comparison of alternative commitments in a given social context. Lasswell thinks that one can search for the universal base of values. He suggests that the human dignity that is reflected in the universal declaration of human rights is one such instance. Therefore, values of policy scientists are one significant question that Lasswell paid attention to.

Description of Trends

Lasswell asks another significant question viz.; What is the role of policy scientists in social affairs? This leads to another question related to the very
role of the knowledge and of the teachers who are occupied in the pursuit of knowledge. Lasswell pleads that the policy science thrust should shift from mere academic concerns to the real world. He suggests that persons of knowledge should mediate flanked by research workers and teachers on the one hand and officials and revolutionaries on the other. In other words, he wants a continuous mediation flanked by knowledge and action.

**Circumstances**

Lasswell raises another question in relation to the circumstances which are favorable for the growth of policy sciences. He traces the rise of policy sciences to the coming of urban civilizations, on the one hand, and the need for value clarification in very intricate modern societies, on the other. Lasswell observes that the primitive knowledge analyzed omens, magical or religious rites, and forecasting. He thinks that this knowledge was manipulative and not speculative. This was replaced through modern empiricism. Lasswell is optimistic when he says that the circumstances obtaining in modern society are favorable to the rise of policy sciences. He perceives the favorable circumstances in: a) dependence on science and technology; b) rising disagreement flanked by nations and individuals; c) the rising pluralistic nature of the societies. He further observes that while democracies provide rise to greater role to policy sciences, autocracy has a negative power. Though, the role and place of policy sciences, ultimately, depends on whether political processes pursue the politics of consensus or politics of coercion. The public policies are significant where there is striving for consensus, and, in those situations, where there is emphasis on coercion, policy sciences are of lesser importance.

**Projections**

The policy sciences also have a role to give the linkages flanked by the past, present and future, Lasswell maintains that while Marxian paradigm gives the linkages, it lays emphasis on inevitability as it predicts revolutions as a logical outcome of the historical processes. This aspect, Lasswell thinks
needs examination. He also pleads that policy sciences requires developmental constructs which can be used for critical direction of social processes. The policy scientists, Lasswell suggests, should build alternative paradigms. The need for alternative paradigms is all the more acute when societies are faced with crisis. As an illustration he says that a construct like democracy vs. oligarchy can be very useful and helpful.

**Alternatives**

Lasswell notes that in the existing situation policy scientists can gather intelligence. They can present information through the modern audio-visual media. This analysis may have to deal with the value alternatives or outcomes, accumulation and enjoyment, shaping or sharing of the power and so on. The policy scientists, necessity conduct field investigations and base their analysis on empirical data. Lasswell observes with optimism that policy sciences and policy scientists will have a rising role in the times to come. There are going to be very big challenges to the policy scientists. These challenges would come from the advancements of science and technology. He opines that knowledge is on the brink of explosion. There are immense possibilities; death might be overcome, space might be conquered. In the event of such major developments, one wonders whether policy sciences would be able to command that stage of creativity which would create it possible to cope with the intricate troubles.

**Yehezkhel Dror**

While David Baston placed policy as one of the central concerns of the political science discipline, Lasswell discussed the role of policy sciences and policy scientists in the modern society. Yehezkhel Dror — an Israeli based policy analyst ventured to argue the need for bringing dissimilar social science disciplines under the umbrella of a supra-discipline called policy sciences. Although Dror presents a very ambitious scheme, it does indicate the rising concern and the importance of policy sciences. Dror categories the existing body of knowledge into three stages; a) Control in excess of environment; b)
control in excess of individual and society; c) control in excess of control (Meta control). If one takes stock of the existing stages of development in the field of knowledge, Dror observes that knowledge in excess of the environment is the most advanced. The knowledge relating to control in excess of individual and society is also relatively more developed. The knowledge in relation to the control in excess of the control is the least developed. The control in excess of environment is dealt through the domain of science and technology. The control in excess of individual and society is dealt through humanities and social sciences. The control in excess of control is not dealt through any body. It is this neglected domain that should become, according to Dror, the main focus of policy sciences.

Dror maintains that blind spots or areas in human knowledge have been the cause: for the human suffering. These blind areas of knowledge, according to Dror, are not accidents. The growth of knowledge in certain areas and its lack of growth in certain other areas has been a conscious and deliberate effort. He, so, argues that every generation should take a total view of knowledge and fill in the gaps. The lopsided growth of knowledge is dangerous, as the society loses its capability to manage its affairs if certain sectors grow faster than the other sectors. This situation calls for societal direction systems.

Dror holds that the rapid advancements in the area of science and technology would trigger off tremendous changes without supplying the necessary values. This can be illustrated through an instance. Supposing in the domain of science and technology, the society has already achieved the capability to determine the sex of the fetus in the mother’s womb and if genetic science advances, we may also acquire the skill to alter the gender of the fetus, it can pose a problem. Given the patriarchal values and preference for the male child, a number of parents may go for male children either through medical termination or alteration of the gender. This would result in a drastic disturbance in sex ratio. For the nature has been maintaining a balance flanked by both the sexes. The alteration in sex-ratio has implications for the
institutions of marriage and family. The science which provides us the skill to alter the gender ratio would not provide us the sociocultural values to cope with the type of crisis that it will make. It is for this cause that Dror wants advancement of knowledge in a distant more integrated manner. Based on this understanding Dror formulated a law called Dror’s Law:

- “While human capacities to form the environment, society, and human beings are rapidly rising, policy making capabilities to use those capacities remain the same.” This law suggests that society should be able to have a direction system. It is further implied that policy making is one of the most significant components of the societal direction systems. This, according to Dror, needs an interdisciplinary approach. Dror strongly pleads for integration of knowledge. As a part of this exercise he creates many suggestions. It is hard to cover all the suggestions here. A few suggestions are listed out to indicate Dror’s direction.

These suggestions are as follows:

- He suggests that the barriers flanked by the social science disciplines should be broken.
- The gulf flanked by pure and applied science should be built. In other words, the research in physics should be brought closer to the mechanical engineering or research in political science on democracy and freedom should come closer to the question of civil liberties and democratic rights. The concept of value-free science should be rejected and the need to develop an operational theory of values should be recognized. This means that no social activity is value free or value neutral. Instead of going on emphasizing on value neutrality, it is better we have a theory of a good society and what is a good society. Dror also rejects the historical approach. As human beings have had a long history and all of us are a part of that historical process, there is no point in rejecting the history. There is another suggestion that knowledge necessity provide up ‘the take it or leave it approach’. It
necessity concern itself with the concrete troubles of the society and their solution.

Dror admits that there have been attempts to build scientific knowledge for policy making. These efforts, he feels, suffer from the following weaknesses. The attempts emphasized more on micro stage approach, which has not been helpful in policy making. Secondly, the knowledge is so disjointed that it is highly fragmented. This fragmented knowledge cannot be useful. Thirdly, there has been too much of instrumentalism in policy making without any effort for the Nova-Design. The Nova-Design means framing fresh and new policies, instead of depending only on the old policies. Fourthly, policy making has been too narrow and its studies also have tended to be narrow. They have neglected critical elements like political and social disagreement. Another observation is that policy making has not been able to create use of the existing body of knowledge because of the conventional nature of research and knowledge. In view of this, background, Dror strongly pleads for the development of this new science called policy sciences. He thinks that integration of knowledge in relation to the control in excess of the nature and control in excess of individual and society needs to be integrated. All these sciences should be brought closer. The policy sciences should take full advantage of the existing body of knowledge and enter the new domain of control in excess of control and strengthen the societal direction systems. The policy sciences should strive for these goals.

Dror does raise some doubts and questions in relation to the prospect of policy sciences. He says that the magnitude of the troubles is very high. He fears that the present human capability may not be adequate to meet the challenge. His second doubt is whether the existing academic culture would allow a new science to develop? For there are vested interests in the world of knowledge who would resist any change and prevent any new direction. The students of public policy and policy sciences have to take these questions seriously and ponder in excess of the solutions.
Therefore David Easton, Harold Lasswell, Yehezkhel Dror plead for the development of policy sciences. Easton calls for development of policy sciences within the ambit of political science discipline. He is apprehensive in relation to the converting political science into policy science and propagates a fresh and strong theoretical base for political science. Lasswell talks in relation to the expanding role of policy scientists in improving policy sciences and solving intricate policy troubles. Yehezkhel Dror gives several suggestions for the improvement and development of policy sciences. The development of policy sciences therefore is still in a nascent stage. The policy sciences originated largely in America and so distant have remained a predominantly American phenomenon. Dror has remarked that even in countries where policy sciences have evolved most fully and where policy scientists have actually received support, reactions often range from “active hostility, legal restriction on research and foundation support, and budgetary stringency, to widespread lack of support, non-cooperation and cold shoudering of research results”.

Dror in his book, ‘Ventures in Policy Sciences’, maintains that such policy making arrangements are needed which can assure that policy sciences knowledge will be correctly appreciated and taken into account. Arrangements that assure that its under-utilization and over utilization is avoided. There is a need for:

- Pervasive utilization of policy analysis for consideration of issues, exploration of alternatives and clarification of goals;
- Encouragement of explicit mega-policy decisions, in distinction from discrete policy determination;
- Encouragement of comprehensive mega-policies, in which discrete policy issues are measured within a broader context of basic goals, postures, and directives.
- Systematic evaluation of past policies in order to learn from them for the future.
- Special structures and processes should be intended to encourage better consideration of the future in modern policy making.
• Search for methods and means to encourage creativity and invention in respect to policy issues.
• Establishment of a multiplicity of policy research organizations to work on main policy issues.
• Development of extensive social experimentation designs and institutions able to engage in social experimentation.
• Advancement of citizens’ participation in public policy making. Policy sciences necessity develops new formats for presenting and analyzing public issues in the mass media.

**IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC POLICY STUDY: MODERN CONTEXT**

**State’s Role In Public Policy Process**

To understand the nature of public policy study, it is essential to understand the changing role of the State in public policy process. As it is the nature of State’s role that affects the nature of public policy and it’s Study, the discipline of political science has always been concerned with the study of State and power. The study of these two domains, though very significant began to face challenges from people and the society at large in post World War II period. Doubts began to be raised in relation to the utility and capability of the discipline of political science. The State and power structures came to be attacked. Questions on the use of a discipline if it cannot help the State in overcoming or facing the challenges gained ground. This led to another question as to why should we study a subject whose practical utility is marginal. It is throughout this period of crisis that the focus shifted to the study of public policy. Scholars like Harold Lasswell and David Easton argued for a shift in focus. Their views will be discussed in detail in the after that Unit, they maintained that the discipline of political science should devote its attention to the study of public policy.

Therefore the study of public policy became significant throughout the
post Second World War period. The Second World War, not only created major socio-economic crises in the countries that participated in the war, but created other innumerable troubles in the countries that had attained independence or were in the process of attaining independence from the colonial rule. Colonialism had left these societies deprivation ridden. At the time of independence, Indian economy was caught up in a vicious circle of poverty, low income stages, limited size of market, stagnant agriculture and underdeveloped industry. The crisis thrust heavy responsibility on the shoulders of the State. The focus was on State intervention in economic development. As we know that the nature of these policies has been changing from country to country and so the role of the State in public policy process has also been changing.

Throughout the colonial rule, the role of the State was confined to maintenance of law and order and collection of revenue in the ruled countries, while the ruler countries witnessed an increased role of the State. In these countries the State was concerned with development policies, besides its routine law and order role. A large part of industrialization took place with the help and participation of the State in excess of there. The State had to protect the industry from external competition on the one hand, and internal market on the other. For instance, when in the early part of the nineteenth century the British textile industry ran into crisis, the British State had to protect the local markets from textiles coming from outside. As a result the entry of the Indian textiles into the British market was prohibited.

In the course of rapid development, particularly, in the wake of industrial revolution, the role of the State in public policy process underwent a change. The market, at one stage, did not welcome the State intervention. The market forces became considerably free which was indicated through the tide of liberalism and privatization. The logical culmination of this process can be seen in the American model of development. The western societies came to regard State as rigid and incapable of releasing productive forces. Therefore, the study of the State was restricted to a great extent while the role of the
market got enlarged. In the capitalist economies the State, therefore, does not involve itself much with the tasks of bringing in relation to the rapid economic growth, industrialization, and modernization, and this is left for the market. It is concerned more with correcting the perversions and distortions created through market. The capitalist society does not have adequate mechanism to cope with dissimilar socio-economic troubles and crises that market makes. The State had to take up this task. It is this historical necessity that gave rise to the concept of welfare State. The role of the welfare State is basically to take care of those vulnerable sections of the society who are adversely affected through a scrupulous process of development. Therefore, the State enters the welfare domain. In the process, it formulates and enforces public policies.

In capitalist economies, the policies mainly concern with the protection of weaker sections of the society, encouragement of innovation in the field of science and technology, prevention of crime, drug addiction, smuggling, precautionary and remedial events to curb environmental pollution etc. In this process of correction of distortions, there is one crucial area in market economies where State performs a very significant role. This is in the realm of competition where the State formulates the policies. Capitalism is a competitive system. Theoretically it assumes perfect competition. But perfect competition is approximately a utopian concept. The competition always tends to be unequal and unjust. In such a situation, there is a need for certain ground rules without which competition on rational and reasonable plane may not be possible. The State, therefore, assumes the role of an umpire. As a part of this obligation the State not only frames certain policies but sees to it that the competing forces do not violate them. This leads to certain restrictions on economic activity and control in excess of industry and market. This provides rise to considerable public policy activity even in the market centered societies.

The situation in the countries that attained freedom from colonial rule is very dissimilar. These countries inherited a poverty stricken stagnant economy as a part of their colonial legacy. The planners of these countries had the
gigantic tasks of achieving rapid development in all the major areas of economy in a limited duration with meager technical, natural, personnel, and financial possessions. The State, therefore assumed the role of the development agent, the attendance of the State was felt in all the spheres of growth whether it was agriculture, industry or science and technology. The State had to step even in social and cultural spheres. For instance in India, one of the significant constituents of our economic policy, since the First Five Year Plan has been the promotion of the rapid growth of the public sector.

The growth of the public sector in India since 1950-51, leaves one with the general impression that, judged on the basis of many criteria, there has been a considerable enlargement of the size of the public sector. Though, the growth has been more rapid in conditions of government revenue, government expenditure, and employment in public sector, than in conditions of share in the generation of national product or of the share of the factor income accruing to the government. The present emphasis on private sector is due to the fact that the actual costs of the projects in the public sector have through distant exceeded the original estimates, the projects have taken a longer time than required to complete, and have often made use of inappropriate technology. Public sector undertakings have failed to create profits and have not been able to create optimal utilization of scarce capital possessions. Still the move to privatize does in no method indicate a demise of public sector and the role of the State in policy process. It is just that the areas that earlier used to be solely reserved for public sector would’ cease to be only its monopoly. Private sector will be able to invest in all the areas of economy. Public sector will no longer be the dominant means of bringing in relation to the economic growth, rapid industrialization, modernization, and social justice in the country.

After the collapse of communism, the role of State in the major areas of public policy making is slowly declining. The erstwhile USSR is now witnessing a new wave of privatization in its Independent Common Wealth of States. The cry of privatization can be heard in all the East European countries. Slowly, in several parts of the world there is a movement toward
privatization and market economy. Students of public policy have to closely watch the emerging trends and see whether the market can undertake the activities that were performed through the States earlier. It has to be seen whether the market can perform the State functions with a sense of social responsibility and tackle troubles of growth, poverty, discrimination and lopsided development process. It still remains a serious question. Even though we are witnessing the phenomenon of the State divesting itself of regulatory authority, we necessity not forget that the State has a major role of correcting the distortions created through the forces of competition and privatization. In no method can the role of the State be undermined. All these trends have to be kept in view while studying public policy. Policies have to be formulated keeping in mind the time and possessions accessible, the short-term and long-term impact, the safety events and constitutional provisions, etc.

**The Public Policy Experience In India**

The nature of State’s policy process and its importance will become clearer, if we take up the Indian experience in the field of policy formulation and implementation. This case study is appropriate because we have accumulated very rich experience in making and carrying out many public policies. Since Independence, our Five Year Plans have been emphasizing on planned economic development. Planning is the base of all public policies. Theoretically, in a planned development, all the policies should enumerate from planning itself. A discussion on some of the crucial characteristics of the public policy in a planned context would highlight public policy experience in India.

**Structural Intervention**

At the time of Independence people were promised a fair and just society. This sentiment got a place in the Directive Principles of the State Policy enumerated in our Constitution. As these goals cannot be realized through the existing socio-economic structure, the need to change the structure itself
gained ground. The changes in the structure, it is argued, can be achieved through public policy intervention. The policies that are related to changes in land, property and other shapes of wealth can be categorized as structural policies. One of the significant structural interventions throughout the post-independence period has been the policy of land reforms. The policy essentially took form throughout the freedom movement, but was given effect to after Independence, as part of planned socio-economic development. Land reforms incorporated events, such as abolition of intermediary tenures, tenancy rights, fixation of ceiling on land holdings, sharing of surplus land, consolidation of land holdings, development of institutional credit, and marketing, improvement of agricultural taxation, supply of modern inputs etc. These events were enacted through several legislations in order to help the small and marginal farmers, tenant cultivators, and landless laborers.

If we look at the experience of land reforms policy, we can note that implementing the policies which touch the structure is fraught with innumerable troubles. Any policy that aims at bringing out changes in the structure such as the land reforms policy needs a comprehensive legislation, systematic implementation and monitoring, bureaucratic commitment and people’s participation. The extensive research on land reform does indicate that there was absence of several of these circumstances. There were very few attempts for mass mobilization in support of land reforms policy. In the absence of political will, the legislation also suffered from many loopholes. The judiciary did not take up the cases on an urgent basis. There are many cases that have been pending for decades in the courts. The bureaucracy did not evince interest in the implementation of land reforms. In fact, they approximately became a hindering block in its execution and monitoring. Bureaucracy was only interested in its own personal benefits and perpetuation of status quo. In excess of and above, the people who were to benefit from these events did not participate in carrying out the legislation concerning the reforms. Such an experience highlights the importance of the public policy study. It clearly designates that mere formulation of public policy e.g., land reform policy cannot solve anything. Troubles arise at the implementation and
evaluation stage and these characteristics have also to be looked into and seriously studied.

**Technological Intervention**

The second dimension of public policy intervention can be seen in the form of technological intervention. The instance of technological intervention in developing countries like India has been in the form of Green Revolution or modernization of industry. The need of technological intervention comes up when structural intervention policies fail to produce desirable results. Green Revolution policy helped the agricultural sector to raise the overall production. It led to an augment in cereal production with the help of adequate water supplies, high fertilizer applications, efficient weed, and pest controls etc.

Despite the phenomenal augment in agricultural yield, the overall results of Green Revolution were also not really positive, it led to greater regional disparities and widening of incomes crossways the classes. As a consequence there has been considerable revival of tensions. Though the Green Revolution connected the agrarian economy to the global economic system as a large part of the technology came from the west, its negative impact cannot be overlooked. It increased the gap flanked by rich and the poor. Therefore it is essential that the State formulates the policies which lead to greater balanced development. The serious imbalances which sometimes lead to tensions and turmoil have to be corrected. It has to be examined as to what events are required to create these types of policies successful. These trends also indicate the crucial place of public policy study in the governance and transformation of society.

**Anti-Poverty Intervention**

Though all our Five Year Plans ever since independence have stressed on the need for removal of poverty and inequalities, it was the Fourth Five Year Plan which explicitly focused on poverty removal. From this period, the era of anti-poverty programmes began and a whole lot of such programmes were
launched one after the other. The failure of structural and technological interventions led the government to think in conditions of commencing the programmes which would directly attack the poverty problem. Several programmes like National Rural Employment Programme, Integrated Rural Development Programme, Development of Women, and Children in Rural Areas, Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme are in subsistence. All these programmes aim at generation of additional income and assets, provision of employment, loan, and subsidy to assist the families living below the poverty line.

In the absence of an adequate and integrated approach the anti-poverty programmes have not been able to create an important dent on the question of poverty. The coverage of beneficiaries has not been adequate. Beneficiaries have also suffered troubles concerning getting the loans. Usually, no preliminary survey is mannered to determine the infrastructural facilities accessible in the district needed for the programmes. Beneficiaries are not aware of the ongoing programmes. The follow up process to monitor the implementation of programmes is very weak.

Corruption is prevalent at several stages of programme implementation; cost and time in excess of-runs mar the success of the programmes. Policy making, implementation, and evaluation are the major tasks which affect the working of a system. A systematic analysis of policy process, is very essential to remove the loopholes in implementation of the programmes, whether, they relate to structural changes, technological or social changes. The Indian experience in conditions of its policies concerning structural changes, technological advancement, social and economic reforms has been distant from satisfactory. Our public policy experience designates that a lot needs to be done to overhaul the whole policy cycle. Each stage in policy process has to be clearly looked into, each lacuna has to be recognized and removed, and efforts have to be made to reactivate monitoring agencies, augment people’s participation, curb corrupt practices, strengthen the political will, and augment the required possessions.
It has to be remembered that policy that disturbs the existing order can not only solve a problem but make several other types of troubles. For instance, the reservation policy. Unlike several other policies, it is a policy which has its roots in the Indian Constitution itself. The framers of the Constitution thought that reservations could give some avenues for the members of the disadvantaged sections to enter the public service and positions of political power while the political reservations and reservations in the Civil service for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, through and large, have been accepted, the reservations for the other backward castes (OBCs) have become controversial. The Mandal Commission recommendations triggered off a great controversy giving rise to social turmoil.
There were serious debates on the issue and the matter was repeatedly taken to the judiciary. Therefore, certain public policies can cause social tensions. The flaws can be at the formulation stage, implementation stage, and evaluation stage or even at the monitoring stage. One has to be very careful concerning what characteristics/issues should reach the policy agenda. The political, social, and economic changes at the time of carrying out the policies have also to be cautiously studied. This, calls for a systematic public policy study. It is very significant that all the troubles discussed in this section are taken up for extensive research work. The after that section would throw some light on the present status of public policy study and the several methods through which it can be developed.

**Need For Systematic Public Policy Study**

The foregoing discussion clearly designates that the nature of public policy process is so intricate that a systematic study of public policy is urgently needed. The augment in the State’s role in development activities calls for an increased emphasis on the public policy study. Most of the developed, as well as the developing countries, have been undertaking research on policy formulation, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation from time to time. The stress has been to assimilate public policy making with the changing environment, growth in science and technology and new development trends. Public policy study assumed importance because to assimilate new knowledge into policy making machinery quickly and cautiously, the political, economic, social and cultural situation necessity be analyzed, the changes in it that are both feasible and needed necessity be pointed out and steps necessity be taken to ensure, that when changes become possible or needed, they will be made. As public policy making decides major guidelines or actions directed at future, mainly through governmental organs and formally aims at achieving what is in the public interest through best possible means, the study of public policy requires systematic analysis of governmental activities.
Though a lot of work has been and is being done in the area of public policy study, the present status of research suffers from several troubles. Though the troubles vary from country to country, certain common loopholes can be pointed out in the present status of public policy study. The writings on policy study have lacked any systematic empirical analysis. That is the cause that they have not been able to give a reliable basis for descriptive generalizations. One of the main tasks faced through behavioral sciences is to engage in an empirical study of policy making, and to integrate the findings of such a study with insights and abstract thought to form a comprehensive, systematic, and reliable theory of public policy making.

A lot of work these days is being done on minor decisions and secondary policies, but most of it suffers from lack of comprehensive theoretical framework. Very little work is being done on the macro system of public policy, and appropriate research methods for this type of study are also not accessible. The present state of public policy making study suffers from several drawbacks which can be summed up as follows:

- Considerable empirical research and theorizing is being done on the basic components of public policy making, namely individual and small group decision-making. Some work is being done on organizational decision-making but as yet few generalized findings have appeared. Most of the empirical work is in the form of case studies. Therefore the present state of public policy study seriously lacks in recognized generalized conclusions.

- A rising number of studies deal with community decisions, and with single case of public policy making at the national stage. Most of these studies are monographic, and use theoretical frameworks that do not bring out the “decision” characteristics of policy making. Approximately no work is being done on analyzing and reanalyzing historical material in conditions of decision-making concepts, because both the theories of decision-making and policy making and the study of history might benefit greatly from the effort to apply decision-making oriented analytical frameworks to the study of history.
• Some studies of specific facets of public policy making are accessible including studies of the features of some policy makers and of behavior patterns in policy making units. With a few exceptions, most of the studies on public policy making do not have a theoretical framework, and are not significantly related to the current work in decision-making theory. Tentative conceptual frameworks for systematic empirical study of public policy have been developed, but again with a few exceptions, these conceptual frameworks have not been systematically applied to the study of actual policy making.

• Most of the material related with the study of public policy continues to appear in biographies, memoirs, journalist descriptions, etc. This material unfortunately is often neglected through the students of behavioral sciences.

• Approximately all empirical studies of public policy making explicitly reject an orientation toward reform, since they aspire to be “Value free”. Moreover most of the accessible studies deal with modern countries. Only a few of them focus on policy making in the developing countries or contain material directly relevant to public policy study.

• Few studies have been done on high stage public policy making processes.

• Decision-making at higher governmental bodies is bounded through secrecy and no access to it is granted for research purposes. The most significant sources of information on these critical policy making activities are books written through insiders and occasional public hearings.

• Research methods suited to studying intricate phenomena including public policy making, are very underdeveloped. The most intricate systems are today being developed mostly outside the mainstream of the behavioral sciences through the new interdisciplines of management science, operations research, and systems analysis. Even the integrated treatises on public policy making as decision-making
process which could be based on what little data are accessible have yet to create a mark.

The above mentioned troubles are not just peculiar to one country or a few countries; the situation is the same all in excess of. The sorry state of affairs continues even in India. Therefore, we can say that public policy study has’ to go a long method given the current troubles, it has to be seen that more emphasis is laid on drawing generalizations, comparative analysis and theorizations. More and more research organizations have to be recognized in order to speed up the in depth study of public policy process. It is very essential to determine as to how can the potential benefits of new knowledge be put to good use and how can the catastrophes that follow from their misuse be prevented. This calls for better policy making which in turn calls for better public policy study. What is strongly needed is a systematic learning, feedback, meta policy making in relation to the basic features of policy making system, explicit determination of policy strategies, elaboration of operational goals, exploration of alternatives and special units for evaluating and redesigning public policy making. All this is possible if a proper full-fledged research in public policy process is launched and its results are incorporated in the ongoing policy process.

CONTEXTUAL SETTING OF PUBLIC POLICY MAKING

Nature Of State

State is a political community occupying a definite territory, having an organised government and possessing internal and external sovereignty. State has been defined through some as being essentially a class structure, an organization in which one class dominates in excess of the rest of the classes. A few others have termed State as an organization which stands for the whole community through transcending class categorizations. It has been interpreted through a group of thinkers as a power system, and through another as a welfare-system. It is measured as a community organised for action under
legal rules. It has been recognized with nation through some, whereas others say that nationality is not its major aspect and is incidental only. Some scholars have viewed it as the basic texture of life and another consider it nothing more than a mutual insurance society. The State has its subsistence in society but ‘it is not even the form of society’ Its efficacy lies in an orderly and controlled system in operation in the society. The external relationship flanked by dissimilar individuals in the society is regulated through the State. “It supports or exploits curbs or liberates, fulfils or even destroys the social life in excess of which it is invested with control but the instrument is not the life.” It becomes necessary here to explain what society means in order to distinguish State from society.

Society is an aggregation of people who have certain common attributes that distinguish them as a group and who interact with one another in some feature method. Society commonly refers to a group having a separate culture and living as a distinguishable entity. In sociology literature, a society is regarded as a social system that furnishes the primary orientation for people in a given territorial area, reproduces members, and persists beyond the life span of its individual members. In practice the boundaries of societies so defined tend to be fixed beside political lines so that a society is likely to mean a national society that is, the people embraced within a sovereign political system.

Distinguishing flanked by State and other associations like society, family, religious groups, etc., R.M. MacIver in his book, ‘The Modern State’, has posed a question whether the State has any institutions peculiar to itself. In response to it, he says that there are ‘two great engines for political control’ with the State which the other associations lack. One is sovereignty and another ‘law’ through which the State operates. Sovereignty means the supreme power of a State, exercised within its boundaries, free from external interference. The thought behind sovereignty is an ancient one, but it was first developed into an elaborate doctrine through the philosophers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who sought to justify the absolutism of the king of
the new State system. Besides getting the State external independence in relation to other States, on internal counts, it empowers the State to have supremacy vis-à-vis other associations in the system. Being internally superior and rather supreme and externally independent, the sovereignty enables the State to preserve its sovereign authority. In the words of Harold Laski, “The State issues orders to all men and all associations within that area; it receives orders from none of them. Its will is subject to no legal limitations of any type. What it proposes is right through mere announcement of intention”. The State is empowered to do so because of its sovereign authority. The major features of sovereignty are: absoluteness, exclusiveness, permanence, universality, inalienability, and indivisibility.

Every association has a right to frame its own rules, regulations, and laws in accordance with which it operates. In comparison with the laws made through other associations and the ones made through the State, one discovers the law of the State is ineluctable. It binds the rulers as well as the ruled. It has a strict element of universality being applicable to all or to the specific areas and groups, if made so. The law of the State is an unbroken framework in excess of each area of society. After having gone through the several separate features of the State, it can be termed as “an association which, acting through law as promulgated through a government endowed to this end with coercive power, maintains within a community territorially demarcated, the universal external circumstances of social order”.

From the discussion made above, it becomes clear that the State possesses an important position and it has the authority to frame laws for the purpose of governance. The laws and the policies made in a given State are as per the system of governance in the said political system, which is a set of interaction abstracted from the totality of that social system. For understanding the role of State in the overall framework of contextual setting and policy making in clear conditions, it would be better to discuss the system of governance in dissimilar types of political systems.
Nature Of The System Of Governance

Every system has a set of boundaries, traditions, values, objectives, commitment to specific facets, and a system of governance. We would be discussing the democratic and totalitarian systems in this section in order to understand the role of contextual setting in policy making.

Democratic System

The most conspicuous variation flanked by authoritarianism and democratic regimes is that in the democratic governments, citizens choose their top policy makers in genuine elections. Some policy scientists speculate that voting in genuine elections may be significant method of citizens’ power on policy not so much because it actually permits citizens to choose their officials and to some degree instruct these officials on policy, but because the subsistence of genuine elections puts a stamp of approval on the citizens’ participation. Indirectly, so, the fact of elections enforces on proximate policy makers a rule that the citizens’ wishes count in policy making.

Democracy is a system of government in which ultimate political authority is vested in the people. The democratic creed comprises the following concepts. Individualism, which holds that the primary task of government is to enable each individual to achieve the highest potential of development; Liberty, which allows each individual the greatest amount of freedom constant with order; Equality, which maintains that all people are equal and have equal rights and opportunities; and Fraternity, which postulates that individuals will not misuse their freedom but will cooperate in creating a wholesome society. As a political system, democracy starts with the assumption of popular sovereignty, vesting ultimate political power in the people. It presupposes that man can control his destiny, that he can create moral judgments and practical decisions in his daily life. It implies a continuing search for truth in the sense of man’s pursuit of improved methods of building social institutions and ordering human relations. Democracy requires a decision-making system based on majority rule, with minority rights protected. Effective guarantees of
freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, petition, and excellence before the law are indispensable to a democratic system of government. Politics, parties, and politicians are the catalytic mediators that create democracy workable.

Democracy is not adopted merely to create governmental decisions. Democracy, in the 20th century involves more than just universal suffrage and elected representatives. Its requirement on the part of the voters and their elected representatives is to follow certain types of social and economic policies. In the words of Maxey, “Democracy as interpreted in the twentieth century is, therefore, seen to be more than a political formula, more than a system of government, more than a social order. It is a search for a method of life in which the voluntary free intelligence and activity of men can be harmonized and coordinated with the least possible coercion, and it is the belief that such a method of life is the best method for all mankind, the method most in keeping with the future of man and the nature of the universe”

In order to accomplish the goals, which the democratic institutions keep before it, there are certain necessities to be met for better performance. What is needed at the outset is the unambiguous and constant community consciousness. What we want and how to attain it to the best of the circumstances prevailing necessity be very clearly imprinted on our minds. If the clear consciousness is lacking then the chances to fall prey to casteism, linguism, communalism, and provincialism are quite bright and such circumstances approximately, to think of sound policies is not in the fitness of things. Clarity of community consciousness depends on the moral soundness of the society as a whole. Without honesty and integrity of the people, democracy cannot be a success. An effective public opinion, qualitative social conscience and sound general will are also the necessities to create democracy a laudable success. These factors cannot be created unless and until the people have proper education. Literacy amounts to considerable growth in the general awareness of the society and the awareness resolves so several characteristics which would otherwise remain highly complicated. The political masters in
democracies necessity provide opportunities to the masses for free expression of their opinion and free discussion of issues. Furthermore, the atmosphere should be made of the type in which people feel genuinely interested in public affairs. For the adequate functioning of political democracy, democracy in conditions of economic events is also required. Abundant inequalities of wealth can amount to the undue power exerted through the rich on the political masters, which leads to nothing less than ignoring the governing will of the masses.

**Totalitarian System**

It is a system of governance in which there is authoritarianism of the State, and it controls almost every aspect of individual’s life. Totalitarian governments do not tolerate activities through individuals or groups, such as, labor unions, youth organizations, etc., that are not directed toward the State’s goals. Totalitarian dictators maintain themselves in power through means of a secret police, propaganda disseminated through all media of communication, the elimination of free discussion and criticism, and widespread use of terror tactics. Internal scapegoats and foreign military threats are created and used to foster unity through fear. Totalitarian regimes have abundant regimentation standing for absolute scope of power. State has unlimited authority and stands for supreme, perfect, complete and intangible power. Being essentially authoritarian, a totalitarian system stands for use of political power through the rulers in an arbitrary sense. Every possible effort is made to crush the freedom of the people and nowhere the scope is left for the opposition to be in subsistence. It has an ideological base, which could be religious — fundamentalist or tyrannical. A totalitarian system, in all absolute conditions, stands for the single party dominance through an exalted leader. It has been claimed through some scholars that the communist States are the totalitarian States and governments because of the recognized philosophy in accordance with which the governance is made that is the single party dominance, concentrated decision-making, denial of subsistence to other parties, etc.
Gary Bertsch and others in their book, ‘Comparing Political Systems: Power and Policy in Three Worlds’, have talked of policy process in Communist Party States. As per them, the policies are made in these States in accordance to the synoptic or rational-comprehensive mode. The policy makers specify the needs confronting their system and, accordingly, review all information. The goals relating to the specified and felt needs are recognized and as per the needs prioritized. All such actions or alternatives which could help attain the goals are examined with a careful cost benefit analysis of each and every thought of alternative. Following this, the outcomes to be of each alternative are evaluated for selecting the best course of action which maximize the probabilities of achieving the desired goals.

The policy process in a totalitarian State has a series of activities. These could be categorized as:

- Setting Goals: It is a fact that unless the goals are set, the governance cannot be effective. Ideology, social needs, and developmental thrust are the major bases of setting goals in this system. In the words of Barrington Moore, “once an ideology has been determined it enters in as a determination factor in its own right in subsequent social situations. It has an effect, sometimes slightly sometimes considerable, on the decisions taken through those who hold it. In its turn, it is customized, sometimes slightly, sometimes considerably, through the impact of subsequent thoughts”. Besides ideology, the leaders’ perceptions of the needs of the people and the State, intricate interplay flanked by the leaders and the masses are the other bases for setting of goals;

- Taking action: Once the identification of the goals has been done, the after that stage is to take action of it through policy proposals. The top parley leadership discusses the policy options and alternatives with the associates and advisors before, finally, presenting those to the top body — the politburo. The policy options are often referred to through the leaders in their speeches in order to see the public response, debate, and discussions on the same. It is done to initiate newspaper coverage
as well. After the period of discussion and debate, the alternative policy actions are brought formally before the politburo. The politburo is the body having ultimate decision-making power. Thorough discussion on each action takes place at this stage and, finally, through vote most policy alternatives are either picked up or dropped.

- Producing Outcomes: After reaching at a decision in the second stage, the policy actions are put before dissimilar government institutions/agencies for ratification of the same. After that to the ratification is the task of the government bureaucracy for executing the policy in order to attain the goals as specified therein.

The focus of discussion in this section has been on the democratic and totalitarian systems of governance. We can conclude that the nature of public policy making is related to its contextual setting. It therefore differs from one system of governance to the other. In order to understand the steps involved in policy process, we have to look into the several troubles faced through it and the solutions that could be offered. Public policy necessity not is studied out of its context. For having a clearer picture of the policy making process in the modern world, Yehezkel Dror in his book, ‘Public policy Re-examined’, has talked of the policy making process in the developing and developed countries.

**Policy Making In Developing States**

The major features of policy making process in developing states contain:

- Inheritance, legacy and working pattern of ruling elite form the characteristics of policy making process
- Feedback system and mechanism is too weak
- Policy strategy is not consciously determined. “The optimal strategy of public policy making is often one of maxima, with low security stage and higher risks”
- Prioritization of values and operational goals are well spelled out
- Intense search for policy alternatives is made
The overall environment including the political culture, having much bearing on the features on policy making systems’ operation is in-conducive to reality

- The policy statements meant for generating the support and not actually meant for execution are more clear, constant and having a wider scope
- It is very hard to ascertain the real output of a policy because of the lack of proper methods and infrastructure
- Evaluation and redesigning of policies is not up to the mark
- Voters have rather insignificant role to play in policy making
- Role of intellectuals is distant short from satisfactory
- Legislatures have secondary role to play in policy making
- The political executive is stronger and the permanent executive is weak. It lacks proper institutionalization besides being heavily loaded with work
- Role of the judiciary is approximately insignificant in most of these States
- Acute shortage of the manpower possessions in the developing countries badly affects the policy making system
- There is a lack of proper knowledge and information with those who are part and parcel of the process
- There is a lack of such professional standards, which could be made use of as standards for policy making
- Comprehensive planning, which is an essential ingredient of a policy making process, is not being either adhered to or complied with properly
- The optimal excellence of policy making is much low
- Policy making is absolutely of an average quality, and could be termed as ‘survival quality’.

**Policy Making in a Developed State**

The highlighting traits of policy making process in developed states
There is lack of systematic institutional arrangements for learning feedback. In some of the cases just trial and error methods are applied. In general, learning is sporadic and slow.

There does not seem to be enough exercise made for searching and developing dissimilar policy attributes.

Implicit cut off horizons recognized are narrow, taking into account only the immediate troubles and results thereof.

Important and tremendous role is played through extract ional components.

In western democracies, the policies enacted are realistic, having economic and political feasibility.

Separate institutions exist in some of the countries for the purpose of undertaking long range policy making, surveying, knowledge and for handling research and development of policy making.

There is difficulty in a number of developed and modern countries in maintaining a reasonable viable aloofness flanked by such units of governments which create policy, implement them and motivate the implementation of the same.

In democratic systems, the voters exert important power on policy makers through elections.

The intellectuals play a major and substantive role in policy making.

The Heads of the Governments have prominent and most significant role to play in policy making, may it be, the Prime Minister, the President, the Chancellor, etc., depending upon the type of polity.

Legislature as an institution has a major role to play in policy making in democratic systems and a minimal role in dictatorial systems.

Political parties have a crucial place of importance in policy making.

Though the interest groups have a narrow and conditioned attitude towards values and goals, yet they perform an significant role in policy making.
There is scarcity of trained and well equipped manpower rather than the possessions and equipments

- The professional civil service is appearing as a major contributor to policy
- making process
- Professional standards for policy making to be used effectively for the purpose of policy appraisal are yet to be developed
- Policy making in developed States is up to the mark for ensuring their survival and to satisfy the genuine needs and wants of the population.

The points referred above present the state of affairs concerning policy making in dissimilar political systems of governance. Besides taking into account the democratic and totalitarian systems, the developing and developed States’ processes of policy making have also been discussed. These contain all types of democratic systems (parliamentary and presidential), dictatorial, socialist, etc.

**Nature of the Tools of States**

State is an association which has a territory, sovereignty, law and a system devised through it to operate in a manner whereby the development of the system could take place. The nature of the State tools has a wider bearing on the policy making in a given polity. For having clear understanding of this aspect, we would be discussing it in two separate points. Firstly, there are a number of thinkers who have been advocating that the State is a power agency. It creates use of its power-characteristic through the policies enacted from time to time. The State is supreme and does not wish to have any danger to its supremacy and sovereignty. Simultaneously, the human beings have the tendency to take undue advantage of the liberties granted to them in the absence of some meaningful check through authoritative and punitive events in excess of them. It is a fact that people want to have all types of Freedoms, but what would be the effect of those freedoms and liberties on the overall system and individuals, in case the freedom and liberties are being misused. In
order to curb such activities which could ultimately lead to a threat to the basic supremacy and sovereignty of the State, it ought to adopt a coercive tools for keeping the things intact and for the welfare of all concerned.

Conversely, the other point is that the “State is a contractual federation whose units of association are the smaller corporations of cities and provinces. These are not merged and lost in the State. They unite for a purpose. The State is their agent, their instrument. The ultimate sovereignty rests with the people, acting not as individuals but as corporate unities”. The first few lines of the above quotation from Maclver’s book establish that the State is only an agent, and the ultimate sovereignty is with the people. It means that the State has to work for the welfare of the people not adhering to the master-servant relationship at all. But the last words of the quotation say that sovereignty is with the people not as individuals but as corporate unities. It means that the State ought to adopt methods and events whereby the welfare of all could be taken into consideration and not that of a few. In order to put it into force, the State has to devise mechanism in accordance with which none is above the rule of the law, and the natural justice prevails.

If we effort to analyze the nature of the tools of the State from any one of the two points referred to above or from the culmination of both the points, one thing is clear that the State has to own an tools to operate for the welfare of all and for the subsistence of the State in a proper method. There are dissimilar types of systems of governance in dissimilar States. Depending upon the Constitution, the custom, the traditions, and the prevailing values, the States adhere to appurtenances of governance conducive to their environment, culture, and prevailing issues. State adopting absolute coercive tools cannot keep it going on for a very long period of time. It is possible that at a point of time, the State is compelled to go ahead for coercive tools, but with the pressing events subsiding, the State could come back to a normal welfare tools. Gone are the days when absolutism was regarded as the best method and obeyed also accordingly. The modern period has a number of instances where such coercive moves of the States have not been approved of, and, ultimately,
the given States have to succumb to the pressure of its own people as well as other States. One aspect is very clear that the policies enacted through an adopted tools and system in a State have great bearing of the tools adhered to. The government institutions and agencies work in accordance with the same.

**Contextual Setting Of Public Policy Making In India**

The nature of State, system of governance, and the tools of State have been discussed in the earlier sections. It provides us a comprehensive thought in relation to the method the State governance operates in the context of process of policy making in dissimilar types of political systems. In order to understand the role of contextual setting in the policy making in a better manner, the discussion in the following sections is focused on contextual setting vis-à-vis the policy making in India.

**Basic Objectives**

India is a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic having the parliamentary form of government. The institutions of legislature, executive, and judiciary play a significant role in policy making. Besides, some non-governmental organizations perform a major part in the total process. The Indian system of governance is in accordance with some of the basic objectives having been laid down through the planners, of course, in the light of the Constitution of the country. Broadly, in the context of these objectives, the policies have been and are being framed. Some of these objectives contain — elimination of poverty, elimination of illiteracy, initiating events of social justice, bringing in relation to the reduction of disparities in income and wealth, even sharing of economic power, helping weaker sections, establishing greater excellence opportunity, resisting inflationary pressures, utilization of manpower possessions to the fullest extent, boosting industrial productivity, achieving self-sufficiency in basic needs of shelter, clothing and health for all, augmenting agricultural production, achieving economic and technological self-reliance, promoting active involvement of all the sections of people in the
process of development, developing the transport system, promoting policies for controlling the growth of population, etc. These are just some of the basic objectives which our development policies have been trying to achieve. The main thrust of the system has been on self-reliance, economic growth, industrialization, modernization, and social justice. In the context of these major goals the policies have been formulated and, implemented. We would now be focusing on these five major thrust areas of our system.

Self-reliance

In order to be economically sound and independent, a State has to follow the path which fulfils its needs and is in accordance with its basic possessions and values. It was strongly felt through the Indian planners and policy makers that for attaining self-reliance, India has to come out of the yoke of dependence on other countries with regard to trade, investment, and technology. For attaining self-reliance, the focus has been on: diversification of domestic production; less dependence on foreign aid, reduction in imports for each and everything, imports for only critical commodities, and exports promotion to earn foreign currency for paying for the commodities imported.

The purpose for being self-reliant was to have relationship on equal footing with the outside nations and to bring reduction in pressures being exercised on the country for the purposes of depending much upon them. Self-reliance and self-sufficiency are two dissimilar conditions and so should not be confused with each other. In sectors, like food granules, defense, etc. self-sufficiency is required. Self-reliance is sought in the areas where normally the demand is fulfilled from the domestic sources, and only in acute cases the imports of few things from other countries is done on the basis of foreign exchange earned through exports.

Economic Growth

Economic growth has been the major thrust area of Indian planners. It has been the basic underlying objective behind the fixation of plan targets and
allocation of possessions to dissimilar sectors. Unless and until the economic growth is increased, no country can think of producing in accordance with its needs and for being on a developmental path. Several development policies and strategies adopted through India indicate that augment in production has been the corner stone. The increased rate of production is measured to be a requirement for meeting the basic needs of the people. For achieving the objective of a high rate of production amounting to economic growth, the focus has always been on appropriate use of man power possessions accessible in the country. It has twin objectives—firstly, to satisfy the people’s needs through getting them job opportunities, and secondly, to create use of them for augment in productivity. It also leads to reduction in poverty, establishment of just and equitable society, and raising the living standards of the people. “Growth is expressed both in conditions of output and employment, although it is quite clear in the context that the planners put the emphasis on the first. The desire to reduce inequality, which is sometimes explicitly associated with the need to abolish poverty, leads, in turn, to a concern with a reduction in concentration of economic power and land reform. The decision to pursue a socialist pattern of development was an explicit political decision, adopted at the Avadi Congress, in 1954, to have a Socialistic pattern congenial to the native genius of the people.” The objective of the economic policy that is most fully articulated and the one which the government has measured to be the most important is economic growth.

*Industrialization*

Besides developing and promoting cottage and small level industries, the objective has been to develop the medium and large level industries for helping the country to be self-reliant. In accordance with this objective, the government policies for industrialization have been formulated. Need for more development in the sphere of capital goods and basic industries was measured to be significant, for which major stress was laid on the development of industries for producing more of coal, steel, chemicals, etc. Planning objective has always been the development of such sectors of economy, viz.: industry,
mining, power, communication, etc. so that India could develop industrially. In accordance with these objectives, the industrial policies and strategies have been formulated and adopted.

**Modernization**

The term ‘modernization’, in this context is associated with the separate structural and institutional changes in the overall framework of economic activity. Marked change in sectoral composition of production, activities’ diversification, coupled with technological development and institutional uniqueness has remained a part of the move for modernization. The pace of economic growth gets accelerated with the proper application of scientific knowledge and tools and use of technology appropriate to a given aspect. For ushering in modernization to cope with both the internal, as well as, external compulsion, the promotion of industrial growth and diversification has been emphasized upon. Industries producing basic materials and capital goods have been promoted. The modern thinking of the government is to create a move towards privatization and also involve more multi-nationals for fulfilling the goal of modernization.

**Social Justice**

India is a country of multi-dimensional inequalities and, easily, one could discover gross disparities in social, economic, political, and cultural spheres. Fundamental rights and other political rights and liberties guaranteed to the people through the Constitution cease to have effect because of the attendance of social inequalities. Greater equity, put to use in effective sense, is required to remove poverty, unemployment, regional imbalances, and inequalities on count of income. India has adopted mixed economy to establish socialist pattern of society. Social gain instead of individualistic benefits has been the major criterion for determining growth. The Second Five Year Plan has suggested that the significant decisions concerning planning should be made to such agencies which are committed to social upliftment. In accordance with the major objective of social justice, the thrust in Indian plans, which is
reflected in the several policies formulated in excess of the period of time, has been on reducing inequalities in income, removal of poverty, removal of unemployment, removal of regional imbalances, and upliftment of backward classes.

Keeping the above mentioned objectives in view, the policy framers had been making policies in dissimilar areas/sectors from time to time. This establishes the bearing of some basic line of thinking and action on the policies made in the country. The illustrations from India have been made for understanding the importance of contextual setting in policy making. These objectives certainly form a significant part of the overall context, in accordance with which the policies are made.

**Role of Governmental and Non-Governmental Agencies**

Based on the basic types of polity, the spirit of the Constitution, and the types of objectives, as referred to in earlier sub-section, the policy framing agencies, which are primarily the governmental agencies and institutions, create the public policies. India is a democratic country having a parliamentary form of government. The three significant wings of the government are: Executive (both political and permanent), legislature, and judiciary. Besides these, the non-governmental agencies also play a role in policy making. For ascertaining the importance of contextual setting in policy making, we would be discussing the role of governmental and non-governmental agencies, separately.

**Governmental Agencies**

In a democratic system, like that of India, the real political power rests with the executive organ of the government. It would not be wrong to say that we are residing in an executive-centered era. Of course, to legislate on the issues for the purpose of enacting policies is the job of legislature to who even the political executive is responsible, but in actual practice the things are altogether dissimilar. The issues on which the policies are to be formulated are
thought in excess of and decided through the executive and submitted to the legislature for formal approval of the same. On the basis of its strength in the legislature, the executive is able to get the policy issues submitted to the legislatures as public policies. The executive in most of the under-developed and in some of the developing countries, exercise more power in policy making in comparison to most of the developed countries. The permanent executive, that is, the bureaucracy also has a significant role to play in the overall policy making process.

In the parliamentary form of government, the position of legislature seems to be apparently superior to that of the executive. The executive is in position to take action on an issue only once it is decided so through the legislature. The legislature formulates and expresses the will of the State through the policies. The executive can stay in power so long as it enjoys the confidence of the legislature. The actual position is of course, dissimilar. The executive has the support of the majority of the members in the legislature and so can get policies formulated on any issue. It does not mean at all that the legislature has no fruitful and meaningful contribution in the process of policy making. It not only brings the issues (measured for policy making ) under scrutiny and deliberation in the House, which has the representation of the opposition parties representatives too, but also keeps a vigil check on the functioning of the executive vis-à-vis the policies already framed. The deliberations on the Bofors issue and resignation of the External Affairs Minister on an aspect related to that speaks of the importance of the legislature.

Though legislation is the task of the legislatures, the courts and the judicial organs also legislate in a dissimilar method and therefore play a role in policy making. Whenever any policy is silent on an issue or is not in consistence with other policies, it is the judiciary which provides its interpretation in the light of basic premises underlying the Constitution. The courts are guided through the values of equity and justice. Their decisions give legitimacy to the governmental institutions in several policies. The power of judicial review speaks of the role of the judiciary in policy making. Indian judiciary has used
the powers’ granted to it through the Constitution as and when the matters of Constitutional disputes have arisen.

Through the tools comprising executive, legislative, and judicial institutions, the Indian government formulates the policies. The role of the institutions has an important place in the overall environment and contextual setting in a given system. Adhering to the basic objectives and ideology of the party in power, especially in democratic countries, the policies are made.

*Non-Governmental Agencies*

The contextual setting of policy making, besides governmental institutions, has some non-governmental institutions like political parties, interest groups etc. The citizens are also a type of non-governmental force that plays a crucial role in policy making. Political party is a group of organised individuals often having some measure of ideological agreement in order to win elections, operate government, and determine public policy. It won’t be wrong to say that in the functioning of modern democracies, political parties, in one form or the other, are omnipresent. According to Burke, “It is a body of men united for promoting the national interest on some scrupulous principles on which they are agreed”. A political party normally observes democratic and peaceful events for gaining power and implementing its line of action through policies formulated in order to protect and promote its specific interests in the light of its major objectives, ideology, and overall national goals and objectives. The political process is integrated, simplified, and recognized through the political parties. They act as a link flanked by the governmental institutions and citizens, As said earlier, the party having majority in the legislature shapes the government, yet the remaining parties recognized as opposition parties play a significant role in the policy making process. Besides, they keep check on the activities of the party in power which again reflects their crucial role in policy making.

The interest groups are organised groups in which members share common
views and objectives and actively carry out programmes to power government institutions, officials, and policies. Unlike political parties, interest groups are mainly interested in influencing the determination of public policies that directly or indirectly affect their members’ interests. Groups are the first type of structure which is encountered in the analysis political system. In the words of Blondel, “The study of groups raises very serious practical and theoretical troubles. This is because groups are not as such part of the study of politics. We are interested in groups to the extent that they enter the political process, but not in the groups themselves. Some of them may be involved so often in politics that they cannot easily be separated from political life; but even then these are not wholly in politics. Conversely, though, any group, or approximately every group is involved from time to time in the political process. Therefore, we become concerned with practically all the groups which exist in society”. The interest groups adopt techniques like lobbying, strike, agitation, dharma, etc. for influencing the policy making process in order to get such policies enacted which serve their members interests.

The government is supposed to work on the lines whereby it could give maximum gains to the citizens. Of course, the gains and the benefits could be derived depending upon the possessions and capacities of the system. The point of concern in excess of here is not to measure the positive or negative gains or losses the political system has given to its citizens, but to ponder in excess of the importance and significance attached to a citizen so distant as his participation in the policy making process is concerned. We are aware that the policies are meant for the public and are implemented for them. In the overall environment, citizens occupy a pivotal position. All the characteristics relating to politics and policies revolve approximately citizens. The citizens alone put a party or executive in ruling form. When the comparison is made flanked by policy making and legislature, interest groups, political parties and citizens, almost certainly citizen is the only one who little control in comparison to the control has exercised through the other three for policy making. The place and position of direct democracy has been taken through indirect democracy. So almost certainly, it is not feasible to consult each and every citizen on each
and every policy issue or alternative. Of course, in some political systems, like Sweden, the citizens, still vote directly on legislation. But this practice is not in operation in other countries.

It does not mean that the governments or policy framers indulge in policy making which hamper the overall interests of the citizens. The governmental agencies do create policies on the issues which the political party in power places before the citizens at the time of elections and which are approved through the electorate. The amount of active participation, in casting votes, involvement in party activities, and display of interest in politics through the citizens vary in degree. It is said that, at the time of voting, citizens attach little importance to the policy issues raised through the political parties, and the citizens cast votes on the basis of factors like caste, language, money, regionalism, etc. Whatever be the thoughts, once the citizens have elected their representatives, and, on the basis of it, the government has been shaped, the party in power has to create policies on the issues raised through it, and supported through the citizens. There is no point in ruling out citizens’ participation in policy making. It is agreed that the participation is not direct but it is definitely there in an indirect form. The citizens, those who have the intellectual capabilities, keep on contributing to the policy process in the form of providing new ideas and concepts to the policy framers. Ultimately, if we analyze the political party and interest groups functioning, we will discover that this is also on the basis of the individuals’ participation and interests.

**Role of Culture, Ethics, and Values in Policy Making**

The pattern of orientation towards government and politics within a society is called political culture. It usually connotes the psychological dimensions of political behavior—beliefs, feelings and evaluative orientations. A political culture is the product of the historical experience of the whole society as well as the personal experience that contribute to the socialization of each individual. Within a national political culture, one may distinguish flanked by the elite and mass sub-cultures, reflecting differences in the
orientations of the political decision makers from those of the less active citizens. The mass culture may in turn consist of numerous sub-cultures, based on class, ethnic, regional, or other differences. Some what similar phenomena have in the past been studied under such labels as national character temperament, ethos, spirit or myth, political ideology, political psychology, and fundamental political values.

It would be worth while to mention here in relation to the meaning of the word ‘culture’ to know in relation to its role in policy making. Culture is the aggregate of learned, socially transmitted behavior patterns, and features of a given society. The culture of a social group is developed and maintained through formal and informal learning, language, knowledge, folkways, beliefs, customs, traditions, and institutions. In sum, it is the totality of social experience. A political system is shaped through related cultural factors and may, in turn, promote cultural change through influencing other behavior patterns of society. A highly pluralistic society, for instance, might be congenial to the maintenance of democratic institutions, and the latter would be likely to give a setting where cultural diversity flourishes.

The role of political parties, interest groups, rising stage of literacy, etc. have brought in awareness in Indian citizenry. Under such situations the norms, values, attitudes, beliefs, traditions, and customs prevailing in the society cannot be put to minimal through the policy makers while formulating the policies. Though, it takes quite long for any nation to have its culture but keeping in view the fact that cultural diversity has to be allowed to flourish, the dissimilar sub-cultures ought to be kept in view while making the policies. The policies formulated having reflections on the cultured characteristics, are not tolerated, nor do the policy makers effort to do so, because, ultimately it could lead to their own losses in the elections. No group or sub-group ever tolerates that the accepted beliefs and orientations having acceptability are done absent with through having one policy or the other made to that effect.

Ethics has an influential role to play in policy making process. In the
words of Fred M. Frohock, being a “good guy” is usually more appealing politically than being a “bad guy”. Also bad guys sometimes go straight to jail from their political office. But the definition of a ‘good guy’, someone ethically straight, is not always clear. Nor is it always understood that the system itself may be an ethical issue, nor the people running it. Ethical offences that have direct bearing on political characteristics and office are more significant politically. Actions, like power-peddling, issuing, or making misleading statements, outright demagoguery are unethical in the political sense though it may not be illegal. Any person trying to gain advantage through issuing a wrong or misleading statement is doing an unethical task. In legal sense, his/her action may not be wrong but on ethical grounds he/she is misleading the people through doing so. Likewise concealment of damaging information is unethical. The official misconduct is for all purposes an act of unethical method of functioning. Likewise, illegal action and unjust actions are unethical ones. Any one trying to do so would be doing injustice to the system or the office he/she is holding. Whatever the case may be the policy formulators have to create policies in accordance with the fact that sense of being unethical is not at all reflected. Equality, justice, fairness, etc. could never be put at stake for achieving any short-run goal or purpose.

Preservation of basic dignity of human beings, protection of the Constitution, maintenance of State-fabric; upholding democratic spirit, just and fair play, principled stand on issues, determination of policies on “pressing issues and demands” rather than adherence to narrow parochial party or individualistic interests, and care for the sentiments, beliefs, and orientations of all concerned, etc., are some of the points which could be termed as ‘ethical issues’ or ethical code, which the policy makers can never do absent with. Especially, democratic systems, like that of India, any public office holder, or holders attempting to be unethical are put to severe criticism. Rising awareness in the middle of people, role of opposition parties, interest groups, operations, role of press, etc. keep a vigilant check on policy makers and any action of the framers of policies which can be called unethical are never tolerated.
A concept of what is desirable or good, or in some usages, the good or desired thing itself is recognized as “value”. Values may therefore reflect what a person wants — a goal, a preference, or they may reflect his concept of what is good and right, what he ought rather than what he wants to do. Values are internal, subjective concepts that postulate standards of morality, ethics, aesthetics, and personal preference. A set or related values held through a person, or shared through a group, is called a value system. In excess of a period of time, what is good, how a thing should happen, when the action should take place, in a society take the name of social values, which a group of like thinkers in the society adheres to, and which has its acceptability even outside that group in the society. As stated above the values are subjective. This element in the values at times makes troubles for the policy makers. Conflicting goals within the society inhibit the effective utilization of scientific information for policy purposes. In the words of Alice Rivlin, “we are failing to solve troubles because we do not know how to do it—the troubles are genuinely hard. The difficulties do not primarily involve conflicts in the middle of dissimilar groups of people, although these exist. Rather, current social troubles are hard because they involve conflicts in the middle of objectives that approximately everyone holds. These conflicts make technical or design difficulties which override the political ones. Not one is sure how to do it”. It is hard to describe the system without moral judgments creeping in. For, to look at a system, not from within but from outside implies that it is not the only possible system. In describing it we compare it with other actual or imagined systems. Differences imply choices which inturn imply judgments. One just cannot escape from making judgments and such judgments originate from the ethical preconceptions which have soaked into one’s view of life. The values prevailing in a system have to be regarded but in an appropriate, objective, and ethical method whereby, the values and the facts are integrated while framing the policy.

In one form or another, six major societal values emerge in public policy issues These contain excellencies the middle of individuals; individual
freedom, order within society justice for individuals; legitimate decision-making process; and efficiency of government operations. All these have a bearing on policy process. Therefore, culture, ethics, and values play a dominating role in bringing to focus the contextual setting of a policy making process.

THE POLICY CYCLE: CONSTRAINTS IN POLICY MAKING

Policy Formulation

Before coming to the actual formulation of policies, we necessity be clear concerning how the issues/troubles reach the policy agenda. In a democracy, there are several methods in which a government’s attention is drawn towards troubles that need its consideration. The people’s representatives in the Parliament and state assemblies raise issues and demand action from the government. These issues pertain to the areas where either the government has failed to take adequate action or its scrupulous action has created certain troubles. There are also organised pressure groups that can demand that the government should act in a scrupulous method. For instance, there are associations of business and industry like Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry or of central government employees or trade unions that effort to power government’s policies. Social protest movements, like the Chipko Movement can also attract government’s attention towards specific issues.

Voluntary organizations and mass media also play a significant role in drawing government’s attention to a scrupulous problem or area of concern. Governments also frame policies on their own within the broad ideology that they espouse. Welfare or socialist ideals enshrined in our Constitution brings forth a whole package of policies to power dissimilar characteristics of social behavior and economic development. Political parties help in articulating ideological positions and policy demands on the government. The opposition parties use several public or parliamentary for to ask the government to adopt certain policies. Therefore in a democratic set up, the government not only
frames policies on its own but also responds to the several demands made through dissimilar organised groups and political and social institutions in the society. It is when these groups and institutions cannot play their role adequately that social conflicts develop and present the troubles more starkly.

Once a problem has been brought on the policy agenda, processes begin to form a governmental response and objectives, targets and goals are decided upon to tackle the problem. Three major components of policy need to be decided at this stage. First component is concerned with the setting of goals and objectives. It means a perspective has to be determined which should be able to generate broad goals of a policy. For instance, in case of anti-poverty programmes, first component is concerned with the setting of goals and objectives. It means a perspective has to be determined which should be able to generate broad goals of a policy. So, in case of anti-poverty programmes, policy makers have to identify the problem of what can be done to alleviate poverty. Alternative policies have to be generated and a choice made concerning a specific policy. This policy can be set in long-term perspective (15 to 20 years) and then divided into concrete goals that have to be achieved in five years or one year. Therefore, there can be a 15 to 20 year plan, a five year plan, and an annual plan. One significant consideration in setting these goals and devising a policy is whether these are implementing able or not. Policy and its goals need to be realistic and should be based on the actual parameters of action. There is no point in having a policy that is not implementing able; the goals of such a policy can never be realized. If, say 200 million people live below the poverty line, then a policy that takes care of approximately 20 million poor in a Five Year Plan period, without taking into account the yearly increases in poor population, cannot achieve the goals of poverty alleviation.

Second issue or component that needs to be measured is the strategy needed to implement the policy. For instance, poor can be helped in several methods. They can be given food and shelter at rates lower than the market
rates or they can be provided with employment opportunities which may enable them to earn wages needed for the fulfillment of basic necessities. They may also be given assets from which additional income can be generated. Therefore it has to be decided as to what type of strategy should be adopted to help the poor to cross the poverty line. Just a single strategy can also be thought of in order to achieve the policy goals and a proper mix of strategies can also serve the objective. This issue also has to be decided at this stage.

Once the strategy is chosen, the implementation machinery has to be determined. This is the third component of policy making. Some strategies may demand a new administrative set up, others may not. Integrated Rural Development Programme was recognized to enable the poor to generate additional income with the help of assets provided through loan and subsidy. Some strategies may only require increased financial outlay. If food granules at reasonable rates have to be provided, then the budget needs to allocate greater subsidy and greater amount of food granules for public sharing system. The role of bureaucracy and non-governmental organizations also has to be specified for implementing policy goals.

Therefore, at the policy formulation stage, choices have to be made in relation to the objectives and goals, strategies and instruments of implementation. There can be recognized properly only if the policy design is given due consideration. Policy design is a very crucial stage, as choices have to be made in a method that a coherent framework emerges. It is this framework that determines, to a great extent, the integration of several factors and possessions required to achieve the objectives. The design has to identify the interlinkages and interdependencies in the middle of personnel and material. If the design is inadequate or faulty, then it will have its power on the implementation and performance of the policy.

Formulating a policy design requires skills and competence in the middle of the policy makers. The policy makers necessity have the necessary expertise required in gathering Ana analyzing appropriate information,
generating alternatives and choosing in the middle of the alternatives. It is the competence of policy makers that determines the extent of choice accessible. The actual choice is a political decision and the question as to who has made the choice and why? has to be looked into. The performance of the policy is influenced through the motivation of the decision maker. The interest taken through the actors in the policy process and their commitment to policy objectives gets reflected in performance of the policy. In making a choice, the decision makers may also be influenced through their ideologies, caste and class interests or regional and ethnic loyalties.

Sometimes a policy design may not be the handiwork of national policy makers; it may come from external sources and may merely be adopted to suit the circumstances prevailing in the country. For instance, the Community Development Programme had its genesis elsewhere and was funded through external agencies. Therefore, policy designs can emanate from internal as well as external sources. So we can say that in order to understand the policy process and its consequences, some significant questions have to be raised. First question is concerned with the policy design wherein a coordinated and integrated framework is developed which concretizes the objectives, gives for their achievement, and establishes choices of strategy and implementation. The second question is related to the mix of political and professional insights required to create these choices. The final question is concerned with the motivation of policy makers which powers them in making these choices.

**Policy Implementation**

Now we come to the after that stage of the policy cycle. This is a very crucial stage. In order to achieve the policy objectives, we have to see that the policy is implemented with full enthusiasm and commitment. There has been an assumption in most of our Five Year Plans that once a policy has been formulated, it will be systematically implemented and the desired results as envisaged through the policy makers will follow. But this assumption rests upon several political and organizational factors. All policies may not be the
result of a serious commitment to resolve the issues. The political motivations can power policies in such a method that it changes their whole complexion. These powers can become apparent at the formulation stage itself. Though, what is significant to understand is that the clash of political institutions and interests is not just confined to the formulation stage. It continues at each stage of implementation. This leads to cases where implementation can deviate from the goals that have been set.

Policies can become very hard to implement if the implementers are not given enough autonomy and flexibility in carrying out their tasks. In order to ward off political pressures and adhere to the goals of a policy, the implementers need adequate powers. Very often the government itself modifies or abandons its policy in the face of opposition from interest groups. A second cause why the policies may be hard to implement is that the bureaucracy does not have the necessary professional skills needed for the implementation of the policies. Bureaucracy necessity has experts from dissimilar areas of specialization, but due to inappropriate recruitment policies, such expertise is not accessible. In such cases, vast training programmes are initiated so that adequate skills can be imparted to those who need them most. Bureaucracy should be strengthened to enable it to become an effective instrument of policy implementation.

Lack of possessions, personnel, financial and technical also acts as a hindrance in implementation of public policy. Inadequate staff, lack of expertise and skills, shortage of funds etc. blocks proper policy implementation. Another problem in policy implementation could be lack of response from the target groups. Sometimes people do not take interest in implementation of a programme; at times they are also not aware of the objectives and goals of a programme. Lack of people’s participation often leads to breakdown in implementation. Actually the effectiveness of policy implementation depends to a great extent on the policy design. The activities associated with these two stages of policy cycle are closely inter-linked. The setting of goals and objectives, allocation of possessions, minimizing political
powers and choice of implementation strategies power the extent to which policy aims can be achieved.

**Policy Education**

Policy education is a very significant stage in policy cycle. Several troubles in policy implementation can be solved through policy education. People have to be made aware of the objectives of the policies, the benefits that can be derived from them, the implementation machinery chosen for the policies, the changes that could be brought in relation to the through the policies, the nature of their effect on the people, agencies and institutions involved in their implementation, monitoring and evaluation etc. Such type of education can go a long method in developing the right type of attitudes in people towards government policies and rising people’s participation in policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation. People should not just be the end of public policies that is the targets or beneficiaries of policies but should also be the means for achieving the goals of the policies. Therefore policy education necessity receive due attention if public policies have to be made easily implement able and acceptable.

Adequate public support can create the role of voluntary agencies much easier. Leakages and corruption can be minimized and required expertise and skills can be incorporated. Voluntary agencies can act as a very crucial alternative mode of implementation. Therefore before going into actual implementation of a policy, it necessity be made sure that those who are involved in the implementation as well as those who are going to be affected through its implementation are well aware of the formulated objectives and impact.

**Policy Evaluation**

Policy evaluation is the final and the most significant stage in policy cycle.
In order to determine the success or failure of a policy, it is essential that a systematic and effective policy evaluation system exists in the country. A precondition to fool proof policy evaluation system is proper policy monitoring. After the implementation of the programme, it has to be ensured that implementation machinery functions adequately. Agencies, people, and institutions involved in implementation are not corrupt, possessions needed for carrying out the programme are sufficiently accessible and intelligently spent, and the duration targets are met with. Only after keeping a track of all these activities can proper evaluation of a policy is possible.

Policy evaluation has to be quantitative as well as qualitative. Unfortunately, the qualitative evaluation of policy in India has not got enough attention. The first and foremost thing that should be determined in policy evaluation is the distinction flanked by objectives and goals.

Goal is a wider term and to achieve the goals certain objectives are set. For instance, the goal of a rural development programme can be generation or additional income In order to achieve this, sharing of cattle can be one of the objectives. It is quite possible that while objectives can be achieved they may not lead to achievement of goals. In several rural development programmes, this has happened. For instance, sharing of buffaloes has been complete but incomes of beneficiary families have not increased. So, we have to clearly against the evaluation of this type and in no method should the intermediate goals be equated with ultimate goals. Therefore a clear and measurable definition of goals and objectives is required, this activity is usually not taken so seriously, and the goals are hazily defined. Moreover there is no guarantee that throughout the policy cycle the same goals remain operational. Goals and objectives change as policy gets implemented. Policy may even have multiple goals which need not be in harmony with each other. Goals may come into disagreement with each other and achievement of one goal may lead to failure of another. For instance, the public sector enterprises have not been able to resolve the disagreement flanked by their social service and profit-oriented goals. All this has to be looked into.
Another method to evaluate a policy is to determine its efficiency with regard to time and cost involved in its implementation. It has to be seen that the policy that is being implemented is able to create use of the money accessible for it or sanctioned for it in the most appropriate manner in order to avoid extravagant spending. It is also necessary that implementation of a policy is complete within the allocated time. Time and costs are interrelated factors which create or mar the policies. If policy implementation takes more time than required then the cost of possessions and other ingredients needed for making the policy a success also goes up and as a result, there are cost overruns or extra expenditure. Therefore time overruns and cost overruns need to be avoided. Throughout the course of policy implementation itself alternative methods to bring in relation to the efficiency have to be thought of so that money wasting and time wasting exercises get restricted.

Another type of evaluation can be qualitative evaluation. As mentioned earlier this is the area which needs due attention. It has to be determined whether the policy is beneficial for the people at large; whether the objectives formulated are proper and in consonance with the changing scenario, whether it will be viable in the long run; and whether it will be able to meet the rising expectations of people or not. The stated objectives of a policy might be development oriented but sometimes these get directed against people’s demands. These days the controversies in excess of Teri Dam Project and Narmada Dam are examples of such policies that several people regard as anti-development, anti-human rights and anti-environment. Usually only a small number of people are able to derive benefits from a policy. As a result several policies have led to accentuation of economic and social inequalities. There can be policies which may generate conflicts in the middle of social groups, such policies become unacceptable even if the objectives set out in them are achieved in an efficient manner.

Therefore there are many criteria of evaluation of a policy and a policy has to satisfy the interests of all sections of the community no matter on what
criterion it is evaluated. Policies can be effective if there is consensus and agreement on issues. The goals and objectives underlying a policy are usually disputed if such type of consensus and agreement do not exist. Therefore evaluation of a policy has to be done very cautiously so that subsequent policies do not suffer from similar troubles and lasting solutions can be thought of.

**Constraints In Policy Making: Need For An Effective Policy Process**

The success of any policy depends on how well it is intended, formulated, implemented, and evaluated. Therefore all the stages of policy cycle are crucial. Still a systematic policy design, a full-fledged policy education programme, and a close to fool-proof evaluation system can go a long method in making the policy effective. Policy analysis is a very significant technique through which a policy can really be made viable. It is a very effective method of reducing policy troubles; it gives all the relevant information needed to solve problematic policy issues. Suffice it to say in excess of here that lot of thinking and rethinking has to go into the whole policy process. At each stage of the process proper analysis has to be made of all activities pertaining to policy, whether it is identifying the priority areas, surveying the possessions accessible, setting the goals and objectives determining the implementation machinery, educating the people in relation to the policies, activating the agencies and institutions involved in implementation, supervising the programmes, identifying the loop holes, formulating alternative strategies or analyzing the performance of policies.

There are several constraints in policy making which adversely affect the policy process. To recapitulate, inadequacy of financial possessions is one problem which affects the smooth functioning of the policy procedure. The augment in expenditure due to non-adherence of time schedules etc. worsens the situation. Inadequate expertise and skills accessible with the personnel occupied in policy making is another constraint which can be rectified through proper training and education. Lack of clarity of goals and emphasis on short-
term benefits also act as constraints. Political interference, lack of people’s support, non-involvement of socially enlightened groups is some other constraints. Moreover faulty policy design, non-sub-sistence of policy education, improper monitoring, and evaluation of policies can also be added to the list of constraints.

While discussing the nature and troubles of policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation, it has to be kept in mind that political activity powers every stage of policy cycle. At each stage choices have to be made. The choice activity gives the arena where political groups can create their power work. The final choice or outcome can then be either a product of bargain in the middle of many groups or a choice of a dominant group. In both cases, the final choice should be acceptable to the people that are to the society at large. A policy has to acquire a degree of legitimacy and credibility. Unless and until it is acceptable to the people, mobilization of their support for systematic implementation becomes a very hard task. The groups who are affected through it should not get the feeling that the policy is being forced upon them. In a democracy, genuine bargain should function and the political institutions should be such as to allow the expression of disagreements.

Policy formulators also have to mobilize public opinion in favor of policy choices. Again political parties create a major contribution in this area. For drastic reforms, this type of support becomes a must, otherwise, policies cannot succeed. The stage of determining the implementation machinery also requires mobilization of people’s support. Bureaucracy in India has always had to face the wrath of the people. The involvement of bureaucracy in the implementation of programmes is often looked upon with suspicion and distrust through the people. Bureaucracy in its new role of a change agent has not yet been accepted through the people. Rising people’s support and participation, in policy implementation therefore becomes a necessity. Political parties have to seek the support of the target groups in order to create the policies effective. Therefore, for a policy to be viable, its aims, and objectives should be formulated in such a method that people do not hesitate
to lend their support. This acceptability will help in legitimizing the goals of the policy. The instruments chosen to implement it should be able to command credibility and people’s cooperation.

Coercion can never be the solution to policy troubles. Legitimacy and persuasion have to be used to create policies effective. When people are sure of the legitimacy of government’s policies, they willingly support them. Policy process requires the support of voluntary associations, worker’s cooperatives, trade unions, women’s organizations; human rights groups and several other social, political, and enlightened bodies to create policies achieve their goals.

**REVIEW QUESTIONS**

- Discuss the relationship flanked by politics and policy.
- Discuss the dissimilar types of policy.
- Explain the meaning and importance of policy sciences
- Discuss the dissimilar approaches to policy sciences.
- Discuss the importance of public policy study and its present status.
- Discuss the nature of state and the system of governance.
- Discuss the implementation of policies.
CHAPTER 2
POLICY MAKING: STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES-I

STRUCTURE [MH]

- Learning objectives
- Role of legislature
- Role of bureaucracy
- Role of political executive
- Inter-governmental relations
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES [MH]

After reading this Unit you should be able to:

- Understand the legislative process in India;
- Throw light on the role of the parliamentary committees;
- Understand the meaning of the term bureaucracy;
- Highlight the dissimilar features of bureaucracy;
- Understand the meaning and functions of the political executive;
- Highlight the process of identifying policy issues, policy agenda and policy proposals; and
- Highlight the policy making structures in India.

ROLE OF LEGISLATURE [MH]

Indian Legislature [h]

The Parliament plays a crucial role in the legislative process in India. It consists of two Houses, the Lok Sabha (the House of the People) and the Rajya Sabha (the Council of States). The Lok Sabha is elected directly through the people and Rajya Sabha is elected through state legislatures. The Council of States or the Rajya Sabha is a permanent body. It is never dissolved, but its membership rotates every two years, that is one-third members retire from membership every two years. But the Rajya Sabha, as a House never ceases to
exist. The Lok Sabha has a term of five years only. It can be dissolved earlier and in an emergency its life can be extended.

The Parliament in India can create laws on the subjects specified in the Constitution. It can also create laws on subjects which are residuary subjects, that is, which are not allocated to states and which are not sheltered through the specified subjects allocated to Parliament. It has a function to vote expenditure also; the government cannot spend anything, unless it is voted through the Lok Sabha. The Rajya Sabha has no power of granting money. The Lok Sabha can also impose and regulate taxes. The Rajya Sabha again does not have any power in this area. Though the Rajya Sabha can create recommendations within fourteen days of receipt of a Money Bill in the Rajya Sabha, the Lok Sabha may or may not accept them or accept them with modifications. Therefore, as distant as the control in excess of the purse, money, expenditure, taxation etc. is concerned; the Lok Sabha has the final say.

The legislature at the state stage consists of the legislative assembly and the legislative council. Every state does not have a legislative council. Though the Parliament may through law give for the abolition of the legislative council of a state having such a council or for the making of such a council in a state having no such council. Article 172 lays down that every legislative assembly unless sooner dissolved, shall continue for five years, but the legislative council shall not be subject to dissolution. The procedure of bill’s enactment is the same in the state legislature and the governor enjoys approximately similar rights to provide assent to the bill as the President.

The scheme of sharing of powers flanked by the Centre and the states, envisaged through the Constitution, emphasizes in several methods the general predominance of the Parliament in legislative field. Separately from the wide range of subjects allotted to it in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, even in normal times Parliament can, under certain circumstances assure legislative power in excess of a subject falling within the sphere exclusively
reserved for the states. For instance, the Parliament may legislate on a matter incorporated in the state list if the Rajya Sabha declares through a resolution supported through a two-third majority, that it is necessary or expedient in the national interest to do so, further, in times of grave emergency when the security of the country or any part thereof is threatened through war or external aggression or internal disturbance and a proclamation for emergency is made through the President, the Parliament acquires the power to create laws with respect to any of the matters enumerated in the state list. Likewise in the event of the breakdown of the Constitutional machinery in a state, the powers of the legislature of that state become exercisable through or under the authority of the Parliament.

**Legislative Process [h]**

The role of the legislature in policy making can be determined through discussing the legislative process in India. One of the most significant functions of any legislature is to legislate or to create laws. As we have discussed earlier, in a federation, the Parliament’s law making power, is restricted through the division of subjects or items in dissimilar lists. In India we have three lists—Union list, state list and concurrent list— enumerating the items on which the Parliament and state legislatures could create laws. The Parliament legisrates on subjects in the union and the concurrent lists. In the event of any disagreement flanked by the laws made through Parliament or any state legislature on any item mentioned in the concurrent list, the law made through Parliament prevails. Before dealing with the role of legislature in policy making, it has to be kept in mind that its role varies from one political system to the other. Legislatures are more active in presidential systems wherein they have a say in initiation of policies, though policies are initiated through the President but the move has to be made through the legislature. In the presidential form of government, the committees perform a major role. In a parliamentary system, the legislature can only suggest and discuss proposals. Initiation of legislative proposals belongs to the executive. But to take an extreme view that the legislatures have declined as law makers
would be wrong, for the executive only gives the draft, which is refined and customized through the legislature keeping in view the national policy and social and economic needs.

It is the legislature which gives a forum for organised articulation of the several shades of public opinion in the country and exercises a power in the legislative process through getting the principal issues thrashed out, the details of legislation scrutinized and the interests of affected parties heard. It is the legislature which gives the final touches and provides the final form to legislation in the course of its passage through several stages before it becomes a law. All legislative proposals necessity be brought in the form of bills before the Parliament. When a bill is passed through the Parliament and assented to through the President, it is called as Act. We will now discuss the procedure through which a bill becomes an Act.

**Government Bill [sh]**

Most legislative proposals, even of the non-financial type are presented to the Parliament through ministers. These legislative proposals take the form of government bills and are usually speaking initiated through scrupulous ministers. As soon as a legislative proposal has been conceived, the ministry concerned examines its constitutional, administrative, political, financial, and other implications. Sometimes the advice of experts is also taken. If the proposed legislation pertains to other ministries of state governments, they too are consulted. The Ministry of Law and the Attorney General of India are consulted in respect of the legal and Constitutional characteristics of the proposed legislation. When the proposal has been properly examined, the sponsoring ministry prepares a memorandum for the Cabinet. The Cabinet may provide its approval after properly considering the broad characteristics of policy underlying the proposed legislation or, if it is of an significant or commercial character, refer it to one of its standing committees or to an ad hoc committee, so that the measure may receive a more detailed consideration (we will discuss the role of committees in our subsequent section).
In some cases, the Cabinet may after approving the underlying principles of a proposed legislation, require that the bill, when it has been drafted, be submitted to it again for a closer scrutiny. After a legislative proposal has received the line clear signal from the Cabinet, the sponsoring ministry sends all the relevant papers to an official drafts person who puts the proposal into the form of a bill. The draft prepared through drafts person is examined through the ministry concerned and more often many drafts have to be prepared before the bill is finally put into form.

We have to keep in mind in excess of here that every legislative proposal that comes in the form of bill before the Parliament does not actually originate there, the executive, both political and permanent indulges in a lot of spadework, a lot goes into the proposal in the form of collection of information, research, exploration of alternatives etc. before it is finally placed before the Parliament. Under delegated legislation the permanent executive fills in the gaps in the enactments delegated to it through the Parliament. In the Parliament a systematic procedure is followed through which a bill becomes an Act. Every bill has to undergo three readings in order to be passed in either House. We will discuss these readings briefly.

**First Reading [sh]**

The legislative process starts with the introduction of Bill in either House of the Parliament—the Lok Sabha or the Rajya Sabha. It is necessary to ask for leave to introduce the bill, if leave is granted through the House, the bill is introduced. A minister desiring to ask for leave to introduce a bill has to provide a notice in writing in relation to his/her introduction to do so. This stage of introduction of a bill is recognized as the first reading of the bill. If a motion for leave to introduce a bill is opposed, the speaker may, in his discretion, allow brief explanatory statements to be made through the member in charge. Thereafter, without further debate the question is put to the vote of the House. Though, the motion for leave to introduce a Finance Bill or
Appropriation Bill is forthwith put to vote of the House. A member can also oppose a bill on the ground that it initiates legislation on a matter which is outside the legislative competence of the House. After a bill has been introduced, it is published in the Official Gazette. But even before introduction, a bill might with the permission of the speaker, be published in the gazette. In such cases, leave to introduce it in the House is not necessary and the bill is straightaway introduced.

**Second Reading [sh]**

The second reading consists of consideration of the bill in two stages. The first stage consists of a general discussion on the bill as a whole, when the principle underlying the bill is discussed... At this stage it is open to the House or is referred to a select Committee of the House or a Joint Committee of the two Houses or to circulate, it for the purpose of eliciting opinion or straightaway take it into consideration. Most of the bills of complicated, technical, or controversial nature are referred to a Select Committee or a Joint Select Committee. When a bill is sought to be referred to any select Committee, the mover of such a proposal himself suggests the names of the members whom he would like to be on that Committee. The consent of the members is sought beforehand. If the bill is sought to be referred to a Joint Select Committee, the other House is requested to associate its members on such a Committee.

The Select or Joint Select Committee considers the bill clause through clause just as the House does. Amendments can be moved to the several clauses through members of the Committee. The Committee can also take evidence of associations, public bodies, or experts who are interested in the measure. After the bill has been measured, the Committee submits its report to the House which considers the bill again as reported through the Committee. If a bill is circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion, such opinions are obtained through the agency of the governments of the state and union territories. Where a bill has been circulated for generating opinions and
opinions have been received and laid on the table of the House, the after that
motion on regard to the bill necessity be for reference to a Select Committee
or a Joint Select Committee. It is not ordinarily permissible at this stage to
move a motion for consideration of the bill, unless the speaker allows it.

The second stage of the second reading consists of clause through clause
consideration of the bill as introduced or as reported through the Select
Committee or Joint Select Committee. Discussion takes place on each clause
of the bill and amendments to clause can be moved at this stage. Each
amendment and each clause is put to vote in the House. The amendments
become parts of the bill, if they are accepted through a majority of members
present and voting, after the second reading is deemed to be in excess of.

**Third Reading [sh]**

In the third reading the member in charge can move that the bill be passed.
This stage is called the third or the final reading of the bill. At this stage
debate is confined to arguments either in support of the bill or its rejection,
without referring to the details thereof further than is absolutely necessary.
Only formal, verbal, or consequential amendments are allowed at this stage. In
passing an ordinary bill a simple majority of members present and voting is
necessary. But as distant as a bill aiming at amendment of the Constitution is
concerned, a majority of the total membership of the House and majority of
not less than two-thirds of members present and voting is required.

After all the readings are in excess of and the bill is passed through one
House, it is sent to the other House for consideration with a massage to that
effect. In the other House also it goes through similar three stages. As already
mentioned, in regard to money bills, the Lok Sabha has got the exclusive
power to legislate and the "Rajya Sabha can only recommend amendments
therein and necessity return such a bill to the Lok Sabha within fourteen days
from the date of its receipts. It is open to the Lok Sabha to accept or reject any
or all the recommendations of the Rajya Sabha with regard to a money bill. If
a money bill passed through the Lok Sabha and submitted to the Rajya Sabha for its recommendations is not returned to the Lok Sabha within the said period of fourteen days, it is deemed to have been passed through both the Houses at the expiration of the said period in the form in which it was passed through the Lok Sabha.

If a bill passed through one House is rejected through the other House, or, the Houses have finally disagreed as to the amendments to be made in the bill, or more than six months have elapsed from the date of the receipt of the bill through the other House without the bill being passed through it, the President may call a joint sitting of the two Houses to resolve the deadlock. If, at the joint sitting of the two Houses, the bill is passed through a majority of the total number of members of both the Houses present and voting, with the amendments if any, accepted through them, the bill is deemed to have been passed through both the Houses. Joint sitting of the two Houses is presided in excess of through the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. The variation flanked by the two houses are cleared at the joint sitting and whatever discussion is taken at the joint sitting is measured as final in the case of the differences.

When a bill is passed through both Houses, the Secretariat of the House which is last in possession of the bill obtains the assent of the President. The bill becomes an Act only after the President’s assent has been given thereto. The President can provide his assent or withhold his assent to a bill. The President can also return the bill except, of course, a money bill with his recommendations to the House for reconsideration and if the Houses pass the bill again with or without amendments, the bill has to be assented to through the President.

Private Members’ Bills [sh]

In the case of the bills of which notice is given through private members, we have to keep in mind a few things. Such bills can be taken up only on the days which are fixed for private members’ bills. Private members’ bills are
scrutinized in the Secretariat of the House and members are usually assisted in
drawing up the bill in a proper form. These bills are referred to a special
committee called the committee on Private Members’ Bill and Resolutions.
The Rajya Sabha also has such a Committee. After the Committee has made
its report to the House and copies of the bill as reported through the
Committee have been circulated to members of the House, the bill is taken to
have been formally introduced. Thereafter it goes through the same procedures
and stages as applicable to other non-financial bills. The purpose of private
member’s bill is to generate a public debate in excess of the burning social,
economic and political issues and create the Government conscious of the
nature of thinking in several sections of society, a point to be noted in excess
of here is that private members have no say in the financial or money bills.

Before moving in excess of to our after that section, a brief mention of the
legislative powers of the President necessity be made in excess of here, otherwise our discussion on legislative process in India would be partial. The
legislative power of the President pertains to its power to promulgate ordinances when the Parliament is not in session. Article 123 lays down that if
at any time, except when both Houses of Parliament are in session, the
President is satisfied that circumstances exist which render necessary for him
to take immediate action; he may promulgate such ordinance as the
circumstances require.

An ordinance promulgated under this Article shall have the same force and
effect as an Act of Parliament, but every such ordinance:

- Shall be laid before both the Houses of the Parliament and shall cease
to operate at the expiration of sixteen days from the reassembly of the
Parliament, or, if before the expiration of those period resolutions
disapproving it are passed through both Houses, and may be
withdrawn at any time through the President.

The ordinance is a legislative act and has the same force and effect as an
Act of Parliament.
Role Of Parliamentary Committees

Committees have been an essential part of the procedure of the Houses of Legislature because of the need for speedy disposal of business and for thorough consideration of certain matters. A Parliamentary committee means a committee which is appointed or ejected through the House or nominated through the Speaker and which works under the direction of the speaker and presents its report to the House or to the speaker. Broadly, parliamentary committees are of two types—Standing Committees and Ad hoc Committees. The standing committees are elected or appointed every year or periodically and their work goes on, more or less, on a continuous basis. The ad hoc committees are appointed on an ad hoc basis as and when the need arises, and they cease to exist as soon as they complete the task assigned to them, and have submitted their reports. Committees can and do meet while the House is sitting and in this method the House is enabled to consider a number of items of its business at the same time. Another cause for the rising importance of Committees is the inability of the legislature to undertake detailed consideration and enumeration of witnesses and experts and deliberation in excess of a mass of documentary and other material which is required to arrive at a decision on complicated matters. Moreover, the procedure in a Committee is more flexible, there are no formal motions, no formal speeches and no formal divisions and the members can talk crossways the table and argue out issues.

As the proceedings in a Committee are not open to the public and press, the members become free from joining the party line and consider a matter from wider angles and in a spirit of provide and take. Above all, the experts of the committees assume the status of expert opinions on the subject taken up through the members or the committees’ work on them because of their special knowledge of, or interest’ in subject-matter being dealt with.

The main functions of the committees are investigatory, deliberative, and
recommendatory. In performing their investigatory functions they discover out facts or collect opinions through examining persons as witnesses. While performing their deliberative functions, they discuss and consider the type of conclusions to draw from the material before them. The recommendatory function, as a part of the deliberative function, consists in considering what recommendations if any, to create to the House or Houses which composed the Committee. In discharging their functions either through rules or through resolutions of the House or Houses, the same powers which belong to the House in performing their functions apply to committees. Procedure in committees is principally the same as in the Houses of legislature. But there is a good deal of informality in such procedures. A member may speak more than once and there are few formal motions. An item is taken up, deliberated upon, witnesses called for finding out facts and decisions taken on the view, the committee may desire to form. There is approximately no voting, though any member may insist on a vote being taken on a significant issue. Committees can split themselves in sub-committees to deal with specific characteristics of the question referred to them.

The Lok Sabha has approximately eighteen standing committees or so, and their membership varies from one committee to another e.g. Business Advisory Committee, Committee on Privileges, Committee on Private Members’ Bills, Committee on Subordinate Legislation, General Purposes Committee, etc. In the middle of the standing committees, the three financial committees—Committee on Estimates, Public Accounts Committee and Committee on Public Undertakings constitute a separate group, and they keep a vigil on the government spending and performance. While members of the Rajya Sabha are associated with the Committees on Public Accounts and Public Undertakings, the members of the Committee on Estimates are drawn, entirely from the Lok Sabha.

The control exercised through these Committees is of a continuous nature, they gather information through questionnaires, memoranda from representative non-official organizations and knowledgeable individuals, on
the spot studies of organizations and oral examination of non-official and official witnesses. Flanked by them, the Financial Committees look at and report on a fairly large area of multifarious governmental activities. These committees have adequate procedures to ensure that their recommendations are given due consideration through the Government. The progress in the implementation of the recommendations as well as, any unresolved differences flanked by the Committees and Government are set out in ‘Action Taken Reports’, which are presented to the House from time to time.

**Changing Role Of The Legislature [h]**

The legislature performs a very significant function of discussing and analyzing the policy proposals that come before it. The success of Parliament depends upon fulfilling adequately its role through responding to the aspirations of the people and the commitment of our public functionaries in the implementation of the approved policies and programmes. Steps have been taken in a number of countries, both developed and the developing to augment the role of the legislatures. Those nations who had for some causes suspended these institutions have again recognized their legislatures. Even in the African Continent, the legislatures have been created in several of the newly independent nations. The Legislatures in the developing countries exist because people want them, to exist. Long-term trend is not toward the demise or decline of the legislature, which is a significant channel of communication and pressure and is therefore very relevant in a political system.

Parliamentary accountability to people is something which necessity be remembered. It has to be seen that all the three organs of the government, the legislature, executive (permanent as well as the political) and the judiciary are interlinked with each other and all the organs through cooperating with one another create the political system accountable to the people. The permanent executive which comes in direct contact with the people is accountable to the legislature, it gives all the necessary information required to solve crucial social, political and economic issues. The legislature keeps a check on the
executive through the parliamentary proceedings, question hour sessions and cut motions, etc.

In order that the parliamentary control in excess of the executive may be more effective and administrative accountability may be more precise, it is necessary that all policies laid down through the Parliament should be stated in specific conditions. In order to create the Parliament more sensitive to public opinion, the role of the press cannot be undermined. In India, the press plays a significant part in parliamentary activities. It is through the press that the Parliament enjoys so much prestige in the public eye and it is with the help of the press that the Parliament is able to control the executive effectively. The press is rightly called ‘an extension of the Parliament’. It is the press which has the capability to unearth the administrative lapses, scandals, and shortcomings. The press provides expression to public grievances and difficulties and reports on how policies are being accepted out. Most of the raw material for parliamentary questions, motions, and debates comes from the press and is a significant movement on which a member relies. The press keeps the public informed of what is happening in the Parliament to the utmost detail. The two-method traffic enables the press to maintain a significant and strong link flanked by the public and the Parliament. The role of the legislature is therefore changing in accordance with the rising aspirations of people, new and crucial social and economic compulsions, and rising functions of press.

ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY [MH]

Meaning Of Bureaucracy [h]

Before dealing with the role of bureaucracy in policy making, it is very essential to be clear in relation to the meaning of ‘bureaucracy’. According to Max Weber, “Bureaucracy is universal social phenomenon and the means of carrying community action to rationally ordered societal action.” In the words of Marshall E. Dimock, “Bureaucracy is the state of the society in which institutions overshadow individuals and simple family relationships, stage of
development in which division of Labor, specialization, organization, hierarchy, planning and regimentation of large groups of individuals either through voluntary or unvoluntary methods, are the order of the day.”

Bureaucracy is said to be the product of a large size of organizations in public or private service. The bureaucratic administration breaks the absolute power of elected leadership or monarchy due to its systematized administration. As a system, it has to practice autonomy and independence in giving its opinion to political leaders and has to faithfully execute the formulated policies. Hans Rosenberg has observed that “...an essential part of the present structure of governance consists of its distant-flung system of professionalized administration and its hierarchy of appointed officials upon whom the society is thoroughly dependent. Whether we live under the most totalitarian despotism or in the most liberal democracy, we are governed to a considerable extent through a bureaucracy of some type.”

Herman Finer says that bureaucracy is a “professional body of officials, permanent, paid, and skilled.” Arthur K. Davis looked at bureaucracy from the structural point of view. To him, bureaucracy is “an integrated hierarchy of specialized offices defined through systematic rules, an impersonal, routine structure wherein legitimized authority rests in the office and not in the person of the incumbent”. Bureaucracy is a system of administration under which all the employees are organised into a hierarchy of offices, each with well-defined spheres of duties and responsibilities. The meaning of ‘bureaucracy’ will become further clear through briefly discussing its major features.

**Major Features of Bureaucracy [sh]**

**Hierarchy [ssh]**

In a bureaucracy, activities based on specialization are assigned to specific positions. There is a clear-cut division of work, competence, authority, responsibility and other job components. Each lower office is under the control and supervision of the higher office. Officials are accountable to their
superiors for their official actions.

**Professional Qualities [ssh]**

All officials possess professional qualities on the basis of which they are selected for appointment. Their merit for selection is determined on the basis of objective criteria. They deal in an impersonal and formalistic manner in their relations with others and also in the execution of their official duties. They enjoy a permanent career with reasonable opportunities of advancement with enough security of service.

**Rules and Procedures [ssh]**

In bureaucracy, decisions are governed through a constant system of abstract rules, regulations, and procedures. Official behavior is to follow definite rules of conduct and discipline. The use of authority has to be in accordance with the regulations of the organization, which are written and tend to be rational and impersonal.

**Specialization [ssh]**

Official tasks are organised on a continuous regulated basis. These tasks are subdivided into functionally separate spheres, each furnished with the requisite authority and sanctions. This functional specificity leads to specialization of tasks.

**Organizational Possessions [ssh]**

The possessions of the organization are quite separate from those of the members who are private individuals. It means that officials do not own possessions necessary for performing the official duties, but they are accountable for the use of official possessions. Official revenue and private incomes are strictly separated.
The Changing Nature Of Bureaucracy

Sir Warren Fisher, a noted civil servant in Britain, delineated the minister-civil service relationship, in the following words. “Determination of policy is the function of ministers, and once a policy is determined it is the unquestioned and unquestionable business of the civil servant to strive to carry out that policy with precisely the same energy and goodwill, whether he agrees with it or not. That is axiomatic and will never be in dispute. At the same time, it is the traditional duty of civil servants while decisions are being formulated to create accessible to their political chief all the information and experience at their disposal, and to do this without fear or favor, irrespective of whether the advice therefore tendered may accord or not with the minister’s initial view. The preservation of integrity, fearlessness, and the independence of thought and utterance in their private commission with ministers or the experienced officials, selected to fill the top posts in the service of an essential principle in enlightened government.” This view underlines the relationship flanked by bureaucracy and political executive.

Bureaucracy has touched new heights in modern democracies. Its size and functions have increased enormously. Emergence of the Welfare State has added new dimensions to the expansion of bureaucracy. The nature of the role of bureaucracy in policy making is, therefore, changing slowly. The concept of neutrality of bureaucracy has also lost significance. Political neutrality means not only the absence of political activity or bias on the part of the individual member of the bureaucracy but also that bureaucracy has to respond to the will of the political executive, no matter what its political complexion may be. Now the term ‘committed bureaucracy’ does not connote that the civil servants are loyal to a scrupulous individual, political person or leader. Commitment connotes commitment to the objectives, ideals, institutions, and modalities contained in the Constitution, the policies and programmes of the government, and the laws, regulations and rules issued through the political executive.
In the Indian context, the divergence of view flanked by the ruling parties have become narrow and the division flanked by the functions of politicians and bureaucracy in conditions of policy making and implementation has ceased to be rigid. The processes of policy making are no longer confined to the political executive; they spread in excess of the whole fabric of the government, resulting in inescapable delegation and zone such policy, where the political executive does not come into the picture at all. The leadership role of public bureaucracy has become explicit in all political systems Now it is very hard to escape commitment of some sort or another to the State's goals and objectives, and certain degree of subjective bias cannot be eliminated.

Role Of Bureaucracy In Policy Making [h]

Bureaucracy plays its role in policy making in several waves. It helps the executive in identifying major policy areas, preparing major policy proposals, analyzing several alternatives and solutions to societal troubles returning urgent attention, dividing the major policies into sub-policies, determining programmes of action and suggesting modification in the existing policy on the basis of its experience on the implementation front. Their role can be categorized into three broad activities, informative, suggestive, and analytical. Let us discuss them briefly.

Informative [sh]

A major part of the spade work of public policy making is done through the bureaucracy. For identifying policy issues and giving them a form of policy proposals requires a systematic analysis of the existing troubles. The bureaucracy engages itself in collection of relevant data and information in order to identify the crux of the problem. It has to determine what type of information is required, to what extent the information is substantive and how the information acquired can be put to the best use for framing a policy proposal. The government has to substantiate its policy proposal in order to get public support; the bureaucracy gives the relevant data for substantiating
policy proposals. For instance, if the bureaucracy has to help in formulation of a policy proposal for agricultural development, it has to collect and filter information concerning total cultivable land accessible in the country, types and excellence of land accessible, types of crops that can be gainfully sown, agricultural necessities of the country, diversities of fertilizers to be used and their availability, irrigational facilities accessible, circumstances for marketing agricultural produce, stages of consumption within the country, possible chances of export, etc. In other words the informative rote of the bureaucracy in policy making relates to lying down of an objective base for systematic framing of policy proposals and providing the needed data for substantiating the proposals.

Suggestive [sh]

As the bureaucracy is constantly occupied in the task of substantiating policy proposals and collecting relevant data, it becomes closely acquainted with several troubles and issues facing the country. Bureaucracy, especially at the secretariat stage, is measured as the ‘think-tank’ of the government. In this context it is always thinking in relation to the several political, social, and economic troubles. Due to this the bureaucracy plays a very significant suggestive role in policy making. It helps the political executive in identifying policy issues through suggesting in relation to the nature of troubles and the need for taking up a certain issue for consideration. It tries to frame its ideas in such a manner that they act as suggestions to the political executive. These suggestions are based on the administrative expertise and capability of the bureaucracy. It is not necessary that policy initiative necessity always come from the political executive, at several occasions, it is the bureaucracy which suggests the policy issues to the political executive. The suggestive role of the bureaucracy is also related to the submission of many alternative solutions to a given problem to the political executive. It is then up to the executive to accept or reject them.
Analytical [sh]

As already stated, public policy making is an intricate process. Bureaucracy plays a very important analytical role in policy formulation. After the crucial issues requiring urgent attention are recognized, it has to be ascertained whether such issues could create viable policies or not. The bureaucracy engages itself in analyzing the pros and cons of the issue that is taken up for policy formulation, it frames and reframes policy proposals keeping in view its viability, future prospects, possessions accessible, acceptability, etc. Moreover, it is the responsibility of the bureaucracy to analyze policy proposals in relation to the provisions of the Constitution, the laws framed through the Parliament, and other existing rules and regulations. In this method the bureaucracy helps in framing sound and effective policies.

Delegated Legislation And Bureaucracy [h]

Legislation or rule making is basically a major function of the political executive. Though, in modern democracies the functions of the government have become intricate and multidimensional. There has also been enormous augment in the spheres of the government activity. Legislatures and political executive cannot cope with the increased legislative functions and, hence, the concept of the delegated legislation has been put into practice in approximately every country. The concept has obliged the legislature to delegate some of the legislative power to the executive organs of the government, to be more specific, to the bureaucracy.

Before discussing the role of bureaucracy in delegated legislation, it would be better to familiarize ourselves with the meaning of the term ‘delegated legislation’. Delegated legislation has been defined, “as the exercise of minor legislative power through subordinate authorities and bodies in pursuance of statutory authority given through the Parliament itself.” It is, therefore, the law-making power conferred through the Parliament on the executive. The executive does not enjoy any original power of making laws, and the delegated legislation is strictly subordinate to the conditions of the statutes
under which it is made. The power of the delegated legislation is given to highly responsible authorities and it cannot be further sub-delegated to other subordinates. The delegated legislation is subject to judicial review like any other legislation. It means that it can be declared as void if it is inconsistent with the statute or is in excess of the power granted through the Parliament.

- The Need for Delegated Legislation: The practice of delegating legislative power to bureaucracy has been on the augment. There are several factors responsible for this.
  - Augment in the volume of work: The legislative work has expanded to such an extent that it has become approximately impossible for the legislature to frame laws on each and every aspect of the work it is occupied in. Moreover, the tasks confronting the legislature have become so varied and technical in nature that the legislature does not have the skills and aptitude to carry them on. The need for specialized expertise of bureaucracy is constantly felt.
  - Lack of Time: The ever-rising functions of the legislature do not leave enough time for the formulation of laws on varied issues and troubles. The enormous volume of the legislative business renders it imperative that the Parliament should enact laws, embodying broad principles, leaving details to be supplied through the executive departments.
  - Scientific and Technical Character of the Subject Matter: The political executive comprise laypersons, which do not have the experience to formulate laws in the areas which require technical and scientific knowledge and ability, therefore they have to consult the bureaucracy.
  - Need to Give for Unforeseen Contingencies: Delay is something which can be very dangerous in coping with emergencies like war, economic crises, etc. Therefore, the political executive needs to take the help of the bureaucracy in order to formulate policies without unnecessary delay.
- Types of Delegated Legislation: The delegated legislation can be classified into three categories contingent, supplementary and interpretative.
- **Contingent Delegated Legislation**: This type of delegation takes place where the legislature creates the application of the main or the enabling Act dependent on the subsistence of certain facts or circumstances and, accordingly, authorizes the administrative agency, that is, the bureaucracy. It means that the bureaucracy has to formulate policy, keeping in view the facts and circumstances laid down through the legislature.

- **Supplementary Delegated Legislation**: Sometimes the legislature passes laws in only a skeleton form, i.e., it only lays down certain general principles or standards under which the laws have to be framed, everything else is left to the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy works out the details through collecting relevant information and fills up the skeleton laws. In India, the Municipal Acts, fall into this category.

- **Interpretative Delegated Legislation**: After the formulation of the laws, the bureaucracy is authorized to explain and clarify the provisions of the law. The bureaucratic power to interpret the law creates legislation clear and explicit.

Therefore bureaucracy plays a very significant role in the area of delegated legislation. It has to take care of the fact that the rules to be framed under a scrupulous law do not clash with the existing rules made under a dissimilar law. Moreover, it has to see that the real spirit of the law is actually met with while framing the rules. Rules under the delegated legislation have to be precise and comprehensive. The language used has to be unambiguous and simple. People should be clearly able to understand these rules. The bureaucracy has to ensure that the delegated legislation so framed will stand the test of the time, if challenged in a court of law. Further, the bureaucracy has to review the several provisions contained in the delegated legislation from time to time to bring them in tune with the fast changing socio-economic scenario of the country. The bureaucracy though its authority of delegated legislation helps the government in experimentation in several spheres of
socio-economic development. The suggestive and analytical role of the bureaucracy is of great relevance in delegated legislation. It is here that the bureaucracy can exercise authority independently with minimal political interference.

**The Rising Importance Of Bureaucracy [h]**

It is clear from the chapter that the importance of the bureaucracy in policy making is rising day through day. It is often said that it is for the political executive to lay down policy and for the permanent executive that is the bureaucracy to carry it out. Though, this distinction "flanked by the roles is fast diminishing. The bureaucracy does contribute towards policy formulation and the legislature and the political executive do take interest in the implementation of policy. The nature of their contributions may differ. The bureaucratic power on policy making is two-fold. Firstly, the members of the bureaucracy can provide form to stated policies through the exercise of choice and judgment in administering them and, secondly, they engage in policy formulation through their suggestive, analytical, and interpretative roles.

Bureaucracy, it has been observed is a congregating place for individuals concerned with the same objects. Some of these interested individuals become members of the administrative agencies while others join groups which look to that organization as a rallying point, and the agency takes a leading part in on behalf of their interests. In this representative process perhaps the bureaucracy’s most significant function is to promote the thought that its special area of concern is significant, be it education, air, power, or mental health. The bureaucracy also promotes special solutions to policy troubles in this area. Finally, it promotes objectives which are of scrupulous interest to its members as bureaucrats. These are matters such as their working circumstances, status and compensation, as well as, the maintenance and survival of their organization.

One of the major tasks of administration is the formulation of policy
proposals for consideration through the political executive. The capability of the administrative agencies to perform rationally and in a responsible manner the task of formulating the policy alternative for politically responsible superiors is the major criterion of efficiency. Therefore, a major part of policy making is done through the bureaucracy. The minister S.R. Maheshwari observes, “Public policy cannot be made through one or few individuals, though, exalted be their situation. Nor can it be separated from administration. Public policy necessarily involves a large number of persons and institutions operating in hierarchical order or otherwise such as ministers, civil servants, parliamentarians, public pressure groups, professionals, etc... In the central government, the principal policy making functionaries are the Prime Minister and his office including his advisers, ministers and secretaries... Bureaucracy even gains expertise through working on International Form/Organizations. In order to be an agent of change, the bureaucracy necessity have the capability (a) to forecast, project and understand the direction and tempo of major or important changes in its environment; (b) to plan for necessary or desirable changes; (c) to adopt itself to changes demanded or planned through the political system or to other unforeseen changes; and, (d) to innovate on its own.

ROLE OF POLITICAL EXECUTIVE [MH]

Meaning Of The Term Political Executive [h]

Policy making is not one person’s or one political group’s job, the actual formulation of policies is shared through political leaders of dissimilar political parties, pressure and interest groups, policy making units and the people as a whole. The U.N. publication on Development Administration (1975) says, “In view of the magnitude and complexity of several policy questions today, a king or party alone cannot create public policies and must, so, establish some central units to assist in policy making. Likewise, the citizenry, who usually exercise their power to legitimize policy through persons elected through them, directly or indirectly, normally require some central units to initiate, look at, and formulate policy proposals. Sometimes
such units may even take policy decisions explicitly or implicitly in the name of those with the power to provide policies legal authority. Such central units for policy making are mostly located in the executive branch of the government”.

In a parliamentary democracy like India, the leadership of the government is in the hands of the Prime Minister, who is the real executive, the nominal executive being the President. Through the party system and the authority of patronage which the Prime Minister enjoys, the Prime Minister has usurped the authority of the Parliament. The ever rising authority or power of the Prime Minister has changed the Cabinet government into ‘Prime Ministerial government’. Before we look at the role of the executive, let us first understand the meaning of the term ‘Executive’. J.W. Garner observes, “In a broad and communal sense, the executive organ embraces the aggregate or totality of all the functionaries and agencies which are concerned with the execution of the will of the state as that will has been formulated and expressed in conditions of law”. In India, it comprises the Prime Minister leaders of the dissimilar parties, the ministers of the ruling party and the opposition, the Cabinet, its committees. Cabinet Secretariat and the Prime Minister's Secretariat. Before dealing with their role separately, it would be of relevance to discuss briefly, the broad functions of the executive which are as follows:

- Maintenance of internal peace and order is the major function of the executive but maintaining external relations and saving the country from external aggression is also an equally significant responsibility. In other words, the formulation of the national policy for domestic, as well as, external purposes is the chief concern of the executive. It comprises all activities pertaining to the maintenance and well-being of the State.

- As already mentioned, the initiative for legislative work has also become the responsibility of the executive. The bills are first approved through the Cabinet, and the government does not face any difficulty in getting the approval of the Parliament where, usually, it enjoys a
majority. In the present context, though we have a minority government yet its proposals are accepted, with or without modification, through the Parliament as holding elections at short intervals imposes financial and political pressures on the system.

- The executive proposes the budget and decides in relation to the imposition or abolition of taxes. It may augment or decrease the tax rates. The executive also sees that provisions of the budget are implemented after the approval of the Parliament. It is so, clear that the executive has all pervasive authority in excess of the activities of the State.
The Role Of The Political Executive In Policy Making [h]

Now, we shall briefly discuss the role of the political executive in policy making through highlighting the role of the Cabinet, Cabinet Secretariat, Cabinet Committees, Prime Minister, and Prime Minister’s Secretariat.

The Role of Cabinet in Policy Making [sh]

The Cabinet plays a very significant role in policy making as would be clear from the following:

- It defines the direction which the national policy shall take and decides how each problem at home or abroad is to be tackled.
- The Cabinet is responsible for all types of legislation.
- It gets the proposals prepared from several departments and only after its approval; these are submitted to the Parliament.
- The Cabinet is held responsible for every detail of the administrative work accepted on through the ever-rising administrative machinery.
- It is also responsible for the finances of the State.
- It is the Cabinet which decides as to what business is to be submitted to the Parliament and how much time be allotted for the same.
- Higher appointments at home and abroad are also made through the Cabinet through its Committee on Appointments.

Therefore, it is clear that the Cabinet initiates and decides public policy concerning approximately every sphere of government’s activity. Without its approval no policy proposal can become effective. While examining the role of the Cabinet, S.R. Maheshwari opines, “Policies acquire final approval at several stages of governance depending on their import and nature. Certain proposals are required to be brought before the Cabinet for its decision, and the Cabinet may take them up either directly or may refer them to one of its sub-committees for a more detailed examination. The Cabinet, functioning on the principle of communal responsibility, is the top policy making body in the
government, but only major proposals are taken to it for its decision, other matters get disposed of through the minister at his/her own stage. Even otherwise, it functions more as a referral body than an original one, more as a policy satisfactory organ than a policy formulating one. But occasionally, in its meetings some new policy items may get thrown up. Much more systematically powerful as policy making mechanisms are its subcommittees, particularly the Political Affairs Committee and the Economic Affairs Committee, both presided in excess of through the Prime Minister and consisting of the key ministers”.

*Role of the Prime Minister [sh]*

The Prime Minister always enjoys a special position in the realm of policy making and other ministers play varying stages of subordinate role. It is said that the crucial policy decisions are taken not in the Cabinet but in the inter-departmental committees, in Cabinet Committees or in conversation flanked by the Prime Minister and the individual minister. Hence, the Prime Minister is the crucial element in the decision-making process. Though, it is also pointed out that the Prime Minister’s power on the policy making may be exaggerated, as the spheres of state activity have increased enormously, that no one person is able to survey the whole field. The policy initiatives come from several sources, not just from the Prime Minister but also from the party policy, from the civil servants, from administrative necessity, from sheer pressure of events at home and abroad, and from the demands of public opinion channeled in several methods. Prof. Maheshwari further says that the Prime Minister is not often involved in the germinating stage of a policy. Though, the form that any policy would take does depend on the personality of the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister beside with his/her council of ministers, as we have already mentioned acts as the real executive in the parliamentary system. The council is a very large body, its membership crossing the 60 mark invariably, consisting of Deputy Ministers, Ministers of State, and Cabinet Ministers. All
its members meet officially very rarely. The effective policy making body is the Cabinet which consists of only the Cabinet Ministers and the Prime Minister—a Minister of the State is invited its meetings when his/her subject matter is to be discussed. Usually, the Cabinet meets every week or when required, and takes decisions on all national policies. It acts as a communal body where the ministers take integrated decisions reflecting the national perspective. For facilitating the work of the cabinet, it creates use of the committee system. According to the Rules of Business, standing committees of the Cabinet can be provided for specific characteristics of governmental business. The committees are set up to ensure speedy decisions on vital questions of political and economic significance and other urgent matters. These also help in bringing in relation to the effective coordination in well-defined fields of administration. The number and functions for which the cabinet committees are appointed vary from time to time. Sometimes ad hoc committees are set up for dealing with matters of temporary nature but requiring urgent attention of the Government. The most significant of the cabinet committees is the Political Affairs Committee. Some other committees are on Appointments, Economic Planning and Coordination, Parliamentary Affairs, etc. For effective performance, the Cabinet is assisted through the Department of Cabinet Affairs headed through the Cabinet Secretary.

Cabinet Secretariat and Prime Minister’s Secretariat: Their Role in Policy Making

The office of the Cabinet Secretary and its functions have evolved in excess of the years. As head of the civil service, he presides in excess of the committees of secretaries. These committees look at inter-ministry matters and other issues that concern the government as a whole. As a rule, the Cabinet Secretariat does not prepare papers for the Cabinet or its committees, these functions are performed through the concerned ministries. Though, the Cabinet Secretary only oversees the agenda papers. It is only on unusual occasions that the Cabinet Secretary prepares a paper for the Cabinet. He, though, attends all the meetings of the Cabinet and its committees. He is also
responsible for preparing the agenda, priority of items and allocation of subjects to cabinet committees on the direction of the Prime Minister. He also prepares minutes of the cabinet meetings and committees to the concerned ministries. Ishwar Dayal and others opine that “there is no system of briefing the Prime Minister on the agenda items although the Cabinet Secretary may assist him throughout the meetings. The process of decision-making in the Cabinet is a long and intricate process and strong differences in the middle of the members are often assigned to a committee or to the Cabinet Secretary to ‘inquire and report’”.

He, so, plays a very important role in the policy tools but, essentially, in a servicing sense, except in personnel matters where he, as the head of the civil service, has a much greater power. Though, the significance of his position depends upon the style of functioning of the Prime Minister and the amount of confidence he reposes in the Cabinet Secretary. All the same, the Cabinet Secretariat has recognized itself, in excess of the years, as an important institution in the policy making process.

The institutional framework for policy making has changed sufficiently since 1965, when Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then Prime Minister, created an independent institution recognized as the Prime Minister’s Secretariat. In excess of the years, this office has grown in size and importance. The advisors and officials in this secretariat perform a diversity of functions. In the words of Ishwar Dayal and others, “They advise the Prime Minister on the matters of importance and follow-up issues as necessary. They necessity collect all relevant information from varied sources and properly scrutinize it, and while doing so expect what is likely to be measured significant through him. The secretarial personnel keep tabs on inter ministerial matters, and have access to data from dissimilar sources, and, due to their own study or contacts, they tend to give information links in developing integrated policy perspectives. In official matters they work closely with the Cabinet Secretary. Through virtue of their positions, the secretariat personnel become a significant link flanked by the Prime Minister and others”.
It is quite apparent that the secretariat staff performs important functions and deals with several delicate and crucial matters which require the attention of the Prime Minister. Another significant aspect of this office, in the words of Pai Panandikar is that “the advice given through him (PM’s secretary) is not recorded in the files of the Government. The Prime Minister’s secretary’s advice is purely for the benefit of the Prime Minister and since it is not recorded in the files, the secretariat truly becomes a type of Super Ministry”. It is understood that the making of this office has, to some major extent, circumvented the role of the Cabinet Secretariat in public policy making, and has considerably increased the role of the Prime Minister. Pai Panandikar has observed, “The making of the Prime Minister’s Secretariat has perhaps been the single most significant institutional change in the structure of the policy making tools in post-independent India. It signifies in several essential conditions the changing policy processes in India and the role of the Prime Minister in the cabinet-system”.

Identifying Policy Issues [h]

Now, we will familiarize ourselves with the process of policy making. The process of policy making follows a systematic pattern, a well laid down method which is very essential for policy formulation. Policies are not one minute decisions. They are made after thorough discussion and analysis of issues and troubles requiring attention. Several policies formulated through the Government are, usually, based on certain issues or troubles. In dealing with the policy issues, several Governmental institutions, usually, do not pay a serious thought while formulating a policy concerning that scrupulous issue or problem. Though, sometimes even individual may catch the attention of the Government in relation to the some troubles which, ultimately, may result in the formulation of a public policy. Modern political systems, through and large, are operating under the concept of welfare state. The very nature of a Welfare State throws out a number of challenges for the Government and to meet them the Governmental functions augment, accordingly. The
Government has not only to release the social and economic tensions, but has also to take care that any individual or communal demand does not disturb the peace and tranquility of the system.

The policy issues can be raised individually, as also collectively. The issues raised through an individual are not likely to catch the required attention of the Government as an individual voice, in democratic system like ours, is very rarely noticed. Though, it would depend on the caliber of the individual raising the voice. If he/she is really influential say a big landlord, a political leader of long standing, etc., he/she is more likely to see that he/she is heard and the Government comes out with a policy statement. Even those who are not influential but can muster the support of some people and can convey their feelings or demands to the Government through a common platform can affect policy making. In short, the policy issues can be major or minor depending upon the strength behind them. For instance, the Government is not likely to take notice of one unemployed engineer but the moment the number of such engineers gathers weight the Government shall have to do something in order to give reasonable job opportunities for them.

The policy issues can be brought to the notice of the Government through one or more members of the ruling party, these may come from the dissimilar streams of the opposition parties, several interest groups may throw a number of issues to the Government, and these may also be initiated through the executive. These may even come as recommendations from the civil service, due to administrative necessity or due to certain sudden developments in the socio-economic system. Public opinion canalized through several sources including the news papers, radio, T.V., etc., also lays stress on certain issues of public importance. These issues may ultimately become policy issues.

The Policy Issues and the Public Opinion [sh]

The importance of the public opinion in a democratic society can hardly be underestimated. In fact, the health and vigor of public opinion determines the
soundness of the Government. It is, so, necessary to understand what is meant through public opinion. In simple words, public opinion means the concern of the public concerning certain troubles that they might be facing. It may be defined as preference for a course of action expressed through that proportion of the population which is concerned and involved with a scrupulous issue.

Public opinion can power the course of the governmental actions including policy formulation. It has also been found that the public opinion is not a unified whole but an aggregate of several, usually diverse, individual opinions. There is not any agreed view on the amount of power that public opinion can exercise in getting a problem recognized as a policy issue. Edmund Burke was of the view that the elected representatives in a democratic system are supposed to care for the interests of their electorate, but this does not mean that they should necessarily act in accordance with the wishes of the people as distant as policy making is concerned. Moreover, it is hard to decide who powers who; whether the public opinion exercises its power in excess of policy makers or the policy makers mould public opinion to suit their interests. We have seen in India and elsewhere that the Government always attempts to mould public opinion for preparing a strong support base for all its actions. We have also seen that in case of reservation for ‘other backward classes’ in India, it was, public opinion which compelled the government to adopt the economic criteria as a basis of reservation.

There is, no doubt, that the public opinion does power the policy makers but, the intensity of its power is not recognized. Though, the role of public opinion has always been limited and in today’s context, it is much truer because in this materialistic age, the common person is busy earning the daily bread and does not have the time, money, stage of awareness, or the required interest for understanding the issues and voicing an opinion. This is largely true in relation to vast majority of Indians. Moreover, how the public opinion can be effective when we forget all the wrongs committed through the Government soon after their occurrence? It is very rarely that one discovers consistency in the thinking of the masses in excess of a given issue. Rather,
public opinion is, usually, inconsistent and unstable. Then, should we stop airing our views or feelings? The answer is no, because a voice unheard through the authorities is much better than a complete mum in excess of an issue. We need to organize the people and create the media more effective for helping the common citizens through informing them in relation to the issues of public concern and seeking their involvement on the issues. The literacy drive will go a long method in solving this problem.

**Identifying Policy Agenda [h]**

The agenda is a list of items for carrying out discussions and arriving at decisions. It is significant to know how some items create to the agenda and why others cannot. We already know that in a Welfare State, the expectations of the people are always on the augment and the pressures on the government are enormous. We also discover that citizens face, both individually and collectively, a number of troubles, major, as well as, minor. The Government machinery selects only a few of such troubles or issues causing tension or anxiety in the middle of the masses. The demands and issues preferred through the government create the policy agenda. Such an agenda is always brief in relation to policy demands and one can easily create a distinction flanked by the two. Demands or troubles are the ones which people want to achieve or get rid of whereas the agenda is the one which the government decides for making policies. Sometimes the policy agenda is measured as synonymous to the priorities of the party in power. It is felt that the party in power shall put only such items in the agenda as will help it in translating its ideology/manifesto and other promises made with electorate throughout the elections. Though, the priorities of the party in power do an always discover place in the agenda because there are some more compelling issues or situations which might require urgent and immediate action through the Government.

Once the Government has recognized the troubles/issues, it starts finding and analyzing the alternative solutions. As already mentioned, most other issues/troubles which are taken on the agenda come from organised tools like
political parties, interest groups, social organizations, civil services, the leader of the party in power, etc. Sometimes influential individuals are also successful in convincing the government for including a given issue on the agenda. Though, the common masses do not get any worthwhile opportunity of even raising the issues.

It is, equally, significant to understand the non-inclusion of certain issues in the policy agenda. Usually, the policy makers are compelled through influential individuals or interests not to contain an issue in the agenda or not to take a decision on the same if its inclusion is of utmost necessity for the party in power. It is recognized as ‘non-decision’. It happens when an issue is, likely to hamper the interests of the elite if translated into a policy. For the elite it is important to see that the issue is torpedoed to the best of its liking at the time when the issue raises its head. The political parties, normally, allow a situation of non-decision such issues as they get support from the elite in the form of money and manpower at the time of elections, and a decision on the issue may become detrimental to the party in power and its allied interests. Sometimes, the political system, itself, is not interested in solving all the troubles just in one go. It tries to benefit through solving some of the issues and prefers to wait for greater rewards through taking a delayed decision in the case of other issues.

It may be noted that the government machinery frames the policy agenda keeping in view the welfare programmes, certain compelling situations, interests of the party in power, and some major demands supported through the mass of the people. The machinery for policy making, usually, takes up only those issues which help the Government in maintaining itself. The mass media play a significant role in mobilizing mass opinion in favor or against a given issue.

**Identifying Policy Proposals: Some Techniques [h]**

The troubles and issues which, ultimately, discover place in the policy
agenda are recognized policy proposals. Though, all these proposals, may, not
discover the form of a policy as the political executive still enjoys the choice
of accepting or rejecting a scrupulous proposal though, it might have
incorporated the same in the agenda under severe pressure. So, it cannot be
categorically stated that every policy proposal is going to be converted into a
public policy. Converting a policy proposal into a policy needs a decision
through the institution recognized under the law. The institution (say Cabinet
or its committees) has a number of individuals, who at times, may have
dissimilar or conflicting viewpoints on a given issue. Though, even in such a
situation where there is a plurality of decision-makers having conflicting
parameters, certain decisions are taken as the leader may adopt a style that
may clinch the issue for him. The styles which are used in such cases are—
bargaining, competition, command, disagreement and cooperation. These are
also called techniques of converting policy proposals into policies. Let us
discuss them briefly.

- Bargaining: The policy decision, usually, are the result of active
  interactions in the middle of many individuals and organizations.
  Objectives and preferences of all these persons are diverse though
  there may be some commonalities flanked by some of them. The
  parallel of interests can be brought in relation to the majority of those
  involved in the policy making process. Hence, a forum is recognized
  where the majority view prevails, i.e., a process of provide and take
  operates to an extent that an agreed alternative becomes acceptable to
  most of the persons. Since the majority has agreed, the minority also
  provides in, though in the process it might get some other major or
  minor benefits or promises. The Prime Minister in India, while
  formulating his/her Council of Ministers, adopts bargaining as a
  technique for reaching an acceptable decision. This technique is very
  common in modern times be it political decision-making or
  administrative policy making.

- Competition: The subsistence of very strong values and preferences in
  the middle of several individuals and groups lead to a situation where
  more than one party starts competing for a policy decision that will
protect their interests the most. This is recognized as competition, a technique of reaching decisions in policy making. The several political parties try to use their strength for getting the best possible gains. Though, in real competition, strength is, usually, equal and, as such, the gains or losses do not vary significantly. In the developing countries, such a stage of competition comes very rarely, as one or a combination of parties enjoy political power for a longer period of time.

- **Command:** It is a technique which refers to the assertive use of the Constitutional/legal and extra-constitutional authority through the leader. In a controversial or complicated situation the leader issues a command and a decision is, accordingly, reached. This technique is largely used in the authoritarian political systems where the word of the supreme leader is taken as final and his dictates are reflected in the decisions. It is also used in democracies like U.S.A. and India. The leader of the party in power issues commands, which become quite handy in resolving troubles. In India, we have seen that the order of the central leadership of the party has resulted in the change of Chief Ministers, though it is the prerogative of the concerned legislative party. The concept of ‘Issuing Whips’ is based on the discussions and consensus reached in the party meetings. Though, it has also been used through the leader as a command without going into proper discussions at the relevant party forums. The command establishes a hierarchy which is bound through chain of command. It is the system of establishing superior-subordinate relationship. Those subordinates who comply with the command are, suitably, rewarded in due course of time and those who oppose or are passive to the command are deprived of some major benefits.

- **Disagreement:** It is also a means of reaching decisions at the organizational stage. A disagreement situation is one when the parties concerned are adamant on protecting the interests of the organization though the perception of interests varies from group to group. Clash of interests is quite visible but the entire concerned are very much
interested in finding an acceptable solution. Such a situation can be tackled through domination, compromise, and integration, as suggested through Mary Parker Follett.

- Cooperation: A policy decision is to serve the best interests of the people at large. So, it necessity take into account the socio-economic environment and the cultural factors. It is due to these factors that it becomes very essential for the decision-makers to cooperate in reaching the ultimate decision. The demands are several and possessions are limited. It is through cooperation and proper understanding that priorities are reached and policy decisions are taken accordingly. Though, it is not easy to reach such an understanding. It requires all out coordinated efforts on the part of all concerned with the process of the policy making.

It may be mentioned that any one of the above techniques is just not enough A combination of more than one is, generally, put into operation for reaching on agreed policy decisions. Besides, substantiating policy proposals through the government becomes very essential. The government in a democratic system has to have legitimacy for all its policies and programmes. In other words, the people, through and large, should not only be appreciative of the Governmental actions but should also extend separate support for such actions. Such a situation can be attained through substantiating the policy proposals with all the relevant data. For instance, if the Government intends to frame a policy with regard to the development of agriculture, it shall have to collect the data and information concerning total availability of the cultivable land, dissimilar types of cultivable land accessible, the crop that can provide best yield in a given soil, availability of irrigational facilities, type of fertilizers to be used and their availability, marketing of the produce, and the basic necessities, both for the domestic and exports purposes, of the country. In order to create people aware of the policies, in order to create them understand and support policies, this exercise is a must.

INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS [MH]
Inter-Governmental Relations: Meaning And Importance

Inter-governmental Relations (IGRs) do not just imply relationship flanked by dissimilar government organs but involves the citizens and governmental institutions, agencies and officials. It takes into account the said agencies and officials at several stages of the governmental operations. It is very hard for the policy formulators to create any policy through keeping it isolated from the effect and impact of the other governmental agencies in subsistence at dissimilar stages. The union government cannot reach its goal in an effective and efficient manner without the cooperation of the states. The state government cannot uplift the weaker sections and protect the interest of their public without the power and support of the union government. Likewise, the local governments cannot overcome their troubles and meet the challenges without the help of the union and state governments, be it in conditions of political guidance, administrative support and control, or financial aids and grants. The union and state governments cannot perform their tasks adequately without the proper support of the local government. It means that at the stage of policy formulation, policy implementation, and policy evaluation, the governmental structures at the union, state and local stages have to interact with each other for achieving the maximum with the minimum inputs.

In our political and administrative systems, so, interaction flanked by several governmental organs is indispensable. Hardly could one discover any political structure or sub-structure, administrative agency or sub-organization of an administrative structure where the IGRs are not having a place of prominence. The troubles being faced through any given sub-section of society need the immediate attention of the government at several stages to think seriously in relation to it, so that the said troubles are solved in that area and more than that they neither are nor allowed to spread in the other parts of the country. Let us assume, for instance, that there is an epidemic in a state. Not only it is the duty of that scrupulous local government, state government, but also of the union government that prompt remedial events are adopted to check the epidemic in that state and to see to it that it does not cause damage
in other states as well. Hence, the problem of one state becomes the concern of all the other states and the union government. IGRs also have substantial roots in the past and will have significant consequences in the future concerning significant issues like education, energy, environment, agriculture, etc. IGRs have been defined through William Anderson as “a significant body of activities or interactions occurring flanked by governmental units of all types and stages within a system”.

The major features of IGRs could be summed up as follows:

- IGRs have a bearing on all governmental units in operation in a given system. From the top to the bottom, for instance, in India, that is, the union government, state governments, municipal corporations, municipal committees, cantonment boards, zila parishads, panchayat samitis, gram panchayats, etc., all are involved in it. The relationship flanked by each other and the excellence of the same coupled with frequency of interaction amongst them has its impact on policy making and implementation;

- IGRs aim at purposeful behavior of the governmental officials involved in the process. The officials’ actions and attitudes have to be positive and meaningful. For their self-interest they should not put the public interest at stake. The officials’ goal oriented attitude does not permit them to have wrong inclination concerning the other participants involved in the process of policy making;

- IGRs aim at regular interaction in the middle of officials. Through frequent interactions, based on objective data and analysis, the officials at several stages can contribute to the attainment of targets fixed for the given unit of governance. The day-to-day contacts beside with most called for practical working relationship in the middle of the officials would go a long method in improving the policy making process;

- Public officials contain all governmental officials and actors. These are elected representatives, as in the Lok Sabha, legislative assemblies, local governments, or indirectly elected representatives, as in the Rajya Sabha, Vidhan Parishads, local governments, political executive and
appointed officials, including the administrative personnel at lower and middle ranges, etc. The interaction amongst all the governmental actors and officials, whether elected or appointed, contribute in improving the policy process; and

- The financial characteristics, viz., loans, grants-in-aid, revenue sharing, auditing, etc., also strengthens or weakens the inter-governmental relations. The governmental structures which are apparent at grassroots, states, or union stage are made to facilitate the policy process in such a method whereby the common person could get the maximum benefits through the policies made. The financial assistance and help from one stage of government to another is also a step in this scrupulous direction and a significant component of IGRs.

The inter-governmental relations focus on critical and important issues of public policy. Policy is a predominant characteristic of IGRs. Deil S. Wright in his book, Understanding Inter-governmental Relations', has said that from policy being an important trait and focus of attention of IGRs, the following lessons could be drawn.

- Inter-governmental actors may be unclear or uncertain in relation to the roles they intend to play or are expected to play;
- Policy purposes and expectations in one plane or jurisdiction of government may be drastically dissimilar from the purposes and expectations in another;
- Boundary or jurisdiction-spanning efforts require extra possessions and special strategies, but neither strategies nor possessions are guarantors of success.
- Successful policy making and execution in IGRs are hard to measure;
- Policy making in IGRs has few neat beginning and ending points, but more continuous knitting and unraveling points; and
- Doubt and distrust, even suspicion and hostility are not uncommon in IGRs.
From the above six points of concern in policy making vis-à-vis IGRs, there emerges the need for very clear understanding flanked by the governments and officials at several stages. Not only formulation but also successful implementation of policies through sound IGRs should be the objective. The policy-makers, at all stages, necessity create the roles and obligations of the officials and agencies involved for carrying out their activities in an efficient manner.

The union-state-local governmental relationship could either be based on the hierarchical control, or there could be an element of coordination flanked by the three, or there could be the element of overlapping. Deil S. Wright, has talked of three such models in his book. These contain:

- **Inclusive Authority Model:** As per this model the state and local governments depend exclusively on decisions that are nationwide in scope and arrived at through the union government. In this model, the hierarchy dominates, that is, the state government dominates in excess of the local government, the union government dominates the state and local governments and the union, and state government dominates the local government. In nutshell, the state or local governments are viewed as mere appendages of a powerful union government in control of a centralized system.

- **Coordinate-Authority Model:** This model is an opposite pole to the Inclusive-Authority Model. It posits union-state authority relationship as autonomous. Their jurisdictions have separate domains of power and control. The model aims at the element of coordination of the activities of all the units in the overall interest of the polity and the society. All the units, as per, this model, are to work in accordance with the basic spirit of the Constitution and recognized conventions of the land. There has been much criticism of this model for failing to fit the actual operating characteristics of the union, state and local relationships. Though, in a specific case or problem, the elements of this model are accurately represented.
Overlapping Authority Model: This model has limited dispersed powers of each unit of operation. The element of interdependence of the units is very much visible. There is a limited area of autonomy with regard to each unit. The relationship amongst the units is mostly of bargaining exchange type. Besides, the facets of cooperation and competition in the middle of dissimilar units are clearly on the scene. This model describes IGRs as patterned, interdependent, and bargained behavior in the middle of all the three units, that is, the union state and local. It is true of their officials as well. Contact and exchanges flanked by officials may be cooperative or competitive.

Policy Making Structures And Processes In India [h]

Policies are made through the structures specifically intended for that purpose. With regard to policy making in India, one comes crossways some important factors. It would be appropriate to mention these factors as it would help us to understand the policy making structures and processes in India and the role of IGR in a better manner. These factors contain:

- India is a vast country with population of more than 800 million. There is a vast diversity in languages, traditions and culture in the country;
- India does not have adequate material possessions. Though the country has developed industrially, yet it is lacking on a number of counts. It is still dependent on foreign nations for technological and economic inputs;
- India has parliamentary form of government. As per the Constitution, the country has unitary, as well as federal characteristics. The broadly unitary form of government, with its several federal characteristics conferring a degree of autonomy to the states, makes a constant interplay of centripetal and centrifugal forces, generated through the Centre and the margin;
- Because of large diversities of high magnitude there are a number of pressures, varied in form and spirit, being exercised in excess of the policy makers for formulating policies. Consequently, the policies
enacted do not appear to have sound and logical directions. It so appears that often policy making is perceived to be a sort of random movement without a sense of overall direction; and

- The policies to be formulated through the union or state governments have to be in accordance with the basic spirit of the Constitution. No such policy could be made which goes against the Constitution Articles. In case such policies are formulated, the judiciary can declare them as ultra virus.

In the light of the points mentioned above, the policies in India are made through the specified structures accessible at dissimilar stages. The policy making structures in India are discussed below under three sub-headings. A detailed discussion on the role of these structures or organs in policy making will be made in the subsequent units.

- Union Stage:
  - Legislature
  - Executive and
  - Judiciary
- State Stage
  - Legislature and
  - Executive
- Local Stage
  - Elected Representatives and
  - Executive

*Union Stage [sh]*

*Legislature [ssh]*

India has a parliamentary form of government. In this system the governmental authority is vested in the legislative body, that is the Parliament, and in the Cabinet headed through the Prime Minister. Indian Parliament has two Houses— the Lok Sabha, and the Rajya Sabha. The Cabinet exercises
political leadership and directs the administration. Cabinet ministers are entirely or largely selected from the membership of the Parliament and the Cabinet continues in power so long as it commands the support of the majority of the Parliament. Substantiated disagreement flanked by the Parliament and the Cabinet results in either the appointment of a new ministry or the election of a new House of Representatives, that is, the Lok Sabha. All the issues on which the policies are to be framed are placed before the Parliament for its approval. The issues could be placed before either House of the Parliament. Though, the financial bills are submitted first to the Lok Sabha. The issue put before one House is debated upon, and once approved it goes to the other House.

There is a set procedure for formulating policies on issues presented before the House. There are three stages through which the issue, also recognized as, ‘Bill' has to pass through. The first stage is, when the mover of the issue introduces it in the House. At this stage the title of the issue on which the policy is to be enacted is read and a brief sketch of the policy is submitted before the House. On some occasions the issue is opposed at this stage also. Both the opposition as well as the movers get an opportunity to explain their viewpoint. Once the issue is through from this stage, it goes on to the second stage, which is quite significant. At length all the clauses of the bill are discussed. The mover proposes whether the bill should be sent to a select committee or joint committee of both the Houses, and it should be measured through the House straightaway or it may be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon. In accordance with the decision taken the bill is passed on to the concerned channel. In case, it is to go to the committee, a date is fixed through which the committee is to submit its report to the House. After this stage is another stage, recognized as the report stage. The committee has the powers to suggest changes in the bill. The changes suggested are incorporated, in case the mover agrees on to it. The bill is discussed clause through clause in the House and normally many amendments are made in it at this stage.

On every clause the approval of the House is taken. After this the bill is in
the third stage. Only such significant points which could not be raised at second stage are measured at this point of time. Once cleared from it the bill goes to the other House. In case, it is approved through the Lok Sabha then it goes to the Rajya Sabha or vice versa. In ease, a bill is passed first in the Lok Sabha, the Rajya Sabha can suggest some changes which the Lok Sabha may or may not agree with. The bill first passed in the Rajya Sabha comes back to the Lok Sabha and the changes if any suggested through the Lok Sabha have to be taken into consideration through the, Rajya Sabha. Once it is cleared through both the Houses, then it goes to the President for his assent. The President can send the bill back with some suggestions. In case the Parliament approves it again without incorporating the suggestions of the President and sends it again to the President, he has to provide his assent. This is how the legislative structure at the union stage performs its role in policy-making in India.

Executive [sh]

There is a political as well as a permanent executive which play a significant role in policy making. The political executive is responsible to the legislature and so remnants in the seat of power till it enjoys the confidence of the Parliament. At the union stage, dissimilar ministries are responsible for policy making. Besides, the supra-ministry institutions play their role. These contain: the council of ministers, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, the Cabinet Secretariat, and Prime Minister’s office. The dynamics of the Parliamentary democracy lead to policies getting customized as a result of debate in Parliament or in consultative committees of members of the Parliament. The political executive depending upon the spirit of the policy, the ideology of the party in power, need of the day, pressures from groups, etc., identify the issues to be presented before the legislature for formulating policies on the same. The political executive is supported through the permanent executive in furnishing necessary information concerning the issues to be put on agenda for policy making. Even with regard to the issues which are presented before the legislature for making policies on the same through the members of the
opposition, the permanent executive give details to the political executive to support or not to support the same in the legislature. It may be made clear that the issues submitted before the legislature, through the opposition members cannot be turned into policies, unless the party in power supports it, because, the party in power has the majority in the legislature which is a necessity for making policies.

The executive has a role in policy making from another count as well, A great deal of legislation takes place outside the legislature in government departments, bearing varied nomenclature; rules, regulations, bye laws, schemes, orders, notifications, etc. This is recognized as delegated legislation. The term delegated legislation is used in two senses. In one sense it means, the power of making rules having been delegated through the legislature to the executive, in other it means the output of that power that is, the rules, regulations, orders, etc. In whatsoever sense one may use the term, it is a fact that the work of delegated legislation has increased considerably in India. Because of proliferation of the government in innumerable spheres, the work of legislature has increased thoroughly. In order to cope with it, the legislature delegates some of the legislative work to the executive.

Judiciary [sh]

It is a fact that policy making is the basic task of the legislature but the judiciary also has an important role to play in it. The judiciary is measured as custodian of the rights of the people and a balancing wheel flanked by the executive and the legislature. Besides, it also decides all the disputes which might arise flanked by the union and the states, so that federal structure is not put under heavy strain. At the union stage in India, there is a Supreme Court. Article 124 of the Indian Constitution, clearly says that there shall be a Supreme Court in India. It is the judiciary which decides whenever the law is silent or unclear or does not fall in consonance with some other policies or policy already in subsistence. To this effect the court is guided through the values of equity and justice. Judicial decisions give legitimacy to the
government institutions/output through several policies.

Under the Indian Constitution, the Supreme Court has been given the power of judicial review, which implies that on an application having made to it, the Supreme Court can look at the validity of a policy enacted through the Parliament. In case the Supreme Court opines that the policy is wholly or partially not in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the policy totally or that part of it which goes against the spirit of the Constitution can be declared unconstitutional, and therefore invalid.

**Slate Stage [ssh]**

**Legislature [sssh]**

The procedure adopted for enactment of policies, on all matters falling in the state list, through the state legislature is similar to that of the policy making mechanism in the union legislature. As per Article 168 of the Indian Constitution, all states except that of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Tamil Nadu, and Maharashtra, the state legislatures have one House, that is, the Vidhan Sabha comprising the elected representatives of the people. The states mentioned above have two houses—Vidhan Sabha (the Lower House) and Vidhan Parishad (the Upper House). The state executive, like the union executive, is responsible to the legislature and remnants in power till it enjoys the confidence of the legislature. Besides making policies on the state list subjects, the state legislature can create policies on concurrent list subjects, provided such legislative events are not against any policy enacted through the Union Legislature.

**Executive [sssh]**

The states also like the union government have a number of ministries who have the responsibility of initiating policy issues and proposals before the state cabinet for deciding the policy issues to be kept on policy making agenda of the state legislature. The departments in the state secretariat have to perform the task of gathering data and information concerning issues falling under each department’s jurisdiction for framing policies. The permanent executive, that
is, the bureaucracy assists the political executive in this regard.

Local Stage

Elected Representatives

In most of the states, the local governments, as per states’ legislative statutes are in subsistence at the city, town, block, and village stage. Depending upon the population and revenue possessions, there are municipal corporations in some bigger cities, there are municipal committees in other. Besides, Town Area Committees and Notified Area Committees are in subsistence at some places. At the rural stage, there are village panchayats, panchayat samitis at the block stage and zila parishads at the district stage. But for panchayat samitis and zila parishads, the rest of the institutions have councils of elected representatives. These councils or bodies, depending upon the needs of the local constituents, areas, and the possessions accessible, frame policies for the betterment of the people. The directives issued through the state governments and union government, from time to time, concerning any policy events are taken into consideration through the elected representatives of local bodies and the policies made accordingly. Through simple majority decisions concerning works to be undertaken are made in these elected councils.

Executive

The executive here means the permanent executive, that is, the bureaucracy operating at the local and also that at the state stage which has dealings with the local bodies concerning works to be undertaken through the local bodies. The bureaucracy at the local stage plays quite a significant role in the priorities fixed and decided through the local bodies and also in the policies being made through the local councils. At times it is felt that the local administration does not give a substantial helping hand to the local bodies in making these institutions work effectively. The control being exercised through the bureaucracy at district and lower stages and in excess of the local bodies is enormous and does not permit the local councils to work effectively.
The Indian Constitution has made a clear distinction of powers flanked by the union and state governments for making policies at the union and state stages. Issues get translated into policies after being approved through the respective legislatures. At the stage of the legislature, political executive, and permanent executive there are number of processes involved in policy making. Besides there are dissimilar ministries that perform significant role in policy making and there are certain other agencies which take care of a number of significant characteristics relating to policy making. Some of the most significant in the middle of these contain the Planning Commission, National Development Council, Finance Commission, etc. Besides, there are some other institution, and agencies as well, which play a crucial role in formulation of policies in the context of Inter-governmental Relations (IGRs).

The Planning Commission in India has come to stay as a significant institution. Every activity of the nation revolves approximately this organization. Unless funds for a project are made accessible through the Commission, the work cannot go on. The Planning Commission advises the governments, both central and states, on the strategy, size, mobilization and allocation of possessions. The Planning Commission performs its desired role through maintaining a close liaison with the Union Cabinet as well as with the states. The members of the Commission are invited through the union as well as state cabinets and its committees. The Commission also does not act in vacuum and takes full stock of significant economic issues and priorities before the ministries. It would not be wrong to say that there is a constant stream of ideas which flow from the Commission to the governments, both union and states and vice versa. Contributing to the making of policies, the role of the Commission is significant from the obligations undertaken through the Commission which contain: assessing of the material, capital and human possessions of the country, including the technical, personnel and investigating the possibilities of augmenting those which are found to be deficient in relation to the necessities; formulating a plan for the most effective and balanced utilization of the country’s economy; and determining of priorities, defining the stages in which the plan is to be accepted out, and
proposing the allocation of possessions for the due completion of each stage. The role performed through the Commission plays a substantive part in determining issues to be translated into policies both through the Union, as well as, state governments. The states also have Planning Boards which undertake the planning works within the states. The state planning boards and district planning cells give the relevant information/data concerning the possessions accessible; human and natural, as well as financial in the states and the districts in order to ascertain the usefulness of the plans. The Planning Commission has to take into view the data provided through these boards while formulating programmes and policies. Even for implementation of centrally sponsored schemes like the anti-poverty programmes the possessions accessible at the state and district stages and viability of programmes have to be determined. Therefore the Planning Commission has to interact with the state governments. Though the state and district boards in India are approximately dysfunctional, there is a need to revitalize them in order to improve IGRs. In excess of here the role of the National Development Council assumes importance. It is a body that acts as a means of interaction flanked by the Planning Commission, the union government and the states in the process of plan formulation.

In strengthening the inter-governmental relations and the formulation of policies through the Union and state governments, the National Development Council (NDC) has a place of prominence. This is a nodal body for approving the policies and strategies of development planning. Though it is an advisory body, yet it has assumed significant position because of its composition. It comprises the Prime Minister, the union ministers, the chief ministers of all the states, the lieutenant governors and administrators of the union territories and the Planning Commission members. NDC prescribes guidelines for the formulation of the Five Year Plans including the assessment of possessions for questions of social and economic policies affecting national development. The role of the NDC in policy making is of crucial importance. It gives a framework to the union and state governments to create policies on the same.
The role of the Finance Commission in IGRs is also of crucial importance. Finance is the pivot of all activities. It has great significance and bearing on policy making. No state activity can run without providing for adequate finance. It is for want of finances that regional imbalances are created and some of the states remain underdeveloped & whereas, the others advance in all walks of life. As per Article 280 of the Indian Constitution there is a provision for a Finance Commission. Its duty is to recommend to the President the sharing flanked by the union and the states of the net proceeds of taxes which are to be divided flanked by them and also allocation flanked by the states of respective shares of such proceeds. It also suggests the principles which govern the grant-in-aids of the revenue of the states out of Consolidated Fund of India. In the words of M.V. Pylee, “The Commission acts as a buffer flanked by the union and the states, checking the clamorous, finance hungry states but upon applying their political pressure on the union and at the same time, making the latter provide as much as possible to the needy states”. Highlighting the Finance Commission’s role vis-à-vis planning of policies, it has been observed that ‘when the Finance Commission begins its work, it has to keep in view the necessities of the plan. The result is that, it has to function more or less within the lines already laid down through the Planning Commission’. But there is no disagreement flanked by the two Commissions. The Planning Commission always keeps in view the suggestions and recommendations made through the Finance Commission. The Finance Commission, on the other hand, does not ignore plan needs of a state before making recommendations to the President in relation to the financial necessities of the states.

The discussion made in the sub-section has brought to light the dissimilar structures of policy making at dissimilar stages. It has also emphasized upon the importance of institutions, like the Planning Commission, the National Development Council, the Finance Commission, etc., in establishing processes of policy making in the wake of inter-governmental relations. There are several other for a through which the centre interacts with the states. We shall read in relation to them in the following section.
Interacton Flanked By Dissimilar Stages (Vertical And Horizontal) [h]

As per the Constitution, the subjects on which the policies could be formulated through the Union and state governments have been divided in three lists, that is, the Union list, state list, and concurrent list. The following illustration reveals the interaction flanked by the three governmental stages.

Policy Making: Vertical Linkages [sh]

In Indian federal polity, the Union government is very powerful and strong. In comparison to it the states are weak. Inspite of all this, the states enjoy certain autonomy and in that method these are not “glorified municipalities”. The states can create policies on the subjects incorporated in the state list and normally the Union government is not supposed to interfere in the working of the subjects. Through the grant-in-aid given through the Union or through the International Agencies for specified projects to the states, the Union government interacts with the states for making policies.
accordingly. Besides, issues like proclamation of internal emergency, sending of some of the bills passed through the state legislature to the President through the Governor for his approval before giving assent to it, and a resolution passed through the 2/3rd majority in the Rajya Sabha to provide powers to the Parliament to legislate on subject; mentioned in the state list in the national interest, etc., speak of some checks on the states’ autonomy or in other words reveal the role of the Union government in the policy making process of the state governments.

The local governments are in subsistence in the urban, as well as, rural areas because of the statutes enacted through the respective states. The state government has enormous checks and control in excess of the local governments. It would not be wrong to say that the local governments enjoy the status of only extended arms of the state government. The local governments have little autonomy and more accountability.
The Union government through state government and also directly, in some cases, interact with the local governments concerning a number of projects and programmes Jawahar Rozgar Yojna is an instance of this. Moreover, the local governments are most of the time dependent on state governments for finances Full-fledged policy formulation is, so, approximately absent due to lack of possessions. Though the division flanked by the dissimilar stages is in the fore, yet, India as a country is one, and it so appears that for the purpose of effective and efficient handling of the issues, the several stages perform their assigned role in policy making through having sound interaction with each other.

Interstate Council, Zonal Councils, Annual Meets of the Chief Ministers, Annual Meets of the Governors, etc., also signify the importance of inter-governmental interaction and relationship for the purpose of policy making. Zonal Councils have been called upon to promote inter-state cooperation, to cooperate with each other in speedy execution of development projects, to enable the centre and the states to cooperate and exchange ideas and to solve troubles concerning border disputes, linguistic minorities, and inter-state transport. Then we have the Control Boards, which act as a link flanked by the Centre and the states, they ensure efficient economic and clear execution of the river projects. Damodar Valley Corporation is an instance of a Control Board. The Central government has constituted Regional Electricity Boards to advice on the integrated operation of all the power systems within its jurisdiction; they also review the progress of power development schemes.

Conferences and Councils help in rising IGRs flanked by the centre and the states. They act as institutionalized channels for consultation with the states on a wide diversity of subjects. These bodies are mostly ad hoc but the NDC (mention in relation to it has already been made); Central Council of Health and Central Council of Local Self-government owe their subsistence to the resolutions of the Central government. These conferences take place at political administrative and professional stages. NDC, Chief Ministers
Conference, Conference of ministers of dissimilar departments are examples of conferences at the political stage. Conference of Chief Secretaries, Conference of several functional secretaries are examples of the administrative stage conferences. At professional stage, we have Conferences of the Chief Justices of State High Courts, Conferences of the Vice-Chancellors, etc. Inter-State Council is another forum through which the Centre and the state interact with each other.

Besides, vertical interaction there are horizontal linkages at each stage. The relationship flanked by dissimilar organs of the government plays a substantive role in the policy making process. The diagram given below brings to light the horizontal linkages at the union stage.

**Policy Making : Horizontal Linkages**

- **POLITICAL EXECUTIVE**
  - Direct Relationship
  - Indirect Relationship

- **LEGISLATURE**
  - Direct Relationship

- **PLANNING COMMISSION**
  - Indirect Relationship

- **JUDICIARY**
  - Indirect Relationship

- **PERMANENT EXECUTIVE**
  - Indirect Relationship

- **POLICY**
  - Direct Relationship
This diagram shows linkages flanked by dissimilar organs in formulation of the policy. Straight lines indicate the direct relationship flanked by one or more organs and others contributing towards enactment of policies. The dotted lines designates the indirect relationship flanked by the legislature and executive, both political and permanent, in the method of policies emanating due to delegated legislation, and flanked by judiciary and executive concerning interpretation of the policies in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution and natural justice. As discussed earlier, the political executive plays a crucial role in getting the policy issues submitted and translating them into policies through the legislature. Policy making is, definitely, fragmented. Such policies, which fall within the broad framework of sociocultural issues, are the concerns of large number of ministries. The departments dealing with agricultural research, atomic energy sphere, defense, research, science and technology and electronics frame policies concerning several characteristics of the scientific spectrum. It is only in areas like defense and foreign affairs that the issues are sorted out through the single ministry. Moreover, there is enough role of permanent executive in each area of policy making. It all needs adequate coordination flanked by dissimilar ministries for reaching at a point of consensus. As per the Administrative Reforms Commission Study Team, “the Prime Minister has an unenviable responsibility of keeping the enthusiastic minister from going too distant or too fast and prodding the laggard into action. He has the overall responsibility for providing leadership in policy formulation, as well as, implementation. The chief ministers have analogous function to perform in their respective states”.

The permanent executive, though not responsible to the legislature, like the political executive, has an enormous part to play in policy making. The role of the cabinet secretary at the Union stage and the chief secretary at the state stage is significant enough. The Prime Minister and the cabinet secretary at the union stage and chief minister and chief secretary at the state stage have crucial roles to play in the effective functioning of the Cabinet and its committees to which all significant policy matters are referred. The process of decision-making in the cabinet has been stated as, “accommodation and settle”
and where major differences appear, are often assigned to the Cabinet committee or to the Cabinet secretary or to a committee of secretariats for the purpose of probing and reporting to sort out the differences.

The judiciary also plays a significant role in policy making. It keeps checks on the executive, both political and permanent, and the legislature. The committees of the Parliament also play an important part in policy making, Public Accounts Committee, Committee on Public Undertakings, Estimates Committee, Committee on Private Members Bills, etc., are some of the significant committees to this effect. As a result of the linkages flanked by dissimilar organs the policies are recognized.

Discussion on horizontal linkages will remain partial unless we create mention of interaction flanked by dissimilar state governments concerning policy issues. Several a times such policy issues came up before a state which do not exclusively fall under its purview, for instance, policy concerning some river water, environmental control etc. Recently the Cauvery water dispute has brought into fore the confrontation flanked by the states of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and the Union government. The three governmental organs have to solve the issue and formulate a policy which satisfies all the parties. The establishment of the Joint Public Service Commission is another instance of inter-state interaction. The Councils Conferences, which we discussed in the previous section, are all examples of inter-state interaction. Any policy concerning curb on industrial wastes falling in the rivers as a pollution control measure will involve the states in which the rivers run. Therefore, there can be several issues which call for interaction flanked by the dissimilar state governments. While studying intergovernmental relations, so, interaction flanked by the Union, state and local governments as well as, interaction flanked by dissimilar state governments and local governments has to be kept in mind.

REVIEW QUESTIONS [MH]

- Discuss the legislative process in India.
Discuss the importance of bureaucracy in policy making.

Explain the role of bureaucracy in formulation of policies.

Explain the role of the Prime Minister, Cabinet, and Cabinet Committees in policy making.

Discuss the functions and role of the cabinet secretariat and Prime Minister's Secretariat.

Explain the meaning and importance of inter-governmental relations in policy making.

Discuss the policy making processes in India.
CHAPTER 3
POLICY MAKING - STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES-II

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Policy making process in India: the case study of bonded labor system (abolition) act, 1976-II
- Policy making process in India: the case study of bonded labor system (abolition) act 1976-I
- Interaction amongst various organs
- Role of judiciary
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Highlight the institutional framework for policy formulation in the context of the Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act 1976;
- Throw light on the bonded labor system in India;
- Highlight the efforts to abolish the system in pre-Independence as well as post-Independence periods;
- Highlight the relationship flanked by political and permanent executive
- Highlight the relationship flanked by parliament and permanent executive
- Highlight the functions of judiciary; and
- Discuss the impact of judiciary on policy making.

POLICY MAKING PROCESS IN INDIA: THE CASE STUDY OF BONDED LABOR SYSTEM (ABOLITION) ACT, 1976-11

Policy Making Process: In Context Of Bonded Labor System In India

As we already know, in the Indian Constitution, the power flanked by the Centre and the states is divided through three legislative lists—the union, the state, and the concurrent. Those subjects who are mentioned in the union list
are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Union Parliament and those in the state list within that of the state legislature. The subjects in the concurrent list are under the jurisdiction of both the Union and the states. The residuary powers are vested in the Union Legislature. These three lists, in a method, also describe areas of policy formulation flanked by the Union Government and the states.

The Government of India (Transaction of Business) Rules made under the Constitutional provisions govern the procedure for policy making. All significant policy decisions at the Union Government stage are taken through the Cabinet. The Cabinet is responsible for the final determination of the policy besides providing overall direction, coordination, and supervision of the business of the Government. There are also a number of Cabinet committees, and depending upon the composition of a cabinet committee, its decision is either final on behalf of the government (as when the Prime Minister heads the Committee) or its decision may go before the full cabinet to be ratified. It is also significant to emphasize that they are at the official stage committees of secretaries which look at interministry matters involving policy issues. Depending on the nature of the policy, consultations with the state governments are also necessary. In the policy making process the role of the Finance Ministry, Law Ministry and Planning Commission are also important.

Although, it is true that in the parliamentary system of Government of those who are elected to office, several assume the primary initiative in setting the national political goals, but in so doing they are open to expert advice of the senior civil servants as their advisors and executive mediators. The role of the senior civil servant is very crucial in the preparation of the agenda papers. The term ‘senior civil servants’ denotes those officials who hold key posts in the ministries/ departments. In the Indian context, secretaries, additional secretaries and joint secretaries are measured as senior civil servants. The senior civil servants are basically policy and programme planners and coordinators of a well-organised area of governmental operations.
The initial thinking provided through the political executives lead to the preparation of the agenda paper. The agenda paper broadly provides the background of the problem, need for policy and alternatives for the proposed policy. In fact, the agenda paper is a comprehensive paper on the subject on which the policy is being formulated, drawing evidence from several sources, i.e., government reports, commission reports (if any), books, research articles, etc. It also gives the broad outline of the type of events to be taken which shapes the basis for policy formulation.

Inter-Ministerial and Inter-State Consultation

Another significant process of policy formulation is consultation with ministries closely related to the problem on which a policy has to be formulated. The deliberation in these meetings lead not only to the further clarification of issues but also give a forum where the agenda paper is discussed in greater detail and it does result in some sort of clarity concerning the parameters of the policy in question. On the basis of these discussions a paper is prepared through the sponsoring ministry providing a preliminary summary of the proposed policy. This draft summary is prepared through the senior civil servants of the Ministry and usually is to be approved through the concerned minister.

If the nature of the subject-matter is such that it requires consultation with the states, a note is circulated to several state governments to seek their views and concurrence on the proposed policy. It is also significant to mention that before the draft summary for the Cabinet is put up, it also has to be circulated to the ministries concerned with the subject for their comments. After consultation both with the states and related ministries a draft summary gives in nutshell broad issues relating to the subject, need for policy, inadequacy of the previous policy (if any), comments of the states and other concerned ministries, broad outline of the proposed policy events, etc.

The other significant process in the formulation of a policy is shifting of
the comments received from the state governments and several concerned ministries. In case, there is a divergence of fundamental nature in the comments of ministries, it further leads to discussion in the middle of senior stage civil servants of the ministry which is formulating the policy with the ministries which has dissimilar views on the proposed policy. In case, the differences continue, the matter is referred back for reconsideration to such ministries. Though, they are requested to provide back their comments after their views are listened to and explanation provided through the Ministry which is proposing the policy. In case the ministry holds divergent views on some characteristics of the proposed policy, such matters are normally sorted out at the stage of the ministries. This shows that it is necessary through and large to sort out variation of opinion flanked by the concerned ministries before proceeding further in this matter.

_Cabinet Approval_

Again on the basis of the comments received from dissimilar concerned ministries a revised draft is submitted to the Cabinet. The Cabinet normally approves the draft, although it does highlight arid give broad outline on which the proposed legislation has to be evolved. The concerned ministry while formulating the legislation has to look at these points.

_Preparation of the Bill_

In case the policy requires assent from the Parliament it is the Law Ministry of the Government of India which prepares a tentative draft bill. At this stage, there is close collaboration flanked by the ministry initiating the legislation and the Law Ministry. After the tentative draft bill is ready it is again sent to the ministries concerned with the subject-matter. On the basis of the discussion amongst the several ministries, a close scrutiny of the draft bill takes place. At this stage a thorough analysis is made of the proposed legislation keeping the objectives of such legislation in view. In case it is found that there is a deficiency in the proposed legislation, then it is the duty of the ministry to suggest alternatives so as to create it purposeful. Such issues
are discussed through the senior civil servants with the concerned minister. Normally, in such circumstances a note is prepared through the senior civil servants suggesting modifications/additions to be made in the proposed legislation policy. This is submitted to the Law Ministry again. This process is most crucial in the formulation of the policy. On the basis of this note the matter is further discussed flanked by the concerned ministry and the Law Ministry. After the approval of the bill through the concerned ministry, a summary is prepared for the approval of the Cabinet. This summary usually gives the decision of the Cabinet, approving the proposal for the formulation of the policy, significant characteristics of the proposed policy and the draft of the proposed policy. It has to be remembered that the policy making process is in the ultimate analysis a process of political decision-making.

It is very hard to comment on the relationship of the political executive and the civil servant in the policy making. The roles of the political executive and the civil servants are so inextricably mixed up that it is hard to separately pinpoint the contributions made through the political executive and the senior civil servants or permanent executive. Though, it is significant to mention that if a minister is strong and knows the subject well, he will definitely create a contribution to the formulation of the policy. The senior civil servants play a significant role in policy formulation, right from the time of the preparation of the agenda paper to its finalization.

Parliament And Policy Making

In a parliamentary form of government, one of the functions of the Parliament is to legislate. The role of the executive is to propose legislation and policies necessary to achieve socio-economic objectives. The Parliament provides its approval after the necessary deliberation and debate. As such, the Indian Parliament serves as a clearing house on all major questions of policy and legislation.

The unorganized poor in India have been sought to be lifted through
legislation which derive their authority from the Constitutional provisions. Such legislations have been regulatory in their thrust. Regulatory policies are those in which “Statute embodies rules of conduct with sanctions for failure to comply”. In India, since independence, a number of such laws have been promulgated for the protection of agricultural laborers. The significant ones being the Minimum Wages Act 1948, Contract Labor (Regulation and Abolition) Act 1970, Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act, 1976 and Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Circumstances and Services) Act 1979.

In the case of legislative proposal the procedure to be adopted is well laid out. A bill is the draft of a legislative proposal. It has to pass through several stages before it becomes an Act of Parliament. The legislative process starts with the introduction of the bill in either House of the Parliament, Lok Sabha, or Rajya Sabha. It is necessary to ask for leave to introduce the bill. If leave is granted through the House, the bill is introduced. This stage is recognized as the First Reading of the bill. After a bill has been introduced in either House of the Parliament, it is published in the Official Gazette. The Second Reading consists of consideration of the bill in two stages. The first stage consists of a general discussion on the bill, as a whole when the principle underlying the bill is discussed. The second stage of the second reading consists of the clause through clause consideration of the bill as introduced. Discussion takes place on each clause of the bill and amendments to clauses can be moved at this stage. Each amendment and each clause is put to the vote of the House. The amendments become part of the bill, if they are accepted through a majority of members present and voting. Thereafter, the member in charge can move that the bill be passed. This stage is recognized as the Third Reading of the bill. At this stage, the debate is confined to arguments either in support of the bill or its rejection, without referring to the details. In passing an ordinary bill a simple majority of the members present and voting is necessary.

If the bill is passed through one House, it is sent to the other House for concurrence, and there also it goes through the three stages described above.
The bill becomes an Act only after the President’s assent has been given thereto. Now we shall discuss the procedure through which the bill on bonded Labor system became an Act.

**Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Ordinance 1975**

As the Parliament was not in session, the Labor Ministry prepared the draft bill in consultation with the Ministry of Law. The Labor Ministry also sought the Cabinet approval to the promulgation of the proposed legislation as an ordinance. “The significant characteristics of the proposed Ordinance were:

- Abolition of the system of the bonded Labor.
- Extinguishment of the liability to repay bonded debts.
- Vesting implementing authorities with appropriate executive and judicial powers relating to cognizance, inquiry, prosecution, and trials.
- Setting up Vigilance Committees at district and sub divisional stages (these Committees would advise the implementing authorities on all matters relating to the enforcement of the Ordinance and also ensure the economic rehabilitation of the freed bonded laborers).
- Barring the jurisdiction of civil courts in matters sheltered through the ordinance. The Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Ordinance 1975 was promulgated on 15th October, 1975.

**The Passage of Bonded Labor (Abolition) Bill 1976 in the Parliament The Rajya Sabha Debate**

The Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Bill 1976 was introduced in the Rajya Sabha on 6th January, 1976. On 12th January, 1976, the Rajya Sabha debated the above bill. Moving the bill, the Labor Minister spoke of the objectives of the bill in the following words: “That the bill to give for the abolition of bonded Labor system with a view to preventing the economic and physical exploitation of the weaker sections of the people and for matters linked therewith or incidental thereto be taken into consideration.” He also
emphasized the necessity of the immediate abolition of the bonded Labor as it shaped a part of the 20-Point Programme. He also said that the bonded Labor system is the “most anomalous remnant of feudalism still vitiating our society. It is the moral duty of the nation to abolish the system.” He also described the mechanics of this system, whereby “a poor peasant or an agricultural worker takes small loans; his dues accumulate very fast under exorbitantly high rates of interest; soon he discovers it impossible to extinguish his debts, he disposes off his property but still continues to be in the red; he then begins to work for the creditor at absurdly low wages and hopes to repay the debt through the fruits of his Labor; but the crucial logic of usury defeats him; his children and grandchildren also begin to work for nominal wages to liquidate the debt. Generation after generation become virtual slaves to the creditor. The whole future of the family becomes mortgaged to small loan taken in the remote past, the debt becomes the destiny.”

Speaking of the bonded laborer, the Minister described him as having “no access to any commodity or capital market; he ceases to be a free economic agent; he is reduced to an appendage of the feudal property... he lives like a sub man; he lives like a thing.” Mentioning that the Prime Minister had decided “that the system necessity end”, the Minister gave examples of the bonded Labor system existing in dissimilar parts of the country.

Speaking of the bill, the Minister described its salient characteristics. He said, “It has been laid down in the Ordinance that all debts incurred through the bonded laborers shall be deemed to have been liquidated. Any act that can, in any method, perpetuate this system, or stand in the method of the abolition of this system has been made a punishable offence.... there shall be vigilance committees at the district and sub-divisional stages consisting of officials dealing with development projects and non-officials concerned with rural development.... Officers of the State Government can be vested, under the Ordinance, with adequate powers in respect of inquiry, cognizance, prosecution, and trial.” The state governments have already been told that the eradication of bonded Labor cannot be done through legislation only; it is an
intricate administrative problem, the solution of which will require the concerted efforts of the developmental machinery of the Government, nationalized banks, rural banks, and social workers working in the agrarian sector. State governments have been requested to utilize the Plan Schemes for the rehabilitation of freed bonded laborers.

In the debate that followed, one member spoke of the dissimilar types of bondage prevalent in the country, and suggested that the government make a machinery to recognize and abolish these shapes of bonded Labor. Another member spoke of the bonded Labor system “sanctioned through local customs and traditions, and mentioned that “bondage may not be caused through obligations sanctioned through local customs.” He claimed that the prevalence of the system originated from the existing socio-economic structure and that economic backwardness resulted in “indebtedness in the middle of the poorer classes to meet their minimum daily needs.” On the bill, he suggested associating organised rural workers in the implementation of the Act, ensuring implementation at the state and central stages and including MLAs, MPs, and Trade Unions in the Vigilance Committees.

Another speaker wondered how the bill would be implemented through the states, whose actions left much to be desired. He felt that leaving the implementation of this Act to the bureaucracy was not enough, and that public co-operation was imperative. He suggested organizing rural workers; including representatives of agricultural workers in the Vigilance Committees and organizing and recognizing Trade Unions of bonded laborers. One member sought information on the machinery to defect bonded Labor. On the Vigilance Committee, he remarked that providing alternative livelihood for freed bonded laborers, being one of its functions, would not be possible, nor would these Committees, be able to ‘arrange relief from the rural banks’ as proposed.

Another member in his speech felt that ‘the bill, although it gives for the abolition of the bonded Labor system, does not seem to be very adequate to
implement it thoroughly”. He felt that the bill did not mention in relation to the resettlement of bonded Labor and that a provision should be introduced to create resettlement, a statutory obligation on both the central and state governments and to “see that at least a piece of land and some loan is advanced to the freed bonded laborers” so that they “can create their own living and live with self-respect.” He suggested that the Government should consider constituting special tribunals... in every district instead of using the normal machinery to implement the Act.” To implement the Act immediately, he suggested that some special committee or high powered committee be constituted to create immediate rules so that the Act could be implemented without delay.

Another member wanted the definition of the bonded debt to be elaborated as he felt that “all debts were not necessarily bonded Labor debts, but might finally result in bonded Labor. So, every debt which resulted in bonded Labor “should be defined as bonded debt.” Another member advocated that the Act be implemented strictly; the keepers of bonded Labor prosecuted, watchdog committees set up in every state and field officers held responsible if any complaints were reported from their areas. This fixing of responsibility would ensure that the officers strictly implemented the Act.

One member felt that the implementing machinery of the Act was inadequate. He criticized the function of the district magistrate as envisaged in the Act. He also felt that the wording which laid down that he would “as distant as practicable try to promote the welfare of the freed bonded laborer.” He further commented that unless alternative employment was assurred to the freed bonded laborers, no rehabilitation programme could succeed. He wanted an effective implementation machinery and offences under the Act made non boilable. Another member mentioned the prevalence of the bonded Labor system in the brick kiln industry and in agriculture. He suggested that the Vigilance Committees should have funds to disburse and felt that its Chairman should be a non-official, while the Deputy Commissioner be its Secretary.
In his closing speech, the Labor Minister spoke of the rehabilitation programmes envisaged through the Labor Minister’s Conference held on 11th January, 1976 which decided that the state governments would take steps for specifically identifying bonded Labor and that surveys would be used effectively for identifying the subsistence of bonded Labor. The state governments would also prepare and implement schemes for the social and economic rehabilitation of the bonded Labor and the State Labor Ministry would act as the coordinating agency. Specific rehabilitation schemes for the bonded Labor would form part of the Annual Plan Programmes. In the clause through clause discussions that followed a number of amendments were proposed through the members. Though, all such amendments were negative. Later on, the Labor Minister moved that the bill be passed, which was done.

Lok Sabha Debate

After the Rajya Sabha passed the bill on 12th January, 1976, the Lok Sabha debated upon it on 23rd and 27th January, 1976. Introducing the bill, the Labor Minister virtually repeated his speech in the Rajya Sabha, we have indicated its salient characteristics before. In the debate that followed the Minister’s introductory speech, one member criticized passing the bill without assuring the freed bonded laborers of land and assistance. He felt that the Central Government would not take any responsibility to implement this Act, and concluded through remarking “that this bill is more for the purpose of serving as a favorable propaganda for the ruling party than for the liberation of the bonded laborer.” Another member, in his speech, said that the mere abolition of the bonded Labor through legislation was not going to be effective. He felt that there were several who were outside the purview of the Act, but in reality, bonded laborers. He urged the government to identify such people immediately, free them, and make credit institutions so that timely loans to the freed bonded laborers are forthcoming. On the role of the Vigilance Committees, he doubted their effectiveness and felt that unless the Central Government directly involved itself the states would not implement the Act seriously. He suggested the inclusion of the local member of
Parliament, members of the legislative assembly and the Chairman, and members of panchayat unions in the Vigilance Committees. Another member, while welcoming the bill suggested that all shapes of forced Labor prevalent in the country should be incorporated in the bill and pointed out that there was no provision for the rehabilitation of the freed bonded Labor.

He recommended that a legal provision for rehabilitating such people be made and that the central government be specifically responsible for these rehabilitation programmes. He also suggested setting up a vigilance committee at the central stage. Another member emphasized the need for effective implementation of the Act, and urged the “mass involvement of the agricultural workers and the general mass of the people, the exploited people, to fight against the vested interests.”

One of the members suggested that instead of the three Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes representatives in the district and Sub-Divisional Vigilance Committee, there should be five of them, as bonded laborers were mostly from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. He also suggested that these representatives should be paid. One member complimenting the Prime Minister on this bill, pointed out that attention should be paid to the human problem of the bonded laborers. He suggested that whenever rules were to be formulated, those rules should ensure that no injustice was done to the freed bonded laborers, also that opportunities to earn their livelihood should be created and enough employment avenues exploited. He suggested representatives of the bonded laborers in the vigilance committees and requested enough credit to free the bonded laborers from the Regional Rural Banks.

Another member wanted the introduction of the bill abolishing rural indebtedness throughout India and the formulation of policies to tackle poverty and backwardness. One member mentioned that the bill prohibited bonded laborers from being evicted from their homestead or other residential premises, but no corresponding provision had been made for providing them
land. Another member suggested certain events which would ensure effective implementation of the Act. He suggested a rigorous campaign in villages to free the bonded laborers, and magistrates and topsiders should go to villages to free such people. Adequate employment opportunities should be given to such freed Labor and money-lenders and their strong men prevented from harassing them. He suggested that voluntary organizations be entrusted with the implementation of the Act.

Another member felt that too much responsibility was being thrust upon the district magistrate, who was to implement the Act. He asked why were the lower stage functionaries not held accountable? He recommended that offences under the Act should be made non boilable. He emphasized that the removal of poverty would solve several of the present ills. Replying to the debate, the Labor Minister thanked the members of the House for their participation and shared Government’s view that “socio-economic legislation is bound to be reduced to a dead letter, if appropriate follow-up steps are not taken on the economic and social fronts.” Analyzing the economic problem that a bonded laborer would face on being freed the Minister said that “He will not have inputs for production or any supply of credit; he will neither have any professional ability that would enable him to pursue an independent livelihood...” Even when installed in a profitable activity, he will have no income throughout the period of gestation of any income generating process; so, he may have to be given a consumption subsidy throughout the gestation period. The bonded laborer who is used to a world of domination and servitude will not obviously be aware of his rights.... At time, he may not even like to undergo the strenuous process of economic rehabilitation and may prefer reversion to serfdom.

The Minister mentioned that guidelines were being prepared for the state governments, that the Union Labor Ministry would function as the nodal ministry and monitor and coordinate the implementation of the Act through the several state governments. Explaining why the types of bonded or forced Labor were not exhaustive, the Minister stated that the intention was merely to
clarify, and assist the courts in interpreting the definition of the bonded Labor system, which was the most significant section in the Act. He pointed out that the need to organize the rural poor had been recognized and that steps were being taken through the Union Labor Ministry and the National Labor Institute to make an ethos conducive to communal bargaining through the agrarian Labor. Speaking of the problem of identifying the bonded Labor, the Minister spoke of the need for rigorous surveys and states having been requested to conduct them.

He pointed out that the suggestion that the punishment for offences being enhanced would not be held as “no punitive action on its own can bring out the fundamental transformation” and that “increased punishments may not be compatible with the penal provisions in other statutes.” The suggestion for fixing rigid time limits for restoration of property was not measured pragmatic as the courts might consider such time limits arbitrary. The Minister informed the House, that the committees set up at the central and state stages should monitor and coordinate events under this Act. Emphasizing the role of the district magistrate as chairman of the District Vigilance Committees, he pointed out their powers would facilitate speedy action. The necessity of introducing a separate provision for rehabilitation programmes was not necessary, as the states were already taking appropriate action under the Ordinance.

The Clause through Clause discussions then took place. A number of amendments were suggested, but all of them were negative. The Act received the assent of the President on 9th February, 1976, and came into being as the Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act 1976.
Salient Characteristics Of The Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act, 1976

The Act is a comprehensive piece of legislation which not only defines the bonded Labor system and abolishes it but also gives for extinguishment of repayment of bonded debt. An effort has been made below to provide the salient characteristics of the Act:

Definition of the Bonded Labor System

The Bonded Labor System, inter alia, means that if persons belonging to any scrupulous caste or community are forced or partially forced to work for a creditor under an agreement either without wages or for nominal wages which are less than the prescribed minimum wages, they would come under the definition of the “Bonded Labor System.” Sections IV and V of the Act deal with the abolition of the bonded Labor system. There are two significant characteristics of this abolition. It gives that on the commencement of this Act, the bonded Labor system shall stand abolished, and every bonded laborer stands free and discharged from any obligation rendered to any bonded laborer. In a method, this Act has taken care that all past and present agreements (till the commencement of the Act) stand abolished.

This Act also gives that in future after the commencement of the Act no person shall (a) create any advance under or in pursuance of the bonded Labor system, or (b) compel any person to render any bonded Labor. It was also mentioned in the Act that any custom or tradition or any contract, agreement through virtue of which any person is required to do any work shall be illegal/or inoperative.

Extinguishment of Liability to Repay the Bonded Debt

Under this section detailed provision is made which abolish every
obligation of a bonded Labor to repay any bonded debt and also abolish future liability of repaying a bonded debt. There is also a provision that no suit or other proceedings shall be instituted in any civil court for the recovery of any bonded debt, every attachment made before the commencement of the Act for the recovery of any bonded debt shall stand vacated, and such movable property shall be restored to the bonded laborer. The Act specifically gives that if a restoration of the possession of any property referred to above is not made within 13 days of the commencement of this Act, the aggrieved person may apply to the prescribed authority for the restoration of the possession of the property.

Another significant characteristic of the Act is that no person who has been freed and discharged under this Act shall be evicted from any homestead or other residential premises which he was occupying immediately before the commencement of this Act as part of the consideration for the bonded laborer.

**Implementing Authorities**

The Act has made the State Government responsible for the implementation of the provisions of this Act. The Act has specifically charged the District Magistrates or Sub-Divisional Magistrates with these duties. The Act also specified the state 'governments to confer such powers and impose such duties on District Magistrates as may be necessary to ensure that the provisions of this Act are properly accepted out.

The District Magistrate shall, as distant as possible try to promote the welfare of the freed bonded laborers through securing and protecting their economic interests so that they may not have any occasion or cause to contract any further debt. This section also enjoins on the District Magistrate or any officer specified through him to enquire whether the bonded Labor system is being enforced and if any person is found to be enforcing the bonded Labor system, he shall take such action as may be necessary to eradicate the enforcement of such forced Labor.
This Act also gives that the state government shall constitute Vigilance Committees in each district and sub-division for the implementation of the Act. The Vigilance Committee both at the district and sub-division stages shall comprise of official and non-official members.

- The Functions of each Vigilance Committee shall be:
  - To advise the District Magistrate or any officer authorized through him as to the efforts made, and action taken, to ensure that the provisions of this Act or any rule made there under are properly implemented;
  - To give for the economic and social rehabilitation of the freed bonded laborers;
  - To co-ordinate the functions of rural banks and co-operative societies with a view to channel sing adequate credit to the freed bonded laborer;
  - To keep an eye on the number of offences of which cognizance has been taken under this Act;
  - To create a survey as to whether there is any offence of which cognizance ought to be taken under this Act;
  - To defend any suit instituted against a freed bonded laborer or a member
    - Of his family or any other person dependent on him for the recovery of the whole or part of any bonded debt or any other debt which is claimed through such person to be bonded debt.

- A Vigilance Committee may authorize one of its members to defend a suit against a freed bonded laborer. The member so authorized shall be deemed, for the purpose of such a suit; to be the authorized agent of the freed bonded laborer.

**Offences and Procedure for Trial**

The Act gives for imprisonment up to three years and fine up to two thousand rupees to whoever compels any person to render any bonded Labor
and advances any bonded debt. An offence under this Act may be tried summarily and every offence under this Act shall be cognizable and bailable. To implement the Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act, 1976, the Bonded Labor System (Abolition) rules, 1976 were enacted on 28th February, 1976 under Section 26 of the Act. This Section empowered the central government to create rules for carrying out provisions of the State Act.

SUPREME COURT'S JUDGEMENT ON THE BONDED LABOR SYSTEM (ABOLITION) ACT, 1976

A number of cases have been brought before the Supreme Court through method of ‘Public Interest Litigation’. Though, in the case of ‘Bandhua Mukti Morcha Vs Union of India’, the Court has given legitimacy to ‘Public Interest Litigation’ under Article 32 of the Constitution. In the judgment of the case cited above, the definition of the expression ‘Bonded Laborer’ in the Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act, 1976 was expanded. It was observed, “whenever it is shown that a Labor is made to give forced Labor, the Court would raise a presumption that he is required to do so in consideration of an advance or other economic consideration received through him and he is, so, a bonded laborer. This presumption may be rebutted through the employer and also through the State Government, Unless and until satisfactory material is produced for rebutting this presumption, the Court necessity proceed on the basis that the laborer is a bonded laborer entitled to the benefit of the provisions of the Act.”

This resulted in the amendment of Section 2, in the Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act 1976. In Section 2 in clause (G) the following explanation was added at the end, namely: Explanation:- For the removal of doubts, it is hereby declared that any system of forced, or partly forced Labor under which any workman of the Contract Labor (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 1970 or an Inter-State migrant workman as clause (e) of sub-section (i) of section 2 of the Inter-State Migrant Workman (Regulation of Employment and Circumstances of Service) Act, 1979 is required to render Labor service in circumstances of
the nature mentioned in sub-clause (i) of this clause or is subjected to all or any of the disabilities referred to in sub-clause (2) to (4), is “bonded Labor system* within the meaning of this clause.” This amendment was accepted out in December 1985.

**POLICY MAKING PROCESS IN INDIA: THE CASE STUDY OF BONDED LABOR SYSTEM (ABOLITION) ACT 1976-1**

**Bonded Labor System In India**

The landless agriculture Labor constitute the largest segment of wage employed workers in India. These laborers earn major part of their income through sale of Labor power in the activities linked with agriculture. They are primarily dependent on job opportunities offered through the landholders. These laborers due to their dependence on landholders suffer from a large number of social and economic disabilities. As a consequence of this, in the relationship of employer and employee in agriculture, distinction has to be made flanked by those arrangements in which the Labor participate freely and those in which their bargaining power is restricted. A free laborer is the one who is able to accept or reject the circumstances and wages offered through the employer. An unfree laborer is one whose bargaining power is virtually non-existent or has been surrendered. Bonded Labor is one of the categories of unfree Labor in India. This form of Labor is a product of debt bondage where the dependence and control of Labor is through indebtedness. The Bonded Labor System is created when redemption of any advance in cash or type at usurious rate of interest creates the debtor undertake a work at nominal or no wages till the time the debt is paid. The debt tends to augment rather than diminish and the person in debt and, sometimes his family are bound for life. This system gives an assured Labor supply to the landholders while it also affords some sort of survival to the laborers. The need for lump sum money to meet the social and cultural commitment forces the laborers towards acceptance of such bondage.

The Report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled
Tribes (1971-72) describes the debt-bondage in the following words:

- “The prominent characteristic of the system is that a man pledges his person or sometimes a member of his family against a loan. The pledger or his nominee is released only on its discharge. Until then the man himself or the member of the family is required to work for his creditor against his daily needs. Since he gets no wages, he has to depend upon some one in the family to procure the sum required for his release; this, of course, rarely happens. The relationship lasts for months and sometimes years, occasionally for a whole life and not infrequently follows the male line.”

The bonded Labor system essentially comprises:

- Landless agricultural laborers, without remunerative occupation, seeking credit quickly for meeting the expenses on social ceremonies, or paying back or paying back creditors;
- Seeking credit without any security;
- Credit being mostly in type, without security, any money-lender, or agricultural landholder readily advancing the required money and getting benefit of services of the debtor or members of his family in addition to the monetary transaction.
- After a loan is advanced, the creditor creates some oral or written agreement to get the services of the debtor to satisfy debt adjusting towards capital and interest only.
- The agreement once entered lasts for quite sometime and the debtor continues to render services for years jointly or sometimes for generations. The ignorance of the bonded laborers and their vulnerable position without any alternative accessible creates them subjugated to the money-lenders.
- The system implies the infringement of the basic human rights and destruction of the dignity of human Labor.

The causes for which the landless agricultural laborers including
Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are forced to enter into Labor agreements are listed below:

- The caste system; wherein the lower classes worked as bonded laborers in the arrangements of the high classes.
- Expenditure incurred on account of social and religious customs associated with births, marriages and deaths;
- Mortgage of land through needy tenant farmers;
- Poverty of the rural masses that are forced to become indebted even to subsist.

Bonded Labor is recognized through dissimilar conditions in dissimilar parts of the country. In Andhra Pradesh it is recognized as Bhaghela, Cotchi, Vetti, Cassigals. In Bihar as Saurkiya, Kamia, Ramasia and Janaouri. Gujarat had the Hali and Halpati systems. In Karnataka, the Jeetha system existed. Maharashtra saw traces of Vet and Begar. In Kerala, the system existed in the shapes of Vallorkavu Panam, Nilpu Panam and Adima. Madhya Pradesh witnessed the Harvahi, Mahidar, Kahadi, Hali and Kamia systems. In Orissa, the Gothis system was prevalent. The Sagri system in Rajasthan. In Tamil Nadu, the Vetti, Pandyal and Charmas systems. In Uttar Pradesh, the Mat, Khundit Mandit, Sanjayat, Lag—Bangh, Barwahi, Hariya and Sevak systems were in subsistence. In West Bengal, the Chakar and Hali systems were in vogue. Punjab had the Sepi system.

**Efforts In The Abolition Of Bonded Labor System—Pre-Independence Period**

Before Independence, several attempts were made to abolish the bonded Labor system; several legislations were passed in this regard. The salient characteristics of those legislations are given below:
**Orissa Kamiauti Agreements Act 1920**

This Act declared that such arrangements (bonded Labor arrangements) were void.

- Unless the full conditions of the agreement were expressed in stamped documents.
- Unless the Kamiya (the bonded laborer) was given a copy of the document.
- If the period of agreement exceeded or could exceed perhaps one year.
- Unless the Kamiya’s liability is totally explained on the expiry of the agreement; and
- Unless the Kamiya’s remuneration under the agreement was fair and equitable.

**The Madras Agency Debt Bondage Abolition Regulations 1940**

- A laborer agreement entered into after the commencement of this regulation shall be wholly void.
- All liability to perform Labor under a valid Labor agreement shall be in excess of on the expiry of the period specified under such agreement.
- A laborer shall be at liberty to pay off any balance due out of the amount due and free him from the obligation to perform Labor.
- Collatoral agreement through a laborer shall be void.
- Penalty for obtaining laborer in pursuance of void agreement shall be fined upto Rs. 200 or in default, six months imprisonment.
- The employer is made liable for punishment, if he fails to file before the authorized officer, a copy of the agreement entered into after the commencement of Regulation.
- No offence made punishable through or under this regulation shall be tried through the court inferior to that of Agency Divisional Officer and no Civil Court shall have any jurisdiction in any matter arising out of this Resolution.
For the purpose of this Regulation, the State Government may fix fair and appropriate remuneration payable to the laborers. The rates fixed through the State Government are (1) Rs. 75/- p.m. where the laborer is not provided with food through the employer and (2) Rs. 50/- p.m. when provided with food.

The Hyderabad Bhagela Agreement, 1943

This Act prescribed the execution of an agreement flanked by the Bhagelas and agriculturists and also imposed certain restrictions with a view to eliminate the exploitation of the Bhagela. The Act provided that the conditions of the contract should be recorded and that no child under twelve years of age should be occupied. The main provisions of the Act are as follows:

- Section 4 gives that the conditions of Bhagela Agreement shall be recorded in an instrument duly stamped and that a counterpart of the instrument shall be delivered to the executants. Further, the stipulated period of service shall not exceed one year, and that on the expiry of this period all liabilities arising out of the contract shall be regarded as liquidated. Again the rates of wages necessity be reasonable.
Section 5 of the regulation fixed the rate of interest recoverable under Bhagela Agreement at 6 per cent per annum.

Section 6 gives that the death either of the Bhagela or the executants shall render the agreement void. The liability to perform Labor shall not survive against any heir or the estate of the deceased.

Through and large, all these Acts provided that an agreement—oral or written or partly written and partly oral in which the consideration for the performance of Labor comprises the advances, loan or interest thereon are illegal in case they are for a period of more than two years and do not disclose a fair and equitable rate of remuneration. These Acts further provided that such agreements necessity be written and registered and that its counterfoil necessity be handed in excess of to the executants.

This system despite the legal sanctions sustained to operate mainly due to the following causes.

- “Inability of certain groups of agricultural laborers to acquire money from normal channel for social and economic activities.
- Restricted and vague definition of bonded Labor and excessive legalism and long, involved procedures.
- Relegation to background of inspections and enquiries required to establish the actual state of affairs.
- Lack of stringent provisions relating to punishments.
- Inadequate provisions for repudiation of and redemption from debts.
- Absence of specific responsibilities for implementation and applications for developmental assistance to bonded laborers.
- In the absence of adequate penal provisions it was hard to bring defaulters to book.
- The landlords and money-lenders easily circumvented some of the provisions of these Acts to suit their convenience.
- No substitute agency was recognized to give funds to agricultural laborers at times of their needs.'
**International Labor Conference**

The International Labor Conference at its fourteenth session held in Geneva in June, 1930 adopted a Draft Convention requiring all member countries to abolish forced or compulsory Labor in all its shapes within the shortest possible period. The Convention provided for exceptions in which forced Labor can be exacted through the competent authority concerned for public purposes and the circumstances under which such forced Labor can be allowed are specified therein. Article 2 of the International Labor Convention on Forced or Compulsory Labor, 1930, defines ‘forced or compulsory Labor’ as "all work or service which is exacted from any person under menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily'.

The Convention adopted through the International Labor Conference was placed before the Legislature, in accordance with the I.L.O. Constitution; both the Houses adopted in 1931 the following resolution:

- “While considering that the Draft Convention on forced Labor could not be ratified until Article 2 thereof is customized so as to exclude Labor exacted under the Criminal Tribes Act, the Good Conduct Prisoners: Probational Release Act and other similar social legislation in force in India. This Assembly/Council recommends to the Government of India that they proceed to create action on all provisions contained in the Draft Convention and the Recommendations as soon as may be practicable.”

The resolution was accepted through the Government of India and to provide it effect, the Provincial governments were requested to:

- “take steps to abolish at the earliest possible opportunity, forced or compulsory Labor for the benefit of private individuals, companies or associations; modify any enactment of the local legislature which permitted the use of forced Labor or compulsory Labor for public purposes within the transitional period of five years allowed through
Article of the Convention; and issue such executive orders as might be deemed advisable to secure the objects in view.”

The Royal Commission on Labor in India (1931) in its Report stated that “there are traces of feudalism to be found in several parts of the country; in a few areas there is still a system of bond service which is not remote from slavery. Speaking of debt bondage, the Report went on to say that the laborer “borrows money from the landlord under a contract to work until the debt is repaid. The debt tends to augment rather than to diminish and the man and sometimes his family is bound for life.” “Such systems, the Report felt, have now no legal sanctions and in Bihar special legislation has been adopted in the Endeavour to eradicate the abuse. But it continues to exist.” It recommended penalizing the giving of advances to secure the Labor of children.

Post-Independence Efforts: Major Steps

Our Constitution makers were well aware of the causes for the failure to abolish the bonded Labor system. Therefore several provisions were incorporated in the Constitution to safeguard the interests of wage laborers. The post-Independence period witnessed a few Bonded Labor Abolition Acts, some committees on abolition of bonded Labor were also recognized, and reports on this issue were laid down besides the incorporation of several Articles in the Constitution to protect the bonded laborers. We will now deal with them briefly:

The Orissa Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation, 1948

- Gothi agreement (Bonded Labor) entered into after commencement of the regulation has been declared to be wholly void.
- Special provision has been made for regulating the subsisting Gothi agreement.
A Labor agreement entered into after the commencement of this regulation should be wholly void if the prescribed shapes and circumstances are not fulfilled.

The laborer is at liberty to pay off the amount due to be paid through him jointly with interest if any, at any time throughout the survival of the Labor agreement and free him from, the obligation to perform Labor.

The offence of obtaining Labor in pursuance of the void agreement is punishable with fine which may extend to Rs. 200 or in default with imprisonment which may extend to six months.

Hill tribes have been exempted from payment of fees for filling any documents, complaints, applications or appeal under the Legislation.

The Rajasthan Sagri System Abolition Act, 1961

The Sagri system (Bonded Labor) comprises any other like system of advance of loans prevailing in any part of the state, through whatsoever name it may, locally be called, of which the rendering of Labor or personal service is an ingredient.

The Sagri system shall stand abolished, and no creditor shall advance a loan to his debtor on the Sagri system.

If one or after the said date any loan is advanced on the Sagri system, it shall not be recoverable through suit or other proceeding in any Court and the debtor shall not be bound or compelled to render the Labor or personal service stipulated.

Whoever compels his debtor to render Labor or personal service in fulfillment of the conditions on which a loan was advanced to him, shall on conviction before a Magistrate of the first class, be punishable, for every such advance or compulsion, with imprisonment or fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both?

In relation to every transaction made after the date of the commencement of this Act whereby a creditor advances a loan to a debtor and also engages
him or any member or members of his family or his hired servant or laborer or
his relations to render any Labor or personal service to or for the benefit of
himself (the creditor) or any person named through him in this behalf, it shall
be presumed that the loan was advanced on the Sagri system unless it is
satisfactorily proved that such engagement on Labor or personal service was
altogether independent of the advance of the loan.

The observations contained in the Reports of the Commissioner for
Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the enforcement of some of these
Acts (in the pre-Independence as well as post-Independence periods) are given
below: The Fifteenth Report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and
Scheduled Tribes (1965-66) states that:

- “The Madras Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation, 1940, has been in
force... but no cases are reported under the Regulation.... The
Collectors who are in charge of the working of this Regulation have
reported in their Annual Reports of the areas that the Regulation has
not been contravened. Though, it is clear from the survey... that even
though Labor agreements in the nature of bonded Labor are entered
into, no written agreements are executed or registered with the
concerned authorities. As regard the Fixation of Fair and Equitable
Remuneration Regulation (4), it is understood that the remuneration
was last fixed in August 1959.... Therefore it is apparent that the
Regulations are not properly enforced...

The situation pertaining to the Orissa Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation
of 1948 is not very dissimilar, as apparent from the following Reports of the
Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Tenth Report
(1960-61) states:

- “The Rules under the Regulation have not been framed. Fair and
equitable remuneration under the regulation has also not been notified.
The State Governments have not also set up appropriate machinery for
the enforcement of the Regulation.”
The Twelfth Report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (1962-63) states:

- “The State Government has passed the Rajasthan Sagri System Abolition Act, 1961.... It, though, appears that the law has only a symbolic value, as no prosecutions under it took place throughout the year and no special steps have been taken to enforce it strictly. It is reported that now there is a tendency in the middle of the sahukars, to pay their sagris on a monthly basis or in the form of a share in the crops, but even this hardly brings in relation to an element of competitive and free contract in their relationship, which continues to be only a disguised slavery.”

As a consequence, these legislations remained ‘dead letters’ because of weak sanctions and ineffective organizational and administrative events to implement them. Therefore the Bonded Labor Abolition Acts could not create a dent in the problem. A few other types of efforts were also made to tackle those issues after Independence. The Ministry of Labor, Government of India, on the 11th August, 1948, appointed an Officer on Special Duty “to study the several legal enactments—Central, Provincial and Indian states—and all accessible literature relating to forced Labor and submit a report indicating the extent to which the existing legislation was effective for stopping forced Labor, what further legislation was required and which of the defects could be cured through administrative action commenting usually on matters linked with the subject.”

The Officer on Special Duty had adopted two broad divisions, of forced Labor. The first category incorporated forced Labor authorized through law while the second category incorporated forced Labor under debt bondage. The Report contained proposals for repeal or amendment of the offending provisions in several enactments allowing exaction of forced Labor in order to bring them in conventionality with the ILO Convention on Forced or Compulsory Labor. The Report suggested insertion of appropriate provisions concerning age limits, hours of work, weekly day of rest, compensation for
accidents or arising out of the employment survival allowance, etc.

The Report of the Officer on Special Duty was examined through the Ministry of Labor in consultation with the Ministry of Law and as a consequence, it was agreed to modify certain provisions in the several enactments.

**Indian Constitution**

The framers of the Constitution were aware of the troubles of forced or bonded Labor. Article 23(i) of the Constitution states:

- “Traffic in human beings and beggar and other similar shapes of forced Labor are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence in accordance with the law."

Article 35(a) (ii) of our Constitution gives that Parliament shall have and the legislature of a state shall not have power to create laws prescribing punishment for those acts which are declared to be offences under this Article 23. Article 146, one of the Directive Principles of State Policy directs that the State shall

- “Promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in scrupulous, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all shapes of exploitation.”

**Other Developments**

In a statement indicating the events taken to eradicate forced Labor placed before Parliament on 10th September, 1951, the Ministry of Labor stated that “forced Labor is prohibited through the Constitution... on further legislation as such is measured a necessity.” And that furthermore “it is proposed to bring to the notice of the State Governments and the Ministries concerned... to weed out such provisions” in Acts “as may be offending the Constitution... allowing
the exaction of forced Labor. In addition they will be requested to provide the widest possible publicity in rural areas to the provisions of the Constitution and... that... the exaction, of forced Labor in contravention of Article 23 would be unlawful and punishable under Section 374 of I.P.C. (Indian Penal Code).”

**The Dhebar Committee**

The Dhebar Committee (1961) went into the question of bonded Labor and stressed the need for giving protection to the tribals against their exploitation, particularly through the money-lenders. It suggested that states should undertake sample surveys in tribal areas to ascertain the quantum of indebtedness, the nature of violations of the existing laws and the extent of the exploitative element in money-lending transactions. It recommended that “it is also necessary for the state government to undertake an enquiry into the subsistence of bonded Labor. In the case of indebtedness accompanied through oral, customary or written agreements as void, the debt discharged and the Labor as released. The tribal will not be able to stand up against the creditor if the burden of debt survives. An agreement of this nature should be declared not only illegal but an offence punishable severely.”

**REPORTS OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR**

**Scheduled Castes And Scheduled Tribes 1951-74**

The Government of India recognized the office of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under Article 338 of the Constitution. The duty of this Commissioner is to collect information on the socio-economic circumstances of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and to monitor the implementation of laws and other events intended to protect and promote their interests. The Annual Reports of the Commissioner are laid before each House of Parliament.

The reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from 1951-1974-75 provided instances of the problem of bonded
laborer and received the serious attention of Government and Parliament, before whom these reports were placed. The Report of 1951 mentioned that “Traffic in human beings and begar and other similar shapes of forced Labor have been prohibited under Article 23 of the Constitution and any contravention of this provision has been declared an offence punishable in accordance with the law.” The Report observed that “In spite of the vigorous efforts of the Government, forced Labor is still in subsistence and it is mostly the Scheduled Castes and also Scheduled Tribes people who are suffering on account of this unlawful practice.”

The Report for 1956-57 once again mentioned that “Forced Labor wherever prevalent, is usually practiced to the disadvantage of the backward classes.” It went on to say that “It is true that the practice is not found usually except in unusual cases, in some of the interior areas, but it is still prevalent in some form or the other.... in the villages of Dasmantipur and Narayanpatra of Koraput sub-division and in the Sundergarh district of Orissa State ‘Gothi’ system is in force.... in some of the areas in Vindhya Pradesh, a system called ‘Barwahi Pratha’ is prevalent.”

The Report for 1959-60 indicated that “a type of serfdom still exists in certain areas of Madhya Pradesh. Under this system whenever the Harijans take loans from the landlords or rich people, one member of the family is left with the circumstances to work in lieu of loan till the money is repaid.” In 1960-61, the Report claimed that “the practice remnants in subsistence even now in some parts of Kerala, Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan.” Describing the practices of bonded Labor state wise, it went on to say, “in... Kerala, many instances.... of begar or forced Labor have been found.” In Orissa, the Report claimed that the system of bonded Labor—‘gothri’ existed in dissimilar shapes while in Rajasthan, the ‘sagri’ system—a system of debt bondage, sustained. Under the sagri system, a sagri was to serve his money-lender without any wages, in lieu of the interest, until the loan was repaid.
The Report for 1961-62 revealed the subsistence of bonded Labor in Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and Mysore State. It claimed that in Jammu and Kashmir, a system of bonded Labor, recognized as Jane, Manjbi or Lajhari existed in the Pooch district of Jammu. It reported a type of bonded Labor recognized as Vet or Begar in the Thana and Nasik districts of Maharashtra. Here it was found that mostly landless Labor served money-lenders as bonded Labor, when they were unable to repay their debts. Bonded Labor in the middle of the Kolta community was detected in the Jamunasap-Barwar area of Dehradun district of Uttar Pradesh while a form of bonded agricultural Labor as Jeetha was revealed in some areas of Mysore State.

In 1962-63, the Report mentioned the prevalence of the Harwahi Halli or Mahidari System (a form of bonded Labor) in the interior parts of Gwalior division of Madhya Pradesh. In the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, a system of bonded agricultural Labor called Valva was mentioned as existing in Nagar Haveli. For 1963-64, the Report mentioned the subsistence of bonded Labor in Mysore, Orissa, and Rajasthan. The Commissioner analysing the bonded Labor system found that “the practice of bonded Labor thrives in the middle of the people with deficit economy and who are educationally backward and cut off from the main life stream.” He felt that for eradicating this system “it is necessary that systematic attempts.... made to discover out the magnitude of the troubles in all the concerned areas. Thereafter appropriate legislative measure, reinforced with a comprehensive scheme to create the bonded persons self-enough economically should be undertaken. For this purpose, the possessions accessible under the Tribal Development Blocks Scheme and other welfare programmes should be pooled and a diversity of events, such as providing agricultural land, houses, irrigation facilities, large- level horticulture programmes, animal husbandry, etc. be taken up.”

The Report of 1964-65 mentioned that the Paniyans and the Adiyans in the South and North Wynad Taluks and Kozhikode district and in Cannanore
district of Kerala were working as bonded laborers. The Commissioner's Report for 1965-66 mentioned that “in several areas Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are subject to certain types of bonded Labor. Though there is a distinction flanked by bonded Labor and forced Labor, it cannot be denied that bonded Labor deprives the persons concerned of full market value for his services. In fact, this amounts to same type of social subjugation.”

The Commissioner complained that the urgency of the problem had not been appreciated and that adequate steps were yet to be taken through the states concerned and union territories. He felt that both for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the system of bonded Labor usually originated from the loan which they took at an exorbitant interest, promising to serve in the agricultural fields of the creditors in return for nominal financial gain. The Report for 1966-67 had nothing specific to state, remarking usually that forced Labor, as such was not found anywhere in the country but that in certain areas, a customized form of servitude linked with agriculture sustained to exist.

The 1967-68 Report made mention of the stray cases of bonded Labor involving Sholage (A Scheduled Tribe) and Arunthiyar (A Scheduled Caste) in Coimbatore district of Madras State. The Commissioner’s Report for 1968-69 revealed the practice of bonded Labor in some form or the other in Andhra Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh, despite the legislative and executive events undertaken for eradication of this practice. The Report claimed indebtedness to be the root cause of bonded Labor and so suggested controlling the activities of money-lenders.

The Commissioner’s Report of 1971-72 and 1972-73 pointed out that “the problem exists mainly in tribal and other rural backward areas.” He recommended remedial events which incorporated removing shortcomings found in the existing legislation, introducing new appropriate legislative events wherever necessary, providing appropriate clauses under the Debt Regulation Acts, a appropriate publicity machinery and assuring bonded
laborers that they would not have to go back to their masters to seek future loans and bind themselves under debt.

From the above Reports, it would be clear that the system of bonded Labor in some form or the other has been in subsistence in some states and union territories. It was suggested in the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (1972-73) that the following steps should be undertaken through the state governments/union territories' administration for ameliorating the circumstances of the bonded laborers:

- “Rigorous studies should be made in the practice of bonded Labor wherever found and in such backward areas where there is probability of its prevalence.

- Scaling down of old debts and payments to the creditor of whatever amount is arrived at through this process through either co-operative society or a Government department in respect of those bonded tribals who have been in bondage for a specified period should be made. For this purpose, appropriate provision should be made in the Backward Classes Sector.

- Prosecution of the money-lenders who are carrying on the business of money-lending without the permission of the competent authority.

- Enforcement of the Minimum Wages Act, vigorous propaganda for payment of wages in cash to the laborers occupied through the landlords for working on their land.

- Allotment of cultivable lands to as several bonded laborers as possible jointly with agricultural inputs for bringing the land under farming.

- Appointment of appropriate staff to guide the bonded laborers for assertion of their rights for getting payment of wages in cash and settlement of old debts under the provision of existing law.

- Reputed non-official agencies should be entrusted with the scheme for improvement of economic circumstances of bonded laborers.”

- The subsistence of bonded Labor was criticized through many members of Parliament both in the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha in 1973. The 20-point Programme of July 1975 incorporated abolition of
bonded Labor in item 4 of the programme. It stated that “Bonded Labor, wherever it exists, will be declared illegal.” The inclusion of the abolition of bonded Labor as a programme to be implemented, was the key factor in bringing out a central legislative measure,

- It was suggested that “a central legislation would be the first step in the direction of tackling the problem of bonded Labor and debt-bondage. It would promote to the development of criteria on the basis of which the phenomenon of bonded Labor can be viewed and also give support to all those working for the abolition of bonded Labor. While avoiding the defects of the state legislations in this regard, it can be a more effective instrument to contain and combat this evil in dissimilar states.”

**INTERACTION AMONGST VARIOUS ORGANS**

**Political And Permanent Executive**

The interaction and relationship flanked by the political executive, that is, the ministry and the permanent executive, that is, the bureaucracy in framing policies is both qualitative and quantitative. The focus of discussion here would be on interaction flanked by these two wings. It has been discussed earlier that the permanent executive assists the political executive in preparing policy proposals and also suggesting and analyzing several dissimilar alternatives to a scrupulous issue at hand to be translated into a public policy. In the making of policy proposals, which are the basis of the policies, the permanent executive works in a well planned and thoughtful manner with the political executive. Gone are the days when policy formulation was measured to be the sole domain of political executive. Because of the changing technological and scientific developments, the expertise of the permanent executive has become approximately essential for putting through the right type of choices, clauses, and dimensions of dissimilar policies. Besides providing the information through data (composed on several issues) to be incorporated in a policy proposal, the permanent executive perform the suggestive role through putting several suggestions before the political
executive. It also interacts with the political executive in policy making when it analyzes the several alternatives accessible for making a policy and puts it before the political executive. Therefore, it becomes apparent that the permanent executive has a major role in policy making. But this role is performed through method of its interaction with the political executive; it does not mean that the permanent executive has predominance in excess of the political executive. They both work hand in glove with each other for giving a proposal a final form.

Primarily there are two significant activities involved in policy formulation. Firstly, the decision concerning what is to be done, and secondly, the method it is to be done. Normally, in the first activity the major role is that of the political executive and with regard to the second, the permanent executive performs the significant role. Of course, in both the activities one takes help and guidance of each other. Furthermore, the permanent executive is under the direct control of political executive which in turn is accountable to the legislature. This means that permanent executive has an indirect interaction with legislature but direct interaction with political executive.

Parliament And Permanent Executive

It will be better if we clarify at this point that the relationship flanked by the Parliament and the executive cannot be discussed under watertight categories of relationship flanked by the Parliament and the political executive and the Parliament and the permanent executive. The three that is the Parliament, permanent executive and political executive interact closely with each other in the process of policy making. The political executive, in its role of identifying policy issues and concretizing them into policy proposals, is helped a great deal through the permanent executive, which does a lot of spade work for the political executive. It performs the informative, suggestive and analytical roles in order to help the political executive in substantiating the policy proposals and collecting the relevant data. The political executive employs a vast staff consisting of administrators, experts, technicians,
scientists, specialists and ordinary workers to carry out the tasks assigned to it. With the augment in the functions of the government in the field of economic and social well being of the people, the responsibilities of the government have greatly expanded and so has the staff working under the government. The government machinery and the bureaucracy have become intricate and too elaborate, and the responsibility of the council of ministers has consequently, increased. This has, in turn, led to an augment in the parliamentary work. The administrative tools, that is the bureaucracy which is employed to implement the task assigned to it, also helps the council of ministers in formulation of their policies, which are eventually approved through the Parliament. Therefore the three organs, the Parliament, Cabinet and council of ministers and bureaucracy are constantly helping one another in the process of arriving at decisions.

Because the permanent executive works intimately with the council of ministers and is in fact the major instrument for carrying out the policies of the political executive approved through the Parliament, it is through the council of ministers that their accountability to the Parliament is discharged. It is the minister who in the ultimate analysis, has to take the blame for any failure, deficiency, delay, mistake or irregularity on the part of the administration. So, the permanent executive is under heavy responsibility, it has to be careful, alert, watchful, honest and efficient and a lot of burden falls on the council of ministers to carry out the systematic supervision of the administration which is the permanent executive.

One significant point which should be taken into account is the discussions and development of the party meetings which power the political executive more in shaping its policies or responding to public opinions. Its impact on the administration is no less significant than the impact of the Parliament, though the permanent executive is not directly accountable to the party in power, but indirectly the criticism it suffers at the party hands reflects itself on the floor of the House and gets canalized through dissimilar parliamentary procedures through which the permanent executive is called to account.
A very significant device through which the Parliament interacts with the bureaucracy or the permanent executive is through delegated legislation. We will now try to discuss the importance of delegated legislation and the development of delegated legislation in India.

- Pressure upon the parliamentary time: the large volume of legislative business creates of essential for the Parliament to enact laws, embodying broad principles, leaving details to be supplied through the executive departments.

- Scientific and technical character of the subject matter: As the Parliament is a body of laypersons, it is not able to handle the scientific and technical characteristics underlying the policies and yet, such matters are significant parts of the legislative enactments. The Parliament, not being an apt body to deal with details which are technical, delegates them to the executive.

- Need to secure flexibility: need for allowing for rapid adjustments to meet the local circumstances results in delegating legislative power to the executive.

- Need to give for unforeseen contingencies: to cope with contingencies such as war, economic crises, etc., the government needs to take quick action. It cannot wait until the Parliament passes a law authorizing necessary action, for in an emergency that is neither practicable nor sensible. Consequently, the Parliament grants legislative power to the executive.

Delegated legislation has become the need of the hour; otherwise, it will be very hard for the Parliament to enact the number of legislations needed to meet the challenges posed through the changing social, economic and political scenario. The effectiveness of the parliamentary control in excess of the executive is determined through three significant circumstances. Firstly, as a matter of principle, legislatures can be effective in its conduct in excess of the executive only in proportion to the strength of the opposition, which through virtue of its strength and appeal to the electorate, expects that some day it
would have a chance to form the government, that is, it should be “a Cabinet of the future”. In the Indian parliamentary system if the legislature has not quite succeeded in creating institutions and procedures for more effective control in excess of the executive, it is partly due to the dominating position of the Congress party in the Parliament and partly due to the subsistence of an opposition that has not been able to perform a strong and assertive role.

Secondly, the effectiveness of such control also depends upon the strength and excellence of the public opinion. Representative legislatures backed through strong public opinion can effectively control executive and administrative action. Public opinion controls the executive, both through independent expression of opinion on public issues, backing or opposing the legislature in its attitude towards the executive, and also at the time of elections through choosing such people who would be honest and fearless in analyzing governmental actions. Thirdly, the effectiveness of the legislative control in excess of the executive depends upon the devices and procedures instituted through the legislature in carrying out its functions to meet the changing needs of modern society. Though, legislative procedures are only a means to an end, the end being responsible and democratic discussion of public issues in the Parliament. Care, therefore, has to be taken to develop effective check and supervision in excess of governmental actions, and not to curb the initiative and quickness of the executive for vital decisions.

**Parliament And The Political Executive**

Constitutionally and in practice, the Parliament and the political executive in India share a very significant relationship. We have also discussed the role of the political executive, that is, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, cabinet committees, cabinet secretariat and the Prime Minister’s secretariat in policy making. A crucial facet of this relationship flanked by the Parliament and the political executive is the practice of ministerial responsibility. Under Article 75(3) of the Constitution of India, the council of ministers is collectively responsible to the Lok Sabha. So long as the executive commands majority
support in the Lok Sabha, the executive in a very legitimate manner is entitled to control the legislature. Although the council of ministers is appointed through the President, all ministers have to be members of the Parliament and if a minister is not a member of the Parliament at the time of his/her appointment, he/she has to become a member within a period of six months, otherwise, he/she would cease to be a minister. The council is a grand committee of the Parliament charged with the duty of conducting the executive affairs of the government. It is this relationship which is crucial to their role in policy making, and determines the whole course of parliamentary control in excess of the political executive. Initiative rests in the council of ministers to bring forward legislative and financial proposals before the Parliament, and the role of the Parliament is one of judging the potential of the proposals, the validity of factors on which they are based and their capability to achieve the objectives.

While the policy is in the stage of formulation, it is the executive which considers it and provides it a concrete form. The Parliament’s role begins only after the proposal is placed before it for approval. Therefore, the council of ministers and the Parliament are closely interlinked, but still there is a clear distinction flanked by their functions. The close association of the Parliament and the executive is one of the most significant features of the parliamentary system. Whatever activity the Parliament is occupied in at any time, be it legislative, ventilation of the grievances of the people, voting of supplies, discussion of matters of urgent public importance, the executive is always involved. The relationship flanked by the executive and the Parliament is one of inter-dependence based on mutual trust and confidence. Though the executive has vast freedom in shaping policies and taking steps to implement them, the Parliament has the right to call for information and to oversee whether the executive has acted in accordance with their obligations and utilized the powers conferred on them for the purpose for which they were planned.

The executive has to be fully conscious of its accountability to the
Parliament. It always has to be prepared to face parliamentary scrutiny. Important occasions for review are provided through discussion on Motion of Thanks on the President’s Address and the Budget including Demands for Grants from several ministries and departments and the proposals to raise funds for meeting expenditure. Separately from these, specific matters may be discussed through motions on matter of urgent public importance, private members resolutions and other substantive motions. Discussions can also take place on motions for modification of statutory rules and on annual reports of departments and public undertakings; and government actions in specific fields discussed or local troubles aired through cut motions. In extreme cases, a motion of no confidence can be moved against the government.

Some of the other specific procedural devices executed for parliamentary surveillance in excess of the executive contain laying of papers on the Table of the House, Questions, Half an Hour Discussions, Calling Attention Motion, Short Duration Discussions, Adjournment Motions, etc. Let us discuss these briefly. As we know that the minister has to respond to any question raised through the member of Parliament. The permanent executive helps in preparation of these responses; the executive creates accessible information to the Parliament through placing papers on the Table. As the papers so placed may all of a sudden become public documents and may even lead to a debate or discussion in the House, the executive has to be very vigilant in the preparation and presentation of papers. Parliamentary questions which are tabled for answers are significant devices through which information is sought from the government on the floor of the House. Throughout the question hour, the administration is made accountable to the members of the Parliament for its actions and non-actions and at times the administration may have to even spell out the proposed future course of action in certain significant matters. All characteristics of administration come under the vigilant eye of the Parliament throughout the question hour. The minister concerned has to be prepared for any type of query on the floor of the House. There can be supplementary questions which in the name of seeking information may actually be directed at detecting lapses of the government.
There also exists a provision for half an hour discussion in the House in case of inconclusive or unsatisfactory answers when the matter involved is one of enough public importance. We also have a procedure of motion of adjournment. This helps in discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance which can be moved with the consent of the speaker. The purpose of an adjournment motion is to take the government to task for a recent act of omission or commission having serious consequence, its adoption is regarded as amounting to a sort of censure on the government. The Calling Attention Motion is another device which enables the members to draw the attention of the government to any sudden development and public importance. This is essentially an Indian innovation and a member may, with the previous permission of the speaker, call the attention of a minister to any matter of urgent public importance and request the minister to create a statement on the subject.

One of the most effective methods through which the Parliament exercises check in excess of the executive is through its control in excess of finance. The executive decides how much revenue is to be raised or what the desired stage of expenditure should be, and once the Parliament votes the revenues and disbursements, the executive cannot deviate from the Parliamentary sanctions. For any excess amount spent, the executive has to seek regularization through the Parliament. And for Parliament to regularize such excess, the executive has to provide proper explanations. Likewise, throughout the budget discussion, the executive comes under close parliamentary scrutiny. It is not only the ministers, but also the departments and the several subordinate offices under them that are involved and the final sanction of money can be decided only after thorough discussion and evaluation of their activities throughout the year. Another device through which the Parliament keeps effective surveillance in excess of executive are the committees. In the area of finance, through financial committees.
Parliament And The Judiciary

While making policies, the Parliament has to keep in view the judicial pronouncements and rulings. The judicial role in relation to the Parliament assumes importance because of three factors, firstly, the power of the judiciary to interpret the parliamentary legislation, to provide meaning to the words used in a Statute, and to fill in the gaps, secondly, the judicial power to declare a statute unconstitutional and thirdly, the power of the courts to invalidate constitutional amendments. The power of the judiciary to look at the validity of legislation depends upon two factors. Firstly, it should have the power to provide remedy to the individual approaching the court to challenge the validity of a statute, and secondly, the language and the dimension of the constitutional provisions against which the validity of the Statute is to be judged. As regards the first factor, the Constitution of India incorporates judicial remedies in itself, instead of leaving the matter to the legislature’s will. These remedies are primarily contained in Article 32 and 226. Article 32 empowers the Supreme Court to issue prerogative writs for the enforcement of the Fundamental Rights and for any other purpose. Therefore a person challenging the validity of a Statute against a Fundamental Right may either go directly to the Supreme Court or to the High Court. For violation of any other constitutional provision through a Statute, the individual will have the remedy of approaching the High Court first and then going to the Supreme Court through method of appeal.

The forty-second amendment of the Constitution, 1976, attempted to dilute these remedies in two methods. Firstly, the Supreme Court under Article 32 was to consider only the constitutionality of a central law and not a state law and the High Court was to confine itself to consider the validity of a state law. The Supreme Court had, though, the authority to decide upon the validity of a state law in its appellate jurisdiction.

The most significant device of supplying power to the judiciary to invalidate a Statute is provided through the fundamental Rights. Most of the
cases of constitutional validity have arisen under Articles 14, 19 and 31. One thing more is to be measured in the relationship flanked by the legislature and judiciary, and that is the power of the judicial review given to the Supreme Court under a written Constitution, the power of judicial review in excess of the legislative enactments is to be conceded. Though, since it is a question of invalidating an Act passed through the representative of the people, superior in conditions of number as compared with the judges, there is the necessity of judicial self-restraint in such a matter. The court has to illustrate due respect to the legislative determination and strike down a Statute when it is quite clear that it should be done.

There have not been several occasions of disagreement flanked by the judiciary and the legislature. The tendency of the court has been to uphold the legislature rather than quash it. The legislature and the judiciary do not stand separately in performing their functions. There is interrelationship flanked by the two organs of the government though in some compliments the perspective of the legislature is somewhat dissimilar from the perspective of the judiciary.

**Executive And The Judiciary**

As we read in the previous section, the judiciary provides meaning to the words used in a Statute; it can declare a Statute unconstitutional and can invalidate constitutional amendments. In this context the relationship flanked by the executive and the judiciary is also very significant. Actually it is the executive that initiates policy proposals, these are only placed before the legislature for approval, what the judiciary declares unconstitutional are in the real sense policy proposals that come from the executive or the gaps which the executive fills in the enactments delegated to it through the legislature.

The phenomenal augment in the governmental functions leads to concentration of enormous powers in the hands of the executive. These powers contain, in addition to the subordinate law making powers, the judicial powers. In a Welfare State, legislation on a large number of subjects is an absolute
necessity. The legislative output, consequently, becomes quite enormous and this leads to more delegations and more sanctions on the liberty of the individual. Therefore, we witness an emergence of large number of administrative tribunals or courts to share the burden of the ordinary courts. Because of the fact that the administrative tribunals are more flexible, informal, quick, and responsive, their importance is rising day through day. These are surely less expensive method of getting justice, yet indiscriminate use of administrative tribunals should be avoided as these are not supervised through people with legal training and experience. The administrative adjudication is fast becoming an indispensable adjunct to the judicial sphere. The administrative tribunals have been set up in certain limited and special fields of public administration, such as, income tax appellate tribunal, railway rates tribunal, individual tribunal etc. The emergence of tribunals has given a new dimension to the relationship flanked by the executive and judiciary. Sometimes the cases that come before the tribunals require changes in the overall policy. It might require changes in the judicial pronouncements pertaining to the policy and it is here that the executive comes in contact with the judiciary. A citizen can even approach the Supreme Court for getting any action of the administration quashed, be it judicial, quasi-judicial, ministerial or purely discretionary, which infringes his/her Fundamental Rights. Article 136 provides powers to the Supreme Court to hear appeals against the decision or order of any tribunal in the territory of India, excepting those recognized under laws relating to the armed forces. In this changing scenario when the functions of the administration are rising day through day, the major task of the judiciary is to control administrative arbitrariness, administrative despotism, maladministration and abuse of power.

ROLE OF JUDICIARY

The Nature Of Judicial System In India

In modern democratic political systems, the judicial system is recognized as open, impartial, constant, stable and predictable. The judiciary operates in accordance with the prescriptions of the Rule of Law, i.e., excellence of all
citizens before the law, and a person being innocent unless committed through a court of law. Such judicial system believes in the fairness and openness of proceedings. Sometimes, to protect the interests of the State, certain restrictions may be put on the judicial system in the larger interests of the people, but there is seldom a deliberate effort on the part of the State to abrogate the usual process and procedure of justice. In India, also, the judiciary is taken, largely, as independent, impartial, fair and real protector of the rights and liberties of the citizens.

In India, we have a unified structure of the judiciary despite the fact that our Constitution is quasi-federal. Under our Constitution, we have a single integrated system of courts for the Union, as well as, the states which administer both Union and state laws. At the apex, we have the Supreme Court; below the Supreme Court we have the High Courts of the dissimilar states, and under each. High Court there is a hierarchy of other courts which are called Subordinate Courts; these are the courts which are subordinate to and under the control of the High Court.
The organization of the subordinate courts varies from state to state to some extent. The state is divided into districts, and each district has a district court which has an appellate jurisdiction in that district. Under the District Courts there are lower courts such as the Additional District Court, the Sub-Court, the Munsiff Magistrate Court, the Court of Special Judicial Magistrate, etc. The District Court Judge possesses unlimited original jurisdiction, both civil and criminal. He is the highest judicial authority in the District and hears appeals against the judgments of Munsif Courts and Sub-Courts. The Panchayat Courts are at the bottom of the hierarchy of the Subordinate Courts, these courts function under several names such as the Nyaya Panchayats, the Panchayat Adalat, the Gram Kutchery, etc. These Courts deal with both civil and criminal cases.

**Functions Of Judiciary**

The judicial system, the world in excess of, performs a diversity of functions starting from the interpretation and application of the existing laws, to the shaping of policies and laws that are likely to emerge in the future. Before dealing with the impact of the judiciary on policies and programmes, it would be better if a brief discussion on the functions of the judiciary in general is made.

- The most significant function of the judiciary is to see that the administration of justice is accepted out in a fair and independent manner. It is in this context that its important area of operation is the interpretation of the several provisions of the Constitution. The meaning and explanation given through the highest court is taken as final, unless, of course, the legislature amends the relevant provision of the Constitution. It may, so, be said that the judiciary is to uphold the Constitution as the supreme law of the land, and, therefore, it acts as the guardian of the Constitution.

- Modern political systems also envisage that the judicial system will act as the protector of the rights and liberties of the citizens. These days, approximately every country gives for a set of rights to the people
which are called the Fundamental Rights. In the case of India, these rights are measured as the basic structure of the Constitution. The government has tried to change the provisions of some of the rights (especially the Right to Property) but the judiciary has held from time to time that the Parliament cannot change the basic structure of the Constitution. It is very clear that the judiciary acts as the chief protector of the rights of the citizens.

- Through implication, the judiciary performs the functions of policy making through its pronouncements (judicial verdicts). The Constitution of a country, even if exhaustive, may fail to deal with some characteristics of the political, administrative, economic, and social systems. As such, it may be silent on some issues, as in the case of India, the Constitution does not say anything with regard to the President’s rule at the Central stage in case of break-down of the Constitutional machinery, though such a provision very clearly exists for the state governments. Moreover, some laws may either be ambiguous or may be inconsistent with the other laws of the land. In such matters, the courts decide what the law is and what law should prevail.

- In a federal system, the courts also act as independent and impartial arbiters flanked by the federal government and the governments of the federating units, as also flanked by the federating units themselves. Whenever there is a dispute or disagreement flanked by any set of governments, the judiciary is responsible for interpreting the provisions of the Constitution. This interpretation is taken as final. In this method in a federation the judiciary assumes the status of the ‘Constitutional Court’. It is in this context that the Cauvery Water Dispute is being examined through the Supreme Court of India. Moreover, there is a very strong demand from the regional patties in Punjab for referring the water dispute, flanked by Punjab and Haryana, to the highest court of the country.

- The judicial system has a very important role in legitimizing the policy outputs of the government. The courts sometimes have to illustrate a
conservative attitude and should interpret the meaning of the law in the highest of dynamic situations.

- It may, be possible that some forward looking decisions of the government are challenged as unconstitutional through some people in a court of law. Though, the judges need to analyze the circumstances from a dynamic viewpoint. Taken from this angle, the judiciary can provide the character of legitimacy to policy outputs of the government. The change in the attitude of the American Supreme Court since 1937 is a very relevant instance in this regard. It is so, essential that the behavior of the judiciary necessity not be obstructive or destructive. It should rather allow the political system to function smoothly. In this context, the role of the political culture is very significant as the political beliefs and convictions of the people can save the situation from reaching the point of no-agreement. In the case of the American Supreme Court (1937), people played an important role in disapproving the move of the President for rising the number of judges of the Supreme Court. This also led to a separate change in the attitudes and policy of the Supreme Court.

- Another significant function of the judiciary relates to its power of judicial review. This empowers the judiciary to declare any law, executive policy, and administrative action as intra-vires or ultra-vires. We shall discuss this in greater details in Section 10.6.

**Impact Of Judiciary On Policy Making**

A description of functions of the judiciary creates it clear that the impact of the judiciary on policy making is quite important. Actually, a diversity of factors and institutions combine and interact in the policy making process. It is a very intricate process through which persons in power/authority exercise power or power in excess of each other. Dr. P. R. Dubhashi explains the policy making process as “something like a policy making ladder with the chief executive like the Prime Minister at the top and apathetic non-voting citizens at the bottom. In flanked by are the Prime Minister’s cabinet colleagues,
legislative leaders, policy making judges, high stage administrators, interested group leaders, politically active citizens, and ordinary voters. The proximate policy makers, skilled practitioners of policy analysis, managerial elite, elite of wealth, are all policy makers. Most citizens power policy very little but energetic citizens can power policy to an extent”.

The judicial system in a democratic country like India has a major role in the public policy making process. All policies are formulated keeping in view the existing laws and legal provisions. The judiciary enters the area of policy making delivering suggestive or advisory judgments aimed at the effective achievement of the goals of the country as contained in the Preamble and the body of the Constitution. At times, the judiciary issues directions for formulating a scrupulous policy or changing the existing policy to suit a scrupulous purpose. It may also determine certain guidelines for the legislature and/or the executive that ought to be followed in the process of public policy making. It is, so, clear that the judiciary is an essential part of the political process wherein cooperation and disagreement are of equal significance. In the words of A. R. Ball, the courts “interact with other parts of the political system, not as illegitimate outsiders but as part of the stable ruling political alliance”. It is, therefore, understood that the judiciary has its share in the political process of the country, especially in the process of policy making. In fact, it is the need of modern times that the role of the courts should be appreciated and confrontation flanked by the legislature, the executive and the judiciary should be minimized if not totally avoided. Though, it may be added that there have been situations and occasions when the actions or decisions of the judiciary have been either not welcomed through the political authority or its principal advisory, the bureaucracy. Despite all that, it has been the thinking of a civilized society that a society can be thinkable without a fully developed legislative organ but a civilized State without any viable judicial branch is hardly conceivable.

In the system analysis, the system and its counterparts, the sub-systems, are continually in active or passive interaction at several stages and degrees to
bring some acceptable outputs to society. It is, so, necessary to view the judicial system as an essential aspect of a political structure be it any form of government. Actually speaking, the political process in a given system does not spare any facet of the citizens’ life. In one method or another, it powers them and their actions and reactions. Ultimately, they become essential ingredients in the interplay of socio-political forces that determine the areas, facets, contents, priorities and sharing of policy benefits in society. Though, in all societies, primitive, medieval, traditional/conventional and modern, the judiciary has always, with some situational constraints, played its role in moderating the public demand and the system’s capability to bear such implications of its pronouncements. The judicial system cannot remain immune to major socio-economic developments, as also to the ever changing thinking of the total political process. In this context, Stephen L. Wasby observes, “The political situation affecting the administration of justice at the state and local stages has particularly attracted the attention of political scientists, concerned with the allocation of justice, with why dissimilar members of the community are treated differentially through law enforcement officials. The topic is one which comes within the purview of public law mainly because those who have shown interest in it have been previously doing work in the public law field.

The same is true with respect to the activities of the legal profession. While it is the sociologists who have undertaken work on what can be called the ‘ecology of the legal profession’, that is the organization and pattern of legal practice, political scientists have not been behind, particularly in relating this structure to participation in politics.” A very important area of operation of the judicial system, especially in a developing country like India, is to ensure a desired stage of social and economic development/advancement so as to reach a viable equilibrium for a tension free social system. It is in this context that the judiciary “investigates, declares and enforces liabilities as they stand on present or past facts and under laws supposed already to exist”. Moreover, the judiciary establishes the values of equity and justice for stabilizing society in its best possible egalitarian form. The Supreme Court in
India has developed new methods and remedies for dispensing justice to the masses through public interest litigation. It is said that it has taken socio-economic justice to the common man. The former Chief Justice, P. N. Bhagwati has observed that “the Supreme Court has developed many new commitments It has accepted forward participative justice. It has laid just standards of procedure. It has made justice more accessible to citizens.” It was under the innovative leadership of Justice Bhagwati that public interest litigation reached a new dimension.

The Supreme Court in India has been instrumental in the deliverance of relief to the poor and other under privileged sections of society. It has also provided relief for the under-trial prisoners, licensed rickshaw pullers etc., it has been successful in the release of women from the clutches of those indulging in promoting immoral traffic. It has tried to lay down that except in serious cases, bail necessity be granted on personal bond. Again, it was on the insistence of the courts that free legal aid was strengthened. The Supreme Court has also allowed monetary compensation for administrative wrongs and violation of the citizen’s fundamental rights. It is so, clear that the judiciary has made very serious attempts for dispensing social and economic justice to the masses despite of its inherent limitations. It is in this manner that it has been able to put pressure on the legislature and the executive to initiate and implement several major policies. The socio-economic change cannot be brought in relation to the only through public interest litigation. It is an arduous task which the social activist’s necessity carry forward. The administration has to be imbibed with a missionary zeal for achieving this objective. It is more so because the major responsibility for framing and implementing policies relating to the socio-economic welfare of the masses rests with the government.

**Importance Of Judiciary In Policy Making**

We already know that the judiciary is the third organ of the Government, the other two being legislature and executive. The government, in modern
times, has to perform not only a magnitude of functions but has to deal with the complexities and technical nature of functions. In the sphere of policy making, government is helped through the legislature, executive, the judiciary, political parties, interest groups, media and public opinion. The need for an impartial and strong judiciary to power policy making is clear from the preceding sections. The role of the judiciary in policy making can be understood from the following.

- The judiciary being the sole guardian of the Constitution ensures that none of its provisions is contravened through the legislative, executive or administrative actions. In order to achieve this goal, the judiciary tries to formulate guidelines to be followed both through the legislature and the executive. In the absence of such guidelines, the courts restrain the concerned parties from contravening the Constitution through the application of the Rule of Law.
- Its decisions have facilitated a comparatively smooth working of the Indian federal system.
- It has helped the government in formulating its policies in a manner that does not dispute with the Fundamental Rights. The 24th and 25th Amendments were struck down in order to protect the basic structure of the Constitution (as in the Golaknath Case).
- The decisions of the courts have several a times led to the protection of private interests as was done while rejecting the Bank Nationalization Act, 1969.
- Its pronouncements have molded the thrust and contents of the public policy. Some policies are partly struck down through the courts and certain directions are issued which are mandatory for the government to follow, as was done in the Bhopal Gas Leak Case.
- We come crossways a number of court cases in which the administration has either framed rules in a wrong method or their implementation has been faulty or malicious. The cases may relate to selection, promotion, implementation of a scrupulous scheme or consumer protection.
Therefore, it is clear that the judiciary has a significant role in policy making. Though, its nature and extent may vary from case to case. In brief, the judiciary ensures:

- That only such policies are framed which are in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution;
- That any negligence on the part of the government in not formulating a policy or not implementing all the provisions of a policy is taken very seriously through the courts. In such cases specific directions are issued to the concerned authority; and
- That all policies are aimed at the protection of the national interest and are likely to augment the pace of social and economic development.

It is clear from the above that the judicial system has a definite role, not only in influencing the process of policy making, but also in its actual preparation as it provides definite directions/guidelines to the governments. Hence, it provides more acceptable tenure to the public policies.

**Judicial Review**

No discussion on the role of the judiciary can be complete without highlighting its role of judicial review. The judicial review is a very significant tool in the hands of the judiciary, especially in a federal system, to keep the legislature and executive events well within the framework of the Constitution. It is largely the outcome of the written Constitution. The rigid procedures for ‘judicial review’ may be defined as “the power of any court to hold unconstitutional any law or any official action based upon it, as illegal or void”. So, it is the power of the courts to look at the actions of the government, so as to ensure that such actions conform to the provisions of the Constitution of the country. It is also based on the fact that although courts use wisdom and experience while delivering judgments, yet some mistake or error may be committed through them unintentionally. The Supreme Court of India
is, so, vested with the power to review any of its own decisions or orders for rectifying the wrong, if any, in its earlier judgment. Such power is also necessary because there is no appeal against the judgment of the Supreme Court, except in inimical cases involving the death penalty.

The term ‘judicial review’ is nowhere mentioned in our Constitution but still the Supreme Court has this power as can be seen from the provisions of Article 13 which say:

- All laws in force in the territory of India immediately before the commencement of this Constitution, in as distant as they are inconsistent with the provisions of this part, shall, to the extent of such inconsistency, be void.
- The states shall not create any law which takes absent or abridges the rights conferred in this part and any law made in contravention of this cause shall, to the extent of contravention, be void.
- Nothing in this Article shall apply to any amendment of the Constitution made under Article 368.

It can, so, be seen that the scope of judicial review in our country is confined to examination on two counts:

- Whether the law under challenge is within the competence of the authority that has framed it; and
- Whether it is constant with Part-III of the Constitution which relates to the Fundamental Rights.

In India, the thrash about flanked by the supremacy of judicial review vs. parliamentary sovereignty in interpreting the Constitution, began soon after the commencement of the Constitution. One of the principle characteristics of the thrash about was the meaning of, and limitations on the right to property. The court concentrated on the meaning of compensation which, in effect, was held as the market value. Though, the government came with a series of amendments, especially the 24th and 25th, which made the adequacy of the compensation paid through the states for acquired private property as non-
justifiable. The Government did try to establish the sovereignty of the Parliament against the judicial review, and, to establish the primacy of the Directive Principles of State Policy in excess of the Fundamental Rights.

The issue was more seriously taken through the judiciary in the well-known Golaknath Case in which it held that the Parliament had no power to amend Fundamental Rights. Though, the government amended the Constitution (24th Amendment) and gave blanket power to the Parliament for amending any part of the Constitution including the Fundamental Rights. The reaction of the court was very clear and assertive in its judgement in the Keshwananda Bharti Case. While agreeing that Fundamental Rights were subject to amendment, the Supreme Court held that the Constitution had a ‘basic structure’ which could not be amended. Then came the 42nd amendment, a part of which gave primacy to the Directive Principles of State Policy in excess of the Fundamental Rights, and this provision attempted to put the matter beyond the reach of the judiciary. Though, the Supreme Court, in the Minerva Mills Case (1980) reiterated that Parliament does not have unfettered power of amendment. Therefore, Fundamental Rights continue to have precedence in excess of the Directive Principles of State Policy. It is so, clear that the Supreme Court in India, like its counterpart in America, has an extensive power of judicial review.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Explain the several processes that were involved in policy making concerning bonded labor system in India.
- Discuss the processes involved in enacting legislation and the role of the Ministry of Law.
- Discuss the reports of Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
- What type of relationship exists flanked by the Parliament and the political executive?
- What is the nature of interaction flanked by the executive and the judiciary?
- Explain the importance of judiciary in policy making with special reference to its role of judicial review.
CHAPTER 4
PUBLIC POLICY-MAKING: MAJOR DETERMINANTS

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- International agencies
- Social movements
- Mass media
- Political parties and policy-making
- Interest groups and policy-making
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the structure and objectives of some significant international organizations;
- Understand the relationship flanked by public policy and social movements;
- Explain the meaning and importance of mass media;
- Describe the meaning and importance of political parties;
- Understand the implication of party structures for policy-making in a democratic set-up; and
- Discuss the meaning and categorization of interest groups.

INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

Policy-Making And International Agencies

The United Nations came into being in 1945 with the major purpose, as stated in Article 1 of its Charter, of maintaining international peace and security. It has assumed, in excess of time, greater responsibilities which cover approximately every aspect of political, social, cultural, economic and
humanitarian troubles of the people of every nation of the world. Besides acting as determinant in policy-making of the Sovereign nations who are members of the UN, there are some broad areas of policy-making through the international agencies. These can be enlisted as under:

- International Peace and Security;
- Disarmament;
- Economic and Social Development;
- Environmental Troubles;
- Social and Humanitarian Assistance;
- Human Rights; and
- Independence of Colonial People.

**Impact of United Nation’s Policies on Formulation of Policies through Member-Nations**

In this section we will discuss certain major policies and resolutions which have been enacted and adopted through UN Organizations. These policies and resolutions have important bearing on the policies formulated to that effect through the member-nations.

**International Peace & Security**

The heart of United Nations’ capability to act in matters relating to peace and security is the Security Council. The Charter speaks of the U.N. Assembly as making recommendations; it empowers the Council to take decisions. The crucial dilemmas of world politics are realistically reflected in the voting procedures of the Council. The Council has five permanent members (the United States, the USSR, The United Kingdom, France & China), and 10 non-permanent members elected through the Assembly for two-year conditions. The functioning of the council hinges on the unanimity of the five permanent members, as each one of these five members has a veto right. It has been manifestly impossible to coerce either the United States or the Soviet Union to do anything significant against its will; and it is so clear that Britain, France
and China are likewise incoercible. But if these five powers can agree they can muster enough force to stop quickly any war or threat of war anywhere in the world. The age old problem of stopping or controlling the warlike propensities of all people of all states is therefore replaced through the much smaller problem of discovering methods of producing coordination in the middle of only five countries—a problem which, though still very hard, seems more manageable. This is one of the major impacts of the UN organization, although threat of war could not be totally got rid of.

**Disarmament**

The concerted efforts made through the UN at both multilateral and bilateral stages, as well as on a regional basis, have led to a body of significant agreements, treaties, and conventions committing the parties to several arms limitations and disarmament events. The significant treaties concluded so distant contain the 1959 Antarctic Treaty which put into practice, for the first time, the concept of nuclear-weapon-free zone, later applied also to Latin America and the South Pacific, 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in outer space and under water, 1968 Treaty on guaranteeing all countries access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, 1972 convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons and on the destructions of such weapons etc. In excess of the same period, bilateral negotiations flanked by the USSR and US have produced a number of agreements flanked by the two countries. These actions are mainly directed towards limitation on testing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and agreement to formulate policies to guarantee stability and peace.

**Economic and Social Development**

Since its very birth the United Nations system has an impressive record of promoting the development of poor countries. For instance, IBRD has advanced loans, first to the war-devastated countries and later, to the economically poor countries for development of several sectors of their
economies. These endeavors were, though, not free from troubles. There is a general impression that the Bank is biased in favor of the US and other major contributors, because it seems to be promoting the interests of the multinationals. Moreover it imposes circumstances for its loans, which are not always in favor of the interests of the underdeveloped countries. The WHO had, from the very start, programmes of assisting countries with experts, equipments and training in the field of health development.

UNCTAD, which is another development agency, has, to its credit, negotiated an augment in exports from developing countries through the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) under which the industrial countries provide preferential tariff to products from developing countries. Another significant development agency that has assisted the trade and development of all countries, particularly the poor countries, is GATT. It has helped in reducing both tariff and non-tariff barriers in several cases, but here again, flouting of these rules through new shapes of protection through the importing countries could not be totally stopped.

The ILO’s development involvement has been through the establishment of improved circumstances of work for the world’s work force. One of its limitations is that the recommendations are based mainly on industrial circumstances in the industrial countries and are not applicable to the work force of the poor countries.

**U.N. Development Decades**

The principles and goals of the U.N. Development efforts are measured mainly within the framework of the U.N. Development Decade first launched in the early 1960s. The first U.N. Development Decade ended in December 1970. One of its major goals was the attainment of a 5 per cent growth rate for the developing countries as a whole. Throughout 1960-70 the growth rate in total domestic product achieved was only 4.6 per cent with a per capita growth of only in relation to the 2 per cent. The Assembly concluded that one of the
causes for this slow progress was due to the lack of an adequate framework of an international development strategy. The main objectives of the second U.N. Development Decade, in the 1970s, for the developing countries were to promote a sustained economic growth, ensure a higher standard of living, and to facilitate the process of narrowing the gap flanked by the developed and the developing countries. The progress achieved throughout the first half of the decade was reviewed through the General Assembly in 1975. The Assembly noted that the gap flanked by the developed and developing countries had increased alarmingly. The Assembly further noted that the net flow of financial possessions from the developed countries in the form of official development assistance had decreased in real conditions and as a percentage of GNP of the developed countries.

In the new international development strategy adopted through the General Assembly for the third U.N. Development Decade, beginning on first January 1981, the governments pledged themselves, individually and collectively, to fulfill their commitment to establish a New International Economic Order (NIEO) based on justice and equality. They agreed to subscribe to the goals and objectives of the strategy and to translate them into reality through adopting a coherent set of interrelated, concrete, and effective policy events in all sectors of development.

Role Of International Agencies

The International Labor Organization (ILO)

The ILO founded in 1919 is the only major organization which antedates United Nations system. This is an organization not for Labor alone, but, judged through its activities, can pass easily as an international organization for social justice. Furthermore, the organization’s responsibilities have widened in excess of time, and it has given rising attention to events intended to help raise general standards of living. Its work now comprises activities as remote from the traditional field of Labor relations as training courses for management personnel and high government officials in the use of modern
methods to improve productivity and efficiency.

The ILO was created as an organization in which Labor, employers and governments were to be represented on an equal footing. As so constituted, the ILO was, and still is, unique in the middle of international government organizations in that it is the only one in which private citizens, namely representatives of laborers and of employers, have the same voting and other rights as possessed through the Governments. One of the principal achievements of the ILO has been the formulation of an extensive international Labor code through the drafting and adoption of several standard-setting conventions and recommendations. The International Labor Conference cannot pass legislation that through itself is binding on any country. Member governments must, though, report back to the ILO on the events they have taken to bring the ILO conventions or recommendations before their competent legislative authorities, and they necessity also keep the ILO informed of decisions made through those authorities.

Once a convention has been ratified and has come into force, every country that has ratified it is obligated to take all necessary events to create its provisions effective. Through ratifying a convention, a country automatically agrees to report every year to the International Labor Office on how the convention is being applied to the territory. The ILO Constitution gives two other procedures to induce governments to carry out the provisions of the conventions that they have been ratified. Firstly, workers’ or employers’ organizations may create representations to the International Labor Office, if they consider that any government, even their own, has failed to live up to a convention that it has ratified. If the government concerned fails to give a satisfactory answer to the allegation, the Governing Body of ILO may decide to publish the allegation and also the answer submitted through the government.

Second, any ILO member government may file a complaint against any other member, for alleged noncompliance with a ratified convention. The ILO
Constitution gives that, in this event, it report on its findings, and recommend such remedial steps as it thinks proper. The ILO considers help to member states, in the thrash about against unemployment, to be one of its major responsibilities. Guided through International Labor Standards, and often with the practical aid of the ILO, several countries have taken steps to ease the lot of the unemployed, to organize employment bureaus, and to develop vocational training facilities. The ILO therefore has been successful in building up internationally valid minimum Labor and social standards which were initially measured utopian through several. Though, the several conventions and recommendations and the machinery of mutual supervision have helped to improve working circumstances and management-Labor relations, protect the basic rights of Labor, promote social security, and lessen the frequency and intensity of Labor conflicts in India.

_The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)_

UNESCO’s purpose as a member of the UN family of organizations is “to contribute to peace and security through promoting collaboration in the middle of the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the people of the world without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, through the charter of the United Nations.” The UNESCO is to promote, on the one hand, the democratization of education, science and arts and on the other hand, the progress of all sciences and all branches of intellectual activity which aim to improve material as well as spiritual life.

The UNESCO seeks to stimulate a worldwide attack on illiteracy, raise educational standards, encourage fundamental education, foster scientific research and promote the dissemination of scientific knowledge, give for the exchange of persons to promote cultural activities, improve facilities for mass communication, and in general, promote international understanding. A large
part of UNESCO’s programmes are accepted out under contract or through subvention to several non-governmental organizations, such as, International Council of Scientific Unions etc. UNESCO funds several of these organizations; UNESCO also works closely with other UN specialized agencies like WHOM, FAO, UNEP etc. in respective matters. UNESCO and the National Commissions, through meetings, publications, broadcasts contests, and exhibitions have stimulated public interest in its specific programmes, and achieved substantial progress in education, natural sciences, social and human sciences, study and promotion of culture, and development of communications all in excess of the globe. It amply gets reflected in the several public policies enacted in India as well, for instance, the proposed Cultural Policy Statement to be adopted through the Indian government.

**The World Health Organization (WHO)**

At its first meeting, in 1946, the UN Economic and Social Council decided to call an international conference to consider the establishment of a single health organization of the UN. The conference met in New York and on 22nd July adopted a constitution for the World Health Organization, which would carry on the functions previously performed through the League, and OIHP (Office International d’Hygiene Publique). WHO came into subsistence in April 1948, and its first assembly was convened in June throughout the same year.

In feeling the pulse of global health in 1974, WHO member states concluded that despite vaccines, antibiotic drugs, and a host of extraordinary advances in medical technology, the world was distant from healthy. There was a “signal failure”, the 27th World Health Assembly concluded, to give basic services to two-thirds of the world’s population, particularly to rural inhabitants and the urban poor, who despite being the neediest and in the majority, were most neglected. That assessment—made two dozen years after WHO’s establishment—led to a reorientation of WHO’s outlook and to the adoption of the goal of “Health for all through the year 2000” through the
approach of primary health care.

The main task of WHO, through the end of this century, is to work to ensure that people everywhere have access to health services that will enable them to lead socially and economically productive lives. We should keep in mind that WHO is in no sense of the term of World Health Service; it helps governments at their request and, in accordance with the policy laid down through the Health Assembly. The Regional Office has been helping the member states in approximately all fields of Public Health promotion. The role of the Regional Office is: i) Provision of expertise; ii) Fellowships; iii) Equipment; iv) Headquarter support to regional organizations. The regional office attempts to give useful know how through experts to member states to improve the general health circumstances.

WHO has clearly demonstrated the catalytic role opened to an international organization with precise objectives, a clear conception of its own part and consistency in its activity, though limited the possessions may be at any one time in relation to the needs. The WHO has always fought for the cause of social development. It can claim credit for the greater awareness which now exists on the social characteristics of the development process in a large number of its member nations, including India. Public policies enacted in India concerning control of communicable diseases, providing appropriate education and training in health care professions and allied activities and for opening up and development of hospitals, dispensaries, especially in rural areas, and starting of drug addiction centers etc. abundantly reveal the tantamount impact of WHO guidelines on Indian Policy-making scene.

*United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)*

In the course of the twentieth century, and specially after World War II, the augment in the earth’s population and the advance of technology, with concomitant changes in patterns of production and consumption, led to pressures on the environment and threats to its stability that were new in
human history. For a long time, the implications of these phenomena were largely ignored. In the decade of the 1960s, though, troubles such as soil erosion, air, water, and marine pollution, the need for conservation of limited possessions, and desiccation of once fertile zones became quite acute. This awakened the consciousness of governments and people in all parts of the world. The urgency of the situation was particularly felt in the industrialized countries. The UN responded with the decision of the 1968 General Assembly to convene a world conference on the human environment.

The first UN conference on the Human Environment was held in Stockholm in June 1972. The conference was a focus for, rather than the start of, action on environmental troubles. At its conclusion, the participants, on behalf of 90% of the world's population, adopted a declaration and a 109 point plan of action for the human environment. Later, in 1972, on the basis of the conference’s recommendations, the General Assembly created the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) with headquarters in Nairobi, to monitor important changes in the environment and to encourage and coordinate sound environment practices. UNEP is the first global UN agency which started with its headquarters in a developing country. UNEP’s key programmes contain “Earthwatch”, an international surveillance network which comprised three services: the Global Environmental Monitoring System. The International Register of Potentially Toxic Chemicals and the International Referral System. UNEP’s efforts against marine pollution, begun with a pilot programme in the Mediterranean, now also extend to in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, the Caribbean, the Asian seas, and the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans.

In 1985, a global convention on the Protection of the Ozone Layer, developed under UNEP auspices, was adopted through a plenipotentiary conference held in Vienna. UNEP’s voluntary Environment Fund has financed in excess of 800 projects concerned with marine pollution, soil degradation and desertification, the ecology of urban and rural settlements, the environmental impact of alternate energy sources, etc. Rajiv Gandhi, in the
foreword to the World Commission on Environment and Development Report, entitled “Our Common Future”, has said “Ecological degradation affects developing countries more fundamentally than it does the developed ones. We in India know this only too well. Our heroic efforts to give our vast and rising population with the minimum needs can be sustained in the long-term only if we protect our ecology from further attacks. India has taken concrete action to do so through creating necessary awareness, legislation, institutions and agencies.”

**International Financial Institutions and TNCs**

In 1944, even while the Second World War was being fought, representatives of forty-four nations met in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA, to discuss the major existing international economic troubles, including reconstruction of the economies ravaged through the War, and the Conference proposed setting up of:

- The International Monetary Fund (IMF) to alleviate the troubles of international liquidity (i.e. to help the member countries to meet their balance of payments deficits and international monetary instability).
- The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) to help the reconstruction and development of several national economies through providing long-term capital assistance, and
- The International Trade Organization (ITO) to work towards the liberalization of international trade.

The IMF and IBRD, as the Bretton Woods twins, were recognized in 1946. Though, the proposal for the ITO did not materialize; instead the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a less ambitious organization, was shaped in 1947.

**International Monetary Fund (IMF)**

Throughout World War II, more and more countries knew that they would be confronted through reconstruction efforts of staggering dimensions. It was
also recognized that the UK would emerge from the war as the world’s principal debtor nation and the US, the only major power whose productive capability had greatly increased throughout the war, as the world’s principal creditor nation. The UK, the US, and their allies were influenced that international economic and financial cooperation through inter-governmental institutions expressly recognized for that purpose, was required to prevent a more serious recurrence of the economic and monetary chaos of the 1930s.

Two plans were proposed approximately simultaneously in 1943: a US plan for an International Stabilization Fund, regularly referred to as the White Plan and a British plan for an International Clearing Union regularly referred to as the Keynes Plan. Both plans were discussed with financial experts of other powers, including the Republic of China, the French Committee for Liberation, and the USSR. The IMF, as finally constituted in 1945, resembled the US suggested stabilization fund. The possessions of the IMF come from two sources, namely, (a) subscription through members and (b) borrowings.

- **Quotas and subscriptions:** Each Fund member is assigned a quota, which determines its financial and organizational relations with the institution. Quotas determine members’ subscriptions to the Fund, their relative voting power, their maximum access to financing from the Fund and their shares in SDR allocations.

- **Every member of the Fund is required to subscribe to it an amount equivalent to its quota.** Each member is assigned a quota expressed in SDRs. Up to 25% of the subscription has to be paid in reserve assets specified through the Fund (SDRs or usable currencies) and the remainder in the member’s own currency.

- **As a result of members’ payments of subscriptions, the Fund holds substantial possessions in members’ currencies and SDRs, which are accessible to meet member countries’ temporary balance of payments needs.**

- **Borrowings:** The IMF is authorized, under its Articles of Agreement, to supplement its ordinary possessions through borrowing. The Fund
may seek the amount it needs in any currency and from any source, i.e., from official entities as well as from private sources.

A member’s voting power is significant for two causes. First, several of the principal policy and operational decisions of the fund require a certain majority of votes. Second, the voting power of the member has a bearing on the member’s representation on the Board. The five members with the largest quotas each appoint their Executive Director. The remaining Directors are elected through groups or constituencies of members. The facilities and policies through which the fund gives financial support to its member countries fall under the following heads, namely:

- Tranche policies
- Extended fund facility
- Permanent facilities, and
- Temporary facilities

Tranche policies

There are two types of tranche under the tranche policies, namely, Reserve Tranche and Credit Tranche.

Reserve Tranche

If the Fund’s holdings of a member’s currency, not derived from purchases under the Extended Fund Facility, Permanent facilities and Temporary Facilities, are less than the quota, the variation is called Reserve Tranche. A member using Fund’s possessions in Credit Tranche has the option either to use or retain a Reserve Tranche position. Purchases in the Reserve Tranches are subject to balance of payments need, economic policy circumstances, or repurchase necessities.

Credit Tranche

Further purchases are made in four credit tranches, each of 25% of the member’s quota. In the past, the total of purchases under credit tranche policies was normally limited to 100% of the member’s quota, an amount that
would raise the fund’s holdings of the member’s currency to 200% of its quota. Though, in response to the structural and deep-rooted nature of the payments imbalances currently confronting several members, the Fund is placing greater emphasis on programmes involving adjustment periods of longer duration, and provision has been made for access above these limits in the Enlarged Access Policy.
**Extended Fund Facility**

Under the Extended Fund Facility, the fund may give assistance to members to meet their balance of payments deficits for longer periods and in amounts larger in relation to quotas than under the Credit Tranche Policies.

**Permanent Facilities**

There are two permanent facilities for specific purposes, namely the facility for compensatory financing of export fluctuations and the buffer stock financing facility.

- **Compensatory Financing Facility**: The Compensatory financing facility was recognized in 1963 to compensate for fluctuations in cereal import costs. It extends facility to member countries encountering payments difficulties caused through temporary shortfalls in export proceeds.
- **Buffer Stock Financing Facility (BSFF)**: Under this, the fund gives possessions to help finance member’s contributions to approved buffer stocks. Repayments are made within three to five years or earlier if contributions to balance of payments situation improves.

**Temporary Facility**

Separately from the facilities described above, the members may sometimes create use of temporary facilities, recognized through the fund with borrowed possessions. For instance, throughout or 1974 and 1975, following the sharp rise in oil prices, the fund provided assistance under a temporary oil facility, intended to help members meet the increased cost of imports of petroleum and petroleum products. A country making use of the Fund’s possessions is usually required to implement economic policies aimed at achieving a viable balance of payments position in excess of an appropriate period of time. This requirement is recognized as IMF conditionality. This has generated into a standard package of hard payments adjustments events. It contains the following items:

- Ceilings on government expenditure;
- The size of budget deficit;
- Overall credit ceiling;
- A sectoral credit ceiling on public sector credit with a sub-ceiling on government sector credit;
- A withdrawal on subsidies; and
- An exchange rate action with liberalization of imports.

Technical assistance is a major activity of the Fund. Staff officials are sent to member countries to provide advice on several stabilization programmes of the government. The Fund has been successful in international monetary cooperation and expansion of international trade, but is currently entangled with a major problem of debt crisis of the developing countries.

**International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)**

The World Bank, or IBRD, appeared from the 1944 Bretton Wood Conference as the sister organization to the IMF.

The purposes of the Bank, as laid down in its articles of agreement, are to:

- Assist in the reconstruction and development of member territories through facilitating the investment of capital for production purpose, therefore promoting the long range balanced growth of international trade, increased productivity, higher standards of living and better circumstances for Labor;
- Supplement private investment when private capital is not accessible on reasonable conditions through providing financing out of its own possessions; and
- Coordinate its own lending with other international loans so that the most useful and urgent projects will receive priority, with due regard for the effect its investments may have on business circumstances in member territories.

Membership in IMF is a prerequisite for membership in IBRD. IBRD has
two affiliates, IFC and IDA. These three jointly are recognized as World Bank group. At its establishment the bank had an authorized capital of $10 billion. The countries subscribing shares were required to pay in only 1/5th of their subscription on joining, the reminder being accessible on call. The subscriptions of the Bank’s members constitute the basic element in the financial possessions of the Bank.

In its lending operations the Bank is guided through certain policies which have been formulated on the basis of the Articles of Agreement.

- The Bank properly assesses the repayment prospects of the loans it provides. For this purpose, it considers the availability of natural possessions, the existing productive plant capability to exploit the possessions and operate the plant, as well as the country’s debt.
- The Bank lends only for specific projects which are economically and technically sound and of a high priority nature.
- The bank lends only to enable a country to meet the foreign exchange content of any project cost; it normally expects the borrowing country to mobilize its domestic possessions.
- The Bank does not expect the borrowing country to spend the loan in a scrupulous country; in fact, it encourages the borrowers to procure machines and goods for Bank financed projects in the cheapest possible market, constant with satisfactory performance.
- The Bank maintains regular contact with borrowers with a view to checking the progress of projects and to keep in touch with financial and economic developments in borrowing countries.
- The Bank indirectly attaches special importance to the promotion of local private enterprise.

Transnational Corporations

Since the end of World War II, the role of multinational or transnational corporations in international commerce has been rising, but information on their activities has been fragmentary and often closely held. Some of these corporations command possessions greater than those of most governments
represented at the UN. In 1972, the UN Economic and Social Council requested the Secretary General to appoint a group of eminent persons to study the impact of transnational corporations on development and international relations. The group of 20 economists, government officials, and corporation executives from all parts of the world met in 1973 and heard testimony from 50 witnesses in public hearings. In its report in 1974 it recommended the making of a permanent commission on transnational corporations and an information and research centre in the UN Secretariat.

In December 1974, the Council recognized an intergovernmental Commission on Transnational Corporations. An Intergovernmental group of experts on ‘International Standards of Accounting and Reporting’ reviews issues that may account for the divergent accounting and reporting practices of Transnational Corporations. The four other priorities for the Commission’s programme of work are: Establishment of an information system to advance understanding of the nature of transnational corporations and their effect on home and host countries; research into the effects of their operations; technical assistance; and work leading to a more precise definition of the term Transnational Corporations.

The UN Centre on Transnational Corporations was recognized in 1974 within the UN Secretariat. The functions of the Centre are:

- To develop a comprehensive information system on the activities of the Transnational Corporation;
- To analyze and disseminate the information to all governments using data from governmental, corporate and other sources;
- To give technical assistance and strengthen the capability of host countries in their dealings with Transnational Corporations; and
- To carry out political, legal, economic, and social research, particularly research to help in devising a code of conduct.

GATT and trade protection policies adopted through National Governments are another instance of the role of International agencies in
Recent Trends

UN began its operations towards the close of the World War II in 1945. The major troubles before the members of the UN at that time were how to stop recurrence of deadly world wars and the threat of nuclear annihilation. Soon, a bipolar power structure appeared with two superpower blocks, US and USSR engaging them into a cold war. On the economic and social development fronts, the problem of reconstruction of war devastated countries was tackled first and then the attention shifted to the problem of development of the underdeveloped countries. The success in the under-developed countries was very modest and that too was confined mostly to the few rich. The gap flanked by the rich and the poor nations increased. The expected stage of assistance from the developed countries for helping the developing countries reduced in real conditions as well as in conditions of percentage of GNP of the developed countries. Even the limited finances made accessible through the international financial institutions to the underdeveloped countries created serious debt crises in most of them.

Therefore the UN sustained as an organization of unequal partners. This led to a dominant-dependence relationship in the middle of the partners, while the thought was to develop a mutually helpful security and economic relationship. Recently a number of unexpected developments have taken place in Europe and Soviet Russia. The two Germanys have got united. USSR and Eastern Europe have embraced democracy and market economy, signaling the failure of dogmatic socialism. The situation is very similar to market failure and thereby, failure of capitalism, as it happened throughout the great depression of 1930s. At that time the renowned economist J.M. Keynes diagnosed the phenomenon as a lack of effective demand. His solution was to adopt appropriate fiscal policies to pump prime the effective demand stages. The world was saved from depression; and, capitalism was offered a longer lease of life.
Marx’s communist ideology was experimented with for the first time in Soviet Russia in 1917, followed later through the several Eastern European countries, as a solution to uplift the circumstances of the world’s exploited Labor class. Almost certainly excessive centralization of economic decision making and implementation jointly with a higher production priority to the production of guns at the cost of bread, led to accumulated frustrations which caused the collapse of that system. It is not yet clear what the solution to this government failure is. As a result of all these, the erstwhile USSR has become a competitor of international loan taking and circumstances of the developing countries is still worse.

On the political front, the collapse of USSR system has converted the bipolar world power structure into a unipolar one with USA having the monopoly of world political power. This has also halted the cold war situation. World peace is a significant precondition for development. All developing countries are afraid of external aggression for economic exploitation, domination, etc. So substantial amount of possessions are deployed in defense in approximately all the developing countries. Development is urgently needed, particularly to tackle the problem of uplifting the substandard living circumstances of the world’s two-thirds population of the underdeveloped countries. Though the major constraints to achieving this are: waste of large chunk of possessions in defense, and extreme in excellence both crossways the rich and poor nations, and flanked by the richest and the poorer sections of the population within each nation including the developing countries. Because of all these the strategy of production and the income and price structures so distant evolved do not favour the poor. The poor also lack physical possessions, education and training, and access to modern technology necessary to improve their productivity. All these issues can only be tackled at the international stages as international cooperation is vital for tackling these major issues. The UN, so, will have to have a fresh look at all these issues and come out with solutions beneficial for all the countries. The poverty alleviation programmes if taken up at the international stages will definitely
help to expand the overall size of the markets for industrial goods which will even benefit the developed countries.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social Movements: Meaning, Genesis, Theories And Social Mobilization

Social Movements, in recent years, have attracted the attention of not only social anthropologists, but also of political scientists, historians, and public administrators. Some of the scholars have used the term ‘movement’ interchangeably with organization or union. It has become a gimmick of some politicians and social reformers to term their activities as ‘movements’ without even having a handful of people as its activists. It was in the beginning of the nineteenth century when the term social movement was used significantly in the European languages. It was mainly because of the social upheaval prevailing at that time. The focus of these social movements was on the changing society. They advocated improved and better property relationship suiting the interests of the exploited classes.

Though good number of such movements are in subsistence and equally sizeable amount of research has been already mannered on dissimilar social movements, yet there is no precise definition of the term ‘social movements’ which is acceptable to scholars from dissimilar disciplines. Paul Wilkinson in his book, Social Movements, has presented a working concept of the term ‘Social Movement’. According to him, A Social Movement is a deliberate communal Endeavour to promote change in any direction and through any means, not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into ‘utopian’ community. A social movement necessity evince a minimal degree of organization; this may range from a loose, informal or partial stage of organization to a highly institutionalized and bureaucratized movement and the corporate group. “A social movement’s commitment to change and the raison d’etre of its organization are founded upon the conscious volition, normative commitment to the movement’s aims or beliefs, and active
A ‘Social Movement has the following features:

- A social movement is deliberate, intentional, and planned in accordance with the goals and targets it aims to achieve. The efforts are made as per the strategy adopted through the concerned social movement organization;

- A social movement is a communal Endeavour and not the resultant of an individual’s efforts. It involves communal action as dissimilar from individual action. “Though, when the communal action is somewhat sustained, as separate from a sporadic occurrence, it does take the form of a movement. This communal action, though, need not be formally organised, but should be able to make an interest and awakening in a sufficiently large number of people. Hence, a social movement essentially involves sustained communal mobilization through either informal or formal organization.”

- A social movement is directed towards change relating to a specific aspect at hand with the given ‘movement’ organization. The change aimed at could be partial or complete in some statutes, norms, traditions, and values;

- Most of the social movements have some ideological base. It is the ideology which has been made as a base for attracting people to join a movement and work in accordance with the specified targets and goals;

- For running its activities properly, the social movement has an organization. It cannot be as formal as a government or private organization. It is rather a loose, informal or partial organization. Without having any organizational base it becomes hard for the social movement to go ahead with its activities; and

- Social movements have the active participation of the followers or members. They have voluntarily joined the movement in order to protect their interests. For achieving the purpose of their joining, it is a necessity that they actively participate in its activities.
A social movement has an innovative trait. It aims at achieving something without having much in the nature of institutionalization, code of conduct, procedure of membership, etc. Once the working of the movement gets reutilized and institutionalized and some of its aims and goals are achieved, the movement either takes the form of a political party having an ideology in accordance with its goals and target group members’ needs; or it ceases to be a movement at all. Of course, in some cases, there emerge splinter movements from one movement as a result of some differences of opinions existing within its original members.

In order to have a clearer thought of the several dimensions of social movements, it is better to understand their classification. Some social movements are reformative, attempting to usher in reforms in certain areas of life. These involve changed and new relationships, activities, values and norms. Another type of social movements are transformative. They are oriented towards bringing changes in “super-oriented and subordinate relationships”. The third type of social movements are revolutionary ones attempting to bring to fore changes in related spheres or activities pertaining to life. Furthermore, the social movements could be classified on the basis of the locus of a movement. The movements could be: linguistic, religious, sectarian, caste, workers, tribals, backward, peasants, women, students, etc. Some movements could be spread all in excess of the country, some in scrupulous states, and some may be in a group of states.

The working concept of the social movement, several features of the social movements, and the classification of movements, as discussed above. Of course, create the points concerning the identification and operationalization of the problem of enquiry of the movements but these do not help us understand the causes of the emergence and later on growth of the social movements. In the present stage our focus is on the activities of social movements as influencing factors on policy-making. In order to see how much dissimilar movements have succeeded in influencing policy-making, we would be quoting specific illustrations. But how the movements emerge and
what are the theoretical foundations of social movements necessity be understood. It would help us in analyzing the modus-operand and successes of several movements in India through the formulation of dissimilar policies. The pertinent questions, so, are: what are the structural circumstances under which movements emerge:

- The motivational forces; and
- The dissimilar theories which conceptualize the emergence of a social movement.

The structural circumstances and motivational forces which provide rise to a movement are explained mainly through three major theories. These are recognized as: theory of relative deprivation; theory of strain; and theory of revitalization. The theory of Relative Deprivation was coined through Samuel A. Stouffer. He was the first to use this notion. This theory was later developed through Robert K. Merton. The theory suggests that people mainly experience feeling of deprivation when they compare their own situations unfavorably with those of other individuals or groups. Comparisons can be made both with individuals with whom people interact and also with outsiders. What matters is which reference group the person or group chooses as the focus of comparison. The emphasis on people’s subjective frames of reference is a useful addition to the study of deprivation. But the concept itself does not determine at what point relative deprivation becomes objective than absolute deprivation.

Robert K. Merton developed the concept of relative deprivation in relation to reference group theory. The concept was applied through him to analyze social mobility. Social mobility is a concept which is used in sociological investigation of inequality. It refers to the movement of individuals flanked by dissimilar stages of social hierarchy, usually defined occupationally. Merton’s approach with regard to emphasis on social mobility while working on the theory of relative deprivation was later developed through W.C. Runciman in relation to reference group and troubles of social inequalities and justice. “In this approach, relative deprivation is made the basis of a study of social
mobility as occurring through emulation and positive reference group behavior.”

Contrary to the viewpoint of Stouffer, Merton and Runciman, Marx and Aberle developed the concept while laying emphasis on ‘disagreement’ element. Aberle has defined relative deprivation as “a negative discrepancy flanked by legitimate expectations and actuality”. He has analyzed relative deprivation in conditions of material status, behavior and worth and has termed the concept as “the bed-rock for a study of social movements”. It has been recognized through Karl Marx and Frederick Engels that dissatisfaction with the status quo was not determined through absolute circumstances but through relative expectations. T.R. Gurr in his book, Why Men rebel, has attempted to clarify certain points in the concept of relative deprivation. According to him, relative deprivation is not only to be measured in conditions of expectations but also in conditions of perceived capabilities.

Gurr has defined it as a gap in subsistence flanked by expectations and perceived capabilities. Economic circumstances, political power, and social status are three general sets of values involved in the gap flanked by expectations and perceived capabilities. Such a gap emerges:

- When the expectations are stable but the capabilities decline, it is detrimental deprivation;
- Or when there is rise in expectations and a decline in capabilities, it is progressive deprivation;
- Or when the rise is in expectations and the capabilities remain stable, it is inspirational deprivation.

Relative deprivation theorists conceded that “a position of relative deprivation alone will not generate a movement. The structural circumstances of relative deprivation give only the necessary circumstances. Enough circumstances are provided through perception of a situation and through the estimate of capabilities through certain leaders that they can do something to remedy the situation”.
As per the concept of stress and strain a social system is never in a state of perfect equilibrium. There are always inconsistencies in the middle of its component parts (role expectations, social institutions, etc.,) producing stress and strain. These strains may be able to hinder the achievement of goals or, in extreme cases, threaten the survival of the system. In order to cope with the strains, social movements emerge to work for the attainment of such perceived goals and targets through which the strains could be either done absent with totally or reduced partially: depending upon the situation, gravity or problem, and quantum of strain. It was Neil Smelser, who in his work, Theory of Communal Behavior, propounded the strain theory. This theory treats structural stream as the factor underlying the consequences amounting to communal behavior. At several stages of norms, values, mobilization, and situational facilities, the structural strain occurs. When the persons are under strain they Endeavour to plan out a strategy to come out of it. The situations create the generalized beliefs and the concept of strain gives structural circumstances. The structural circumstances made accessible through the strain and the crystallization of generalized beliefs coupled jointly require some stimulating and precipitating factors to start a social movement. Basically, Smelser’s point of view brings forth the structural-functional framework with regard to the emergence of social movements. Strain has been measured through Smelser as the impairment of relations flanked by dissimilar components of a system leading to weak and poor functioning of the system; the deprivation under strain is incorporated in it. Strain theory considers disagreement as underlying factor to the system’s malfunctions and the theory of relative deprivation lays stress upon the disagreement element as productive of change.

With regard to the genesis of social movements, explained in to the theories of relative deprivation and strain, the question is whether the social movements appear on scene because of the negative circumstances as propounded in the said two theories. A.F.C. Wallace, in his paper “Revitalization Movements” has stated that the emergence of social
movements is because of the intentional, planned, organised and conscious moves on the part of the members of the society to build a more promising and satisfying culture for themselves. Revitalization is therefore, from a cultural standpoint, a special type of culture change phenomenon. Wallace has analyzed the revitalization movement’s dynamics in four stages. These contain: period of cultural stability; period of increased individual stress; period of cultural distortion; and period of revitalization. As per the theory of revitalization, equilibrium situations are attained through adaptive process. The social movements aim at bringing changes in the society. For this they adopt two pronged strategy. One is to highlight the negativities of a scrupulous situation or activity and the other is to create accessible the line of action to meet the conditional situations.

All the three theories discussed above with regard to the genesis of social movements have certain positive elements and points. While making a comparative analysis of all the three, M.S. A. Rao in his edited book, “Social Movements in India” has stated that, “the relative deprivation theory offers a more satisfactory explanation of the genesis of social movements for it is pivoted approximately disagreement and cognitive change, motivating people and mobilizing them approximately certain interests and issues. Secondly, it offers the best explanation for the change-orientation of movements rather than to looking at movements as adaptive mechanism restoring functional unity and equilibrium.”

It would be in the fitness of the things to create an effort to differentiate flanked by social movements and political movements. It is all the more necessary because we are to analyze the role of social movements in influencing the policy-making process, which is political, for all purposes. According to Andre Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes in their article, “Nine Theses on Social Movement”, the social movements do not strive for state power. Social and political power has differentiation and the state power is located in the state alone. A basic objective of social movements is social transformation. The members or the participants mobilize for the attainment of
social justice. Though the variation flanked by the state and society and flanked by the social and political movements and power is there, yet in the present day world to create a differentiation flanked by social and political power “is to gloss in excess of reality and ignore the complexities of political processes”. Social movements aim at social transformation and for getting social justice. In simple words these look forward to change in the society through policies enacted and executed accordingly. For bringing in relation to the social transformation and to thrash about for social justice, the requirement is to power or capture political authority, though not straight absent directly but certainly indirectly. To say that the variation flanked by social and political movements is “merely semantic” won’t be wrong.

Depending upon the ideology and objectives, the social movement’s effort to mobilize people from dissimilar parts in the given polity. In case it is to take up the case of a scrupulous group, for instance, peasants, backwards, students, women, etc.; then the members from the same group would be attracted to join the scrupulous movement. As said earlier, social movements are basically related to social change and so, to the social structure. For bringing as well as for resisting changes also the social movements mobilize the people being directly or indirectly affected through the same. Depending upon the organizational structure, issues at hands, and mobilizing mode of operation the mobilization of the societal components is achieved. The social mobilization is directed towards bringing or resisting change in the society through several policy interventions. Number of queries, are to be taken note of viz.

- The type and quantum of change being envisaged through the mobilization;
- The type of changes the mobilization tends to resist;
- The circumstances under which the people are mobilized;
- The nature and composition of social mobilization;
- The structural and planned ingredients of mobilization in conditions of bringing or resisting changes. It is required to have clearly in view what the movements could do; how they could do the same; and what effects it will have on the society.
The discussion in the preceding text helps us to understand the relationship flanked by the social movements and public policies. The specific illustrations with regard to some of the social movements would create the impact of power of social movements on policy-making process more clear.

**Social Movements And Public Policy**

Directed and undirected segments of social movements affect each other. As movements arise, grow, and become recognized, they tend to generate public controversy. Uncommitted portions of the society may be polarized into partisan support on the one hand and resistant opposition on the other. Social movements tend to achieve their goals through public policies or through resisting the applicability of any policy and stressing upon changes to be incorporated in the same.

A movement may work toward the goal of effective change in the rules of government or other institutions. The study of public policy could be mannered with two dissimilar aims. Firstly, through attempting to select flanked by good and bad or better and worse policies, and secondly through studying causal relations in an objective manner. Within the domain of social movements and policy sciences, these two approaches coexist. In a number of operational areas of some of the social movements, which ultimately fall in the realm of sociology, these approaches seem to merge as a result of specific dependent variables studied. In such areas, the causal relations flanked by policies as means, and valuative dependent variables as ends or outcomes are studied or taken note of. The culmination of the two approaches, that is, selecting flanked by good or bad policies and studying the causal relations objectively is a trait of sociology at large, which comprises social movements also. In the words of Duncan Macrae, Junior, “Several sociological concepts (or their opposites) may plausibly be taken as ends: Social integration, social mobility, intergroup communication, morale, or the reduction of social
disorganization, prejudice alienation, or crime. Therefore sociologists have often claimed to seek objective knowledge both for its own sake, and at the same time to give means to given ends whose valuative aspect is exogenous to the discipline. Such ends may be defined through the judgment that a social problem exists or through clients’ support for research. And even though radical critics within sociology have criticized their discipline’s cooperation with power clients, the critics themselves often feel that they can combine objective study with the service of given volumes through the study of power”.

Social movements are products of social structure which affects policy-making. The social movements brought to the fore through mobilized and aggregated interests and view points of its members, articulate to the policy-makers to bring changes in the policies already made or for making new policies. In the wake of overall objectives and the objectivity in the demands made through the social movements vis-à-vis other societal sections demands, and overall possessions, the policy-makers tend to enact policies as per the issues tabled forth through the social movements. Not only at the time of formulation of the policies but also at the execution has stage had the social movements acted as major determinants? The cooperation or lack of implementation of a policy extended or not extended through the social movements has substantial affect on the policy execution. The relationship, therefore, flanked by social movements and public policy is quite close and of important nature. In order to see how much the social movements have acted as determinants in policy-making, some of the specific illustrations are being discussed in the succeeding text.

**Specific Illustrations**

In order to bring to light the power and impact of several social movements on policy-making, we are analyzing some of the social movements; their impact can be ascertained through examining the policies enacted as a result of the social movement efforts.
Peasants' and Farmers' Movements

India is predominantly an agrarian country. Based on the significant elements of social movements, viz. communal mobilization, ideological stand, and change orientation, the agrarian movement in India is a separate form of social movement. This movement has been collectively organised to bring to the fore certain troubles or resist certain changes in the society through policies having impact on agrarian social structure in India. In dissimilar parts of the country, several agrarian movements have grown at dissimilar times. These are discussed under two separate subsections, that is, Peasants’ movements and Farmers’ movements. Before analyzing the same, it would be better to create a distinction flanked by Peasants' movement and Farmers’ movement. Kathleen Gough in her article, “Indian Peasant Uprisings” has defined Peasants as “People who engage in agriculture or related production with primitive means and who surrender part of their produce to landlords or to mediators of the State”. The Peasants are therefore, the small landholders, the survival stage producers, sharecroppers and agricultural laborers. The Peasants’ movement can be defined as an organised and communal Endeavour of the section of the society occupied in peasantry for changing the,

- Ownership pattern,
- Control of land,
- Use of land,
- Wage structure,
- Share of agricultural produce, and
- Credit and institutional support system.

Besides, it also aimed at all other allied characteristics of social and economic life of society which has deprived them of the basic necessities in excess of a long period of time. On the other hand, the farmer is the one who has relatively large landholding, belongs to the affluent section, and has the power of the commercial crop producing traits which they can bring to bear on their economic interests. Therefore, a farmers’ movement can be defined as a
communal and organised effort of comparatively well placed farmers, in economic conditions, for bringing changes in the mode of supply of electricity, supply of water, subsidy for fertilizers and more price for the agricultural produce.

The Peasants’ Movements

The Peasants’ Movements are described in two subsections:

- Telangana Movement; and
- Naxalbari Movement.

Telangana Movement

In pre as well as post-Independence era, India has witnessed a number of peasant’s uprisings. Of these, the armed insurrection flanked by 1946 to 1952 in the Telangana region of Hyderabad, which was at what time a princely state, has its own importance and significance. It was led through the Communists. Soon after independence, that is, in 1948, the Hyderabad State experienced a forceful outburst of the discontentment of peasantry. The peasants in Telangana region were under the control of the Jagirdars. As a result of the Jagirdari system of land tenure the peasants were under substantive oppression of the jagirdars. The big landowners, whether Muslims or high caste Hindus, used to create the peasants work under compulsion without having any set norms of payment in lieu there of. The peasants, mainly hailing from Reddy and Kamma caste groups and tribes, did not have the freedom to approach the ruler also since the State was Theocratic and Nizam’s word was final. The ruler was more close to the rich landowners than the poor peasants. The peasants were facing oppressions in the form of minimal wages, high rate of interest on loans, whimsical work circumstances to land owners’ interest, etc. In a nutshell, there was utter depression in the middle of the peasants and they were fed up with the then existing arrangements which spoke voluminously of their exploitation through the Jagirdars.
The peasants wanted to release themselves from such tyrannical state of affairs. The socialists and communists attempted to mobilize the poor peasants against the Nizam. It took the form of a movement. In 1948 the movement underwent a shift. A landlord’s employee was murdered through a village activist on an issue pertaining to land. This act raised a violent response. The Nizam tried to suppress the movement and this oppression was resisted strongly through the peasants not only through making use of traditional weapons but also through forming armed guerrilla squads. The peasants, and even the women joined the activists, fought successfully against the armed forces of the Nizam. Lands of the jagirdars were seized and liberated zones were shaped. Approximately two years passed in such a thrash about. In 1949 the Indian army overthrew the Nizam of Hyderabad. It became a part of Indian Union. The socialists, who were a major force in mobilizing the people for the movement, withdrew from the movement. Slowly, with the passage of time, the movement came to an end. The net result of the movement was the abolition of the jagirdari system.

Naxalite Movement

The Naxalite Movement had its operational area in West Bengal. The circumstances which were prevailing in the State were not conducive to the uplift of the peasantry. It is a fact that to all appearances there was a decline in the extent of landlessness and an augment in the number of small and medium land cultivators in the State. But in actual fact the socio-economic circumstances of the peasants were still largely unchanged. The peasants were still subject to exploitation. Decrease in the extent of landlessness and augment in the number of small and medium peasants did not affect the rich landowners or even the medium landowners in the State. The abolition of large holdings also did not have many consequences as, through foul means, the owners were successful in getting their holdings transferred in the names of their relations, and in several cases also in some fictitious names. Besides, the lack of substantial legal protection led to unrestrained eviction of share croppers, low share of crops to the share croppers, and low wages to laborers.
occupied in agriculture. It amounted to substantive augment in the burden of indebtedness of the peasants which further became a cause for their exploitation. On the other hand the lazy and inert development of industry, increasingly high pressure on land, thoroughly limited avenues of employment, and large level migration of people from East Bengal were contributory factors to the overall bad economic circumstances in the State of West Bengal. The United Front Government which claimed to support, the cause of peasantry came to power in the State of West Bengal in the year 1967. The suppressed feelings of the peasants, which were mobilized on the basis of Marxist Leninist Maoist ideological frame work, burst out in the form of peasant movement recognized as ‘Naxalite Movement’.

The Naxalite movement, which started in the village of ‘Naxabari’, in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, adopted guerrilla warfare strategy. It was termed as a radical movement launched through the peasants. The movement, which originated from a small village, soon spread all in excess of the State for protecting the cause of peasants, agricultural laborers and share croppers. It was aimed at removal of exploitation of the peasantry through the landowners and money-lenders.

To begin with, committees of the peasants and Red Guards were shaped to bring the movement into action in some parts of Darjeeling district. It later on spread its activities of forcefully capturing the surplus land of the landowners, seizing paddy from the landowners' godowns, cutting standing paddy crops from the fields of the landowners, and seizing loan documents from landowners, etc., in the whole State. The formation of CPI-ML (Communist Party of India—Marxist-Leninist) through Kanu Sanyal in 1968 and advocating of the “Line of annihilation of class enemies" through Charu Mazumdar in 1969 contributed to the peasants movement launched in West Bengal. The students of several colleges also joined hands with the peasants and started mobilizing people in the rural areas. The Naxalites started their operations in a big method. The landowners were deprived of their goods, liberated zones were declared, and some of the landowners left the villages,
Whereas some surrendered before the Naxalites. So long as the United Front Government remained in power there was no move to repress the movement. After President’s rule in 1970 the police force started repressing the movement in a big method and succeeded in crushing the violent movement in a short span of time.

The movement operated in a revolutionary manner. The peasants were united against the landowners and wanted to come out of their clutches. The attitude adopted was definitely hostile. The political parties having leftist leanings were supporting the movement aimed at bringing reforms in agrarian policies and institutional structure. Though the movement was forcefully repressed through the Government, yet it provided enough food for thought to the policy-makers to seriously ponder in excess of the issues of thrash about and to create policies on the same. Number of policies as a result of this movement, and also some others, were made. The same would be discussed after briefly mentioning some of the Farmers’ Movements also.

Farmers Movements

Farmers Movements: We have started the discussion in the subsection through saying that we would be analyzing some of the Peasants and Farmers movements in India. The Peasants movements—a) Telangana movement; and b) Naxalbari movement have been discussed in the preceding text, the focus would now be on Farmers Movements.

The farmer’s movements started gaining currency because of the fear that the policies of the Congress government under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi were directed more towards the upliftment of industrial capitalist development than for the safeguarding of interests of the farmers. The land ceilings in rural areas were implemented whereas the same zeal was not applied to implementing the ceiling on urban land and property. The farmers agitation primarily on "Price and related issues against the alleged neglect of rural interests—have been a prominent characteristic of the political scene in
many states, particularly in Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, and Karnataka.” For the purpose of understanding the dynamics of farmers’ movements, we would be discussing the farmers' movements in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu.

Farmers’ Movement in Maharashtra

It is Sharad Joshi who is measured to be the chief architect of Maharashtria farmers’ movement. He gave a fresh, and stimulating turn to the movement started through Dr. M.G. Bokare under the name of the Maharashtra Kapas Utpadaka Shatkari Sangha shaped in the year 1972. “Farmers' movements on price issues took place in Maharashtra throughout a decade when its agriculture had turned the corner from stagnation to growth.”

The State of Maharashtra has witnessed the growth of Cotton growers' movement in the last twenty years or so. The cotton growers were paid quite unremunerative prices for their produce for number of years. As a result, the debt on cotton growers kept on rising at a high rate. Consequently, the cotton growers felt discontented. M.G. Bokare organised the movement for pressurizing the government to fix a reasonable price for the cotton. In the State not only the cotton producing farmers were under exploitation but also the union and tobacco producers.

A Brahmin through caste and a well placed urbanite, Dr. Sharad Joshi shaped the Shatkari Sangathana in Maharashtra with a one point programme of remunerative prices for farm produce. He measured it as “a programme which will set in motion all the required forces towards the removal of poverty in the country”. The Shatkari Sangathana mobilized the people and organised ‘RASTA ROKO’ (blockade of road) in Nasik in November 1980. “The huge response he (Joshi) got from the farmers sent ripples all in excess of the Maharashtra The agitation relied on blocking of roads, and some 31,000 courted arrests.” The movement started through Sharad Joshi got support from all concerned. As a result of it, the Maharashtra State Marketing Federation started buying onions at 25 to 35 per cent increased prices. Not only this, the
state government pressurized the sugar factories to augment the advance amount from Rs. 150 to Rs. 180 per tone of sugar cane to the farmers.

Besides, Sharad Joshi’s Shatkari Sangathana took up the case of tobacco cultivators of Nipani in Karnataka. The tobacco growers were paid some advance before harvesting and in turn for less than half of the price of the produce the tobacco was taken from the farmers. The Shatkari Sangathana in March 1981 organised ‘Rasta Roko’ in Nipani. The traffic was blocked for 21 days. There was a clash flanked by tobacco growers and the Police. Joshi was arrested in the firing 10 people were killed and hundreds were injured. “The state government avoided the price issue on the ground that only the Centre could fix support price for tobacco but it offered help to growers in forming a cooperative to overcome the exploitation of prime trade and the RBI offered to advance 75 per cent of the total price of tobacco received throughout the previous year to facilitate the formation of such a cooperative”. These events helped in improving the price for the agricultural produce.

Farmers’ Movement in Tamil Nadu

Tamil Nadu could be termed as the first state where the farmers’ movements started on “non-party lines”. Method back in the year 1949; a leading farmer of Tanjavur district, Rajagopala Naidu, shaped an association to counter the moves of tenant movements organised through the communists. The association “slowly died out after the suppression of the CPI”. With the passage of time it was felt through the people that issues like augment in electricity charges and repayment of government loans were causing hardship to the farmers. The farmers slowly started mobilizing themselves and ultimately Tamil Nadu Agriculturists’ Association was shaped in 1966 in North Coimbatore taluk. It was converted into a district stage organization in 1967 and a state stage organization in 1973.

The issues agitating the farmers were expressed through the Association in the form of general strikes, mass hunger strikes, and picketing in front of
government offices. Not only this, the movement took a violent turn in 1977. The government offices were not only blocked but the officials were stopped from entering their offices. The repayment of loans was stopped. The officials were prohibited from entering the villages without prior permission of the village farmers’ association. The government used force to repress the movement. The sensitivity of the issues and the support lent to the same through sizeable number of farmers moved the government to reduce the electricity charges, meter rent, monthly fixed charges and abolition of cess on Cash crops. The government did not yield to the pressure to the extent of loans waivement. It resulted in further intensifying the agitation and finally in the year 1980 the loans of small farmers were waived off. It was an intentional move of the government to cause a setback to the activities of the farmers as a group. But certainly, as a result of this movement, the farmers could get some relief. On the pattern of farmers’ movements in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, as discussed above, there have been farmers’ movements in other States also. Some of these contain; Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, and Karnataka, etc.

Power of these Movements on Government Policy

The analysis of some of the peasants and farmers’ movements made in the preceding text has brought to light the mobilization, efforts, and strategies that were adopted through these movements in scrupulous and through a number of others also aiming at bringing in certain changes and resisting certain others the changes in the interests of socioeconomic upliftment of the peasants and farmers. Besides providing some benefits to the members of the separate movements, as discussed above, the government has formulated dissimilar policies from time to time. It becomes apparent through looking at the policies formulated that the movements of peasants and farmers influenced the thinking process of the policy-makers and accordingly the policies were made. Some of the significant ones’ contain

- Immediately after Independence, the intermediary system of land tenure was abolished in India. The Jagirdari Abolition Act, 1949 in Hyderabad, and the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Act, 1950
are important examples of the same. Likewise, in all States such legislations were enacted. The Madras legislature passed an Act in 1953 to reduce rents in Zamindari areas and also to abolish zamindari as such;

- In order to ensure uniformity in land holdings, ceiling legislations were passed in approximately all the States through the end of Second Five Year Plan. The legislations to this effect were enacted and implemented in the spirit these should have been. As a result, through the time Fourth Five Year Plan was being finalized, the Planning Commission was directed to formulate policies on land ceiling to ensure greater access to land for the landless. Consequently, some States passed the legislation in 1972, some did not in 1973 but the events came into force through and large in all the States in 1973.

- Land reforms have been recognized and accepted as a significant instrument of economic and social change. Land reform policies were initiated in the country for achieving the twin objectives of rising agricultural production and ensuring social justice. Legislative events have been adopted for providing to the tenants security of tenure and for regulating rates of rent payable through them.

- Agricultural Price Policy was made to get the farmers and producers the due rate for the agricultural crops. Remunerative prices for the produce are essential in order to augment productivity and to improve the farmers socio-economic status;

- The Agricultural Price Commission (since renamed as Commission for Agricultural Costs and Prices—CACP) was recognized in 1964. Its duty is to create recommendations on procurement/support prices in respect of number of significant agricultural commodities. It has, in excess of the years, helped in the evolution of a stable and positive price policy for the agricultural producer.

- While recommending a price for a commodity the CACP takes into account not only a comprehensive overview of the whole structure of the economy of a scrupulous commodity, but also keeps in view the likely affect of the price policy on the rest of the economy, particularly
on the cost of living, stage of wages, industrial cost structure, etc. In addition, it takes into consideration the accessible data on cost of production, trends in market prices, demand and supply situation, changes in input prices and tiller crop price policy. It also takes into account the changes in conditions of trade flanked by agricultural and non-agricultural sectors;

- On the recommendations of the Rural Credit Review Committee, the* Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA) and the Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Laborers Development Agency (MFDA) were shaped with a view to improve the economic circumstances of small and marginal farmers and agricultural laborers. It also aims at turning them into surplus producers through (1) helping them to develop the potential capability of their farms and (2) through organising local possessions and market-based agro-industries as an easily accessible secondary source of their income. Local possessions are organised through the medium of the cooperative societies of dissimilar types, commercial banks, and similar other institutions. In this whole process, the SFDA and MFDA are to serve as catalytic mediators. It was expected that these agencies would bring the benefits of modern technology to the small and marginal farmers. The purpose is to raise the living standards of small and marginal farmers and agricultural laborers through improved agriculture, subsidiary occupations, and supplementary employment;

- For ensuring adequate and timely marketing of the agricultural products and to save the farmers from the exploitative events of the ‘Middlemen’, the State governments have recognized Agricultural Marketing Boards. Ever since the Green Revolution, the problem of agricultural marketing has been engaging the attention of the Government and farmers. The establishment of State Marketing Boards has helped the farmers to some extent;

- From time to time the Government has launched special programmes of dissimilar types to help the peasants, farmers, and agricultural laborers. Programmes like, National Rural Employment Programme;
Drought Prone Area Programme; Desert Development Programme, TRYSEM, etc. have been launched to help the uplift of the rural poor. In 1989-90, the Government launched specific programmes for helping specific categories of peasants and farmers. These contain: Special Rice Production Programme in Eastern States; Special Food granules Production Programme; National Pulses Development Programme; National Oilseed Development Project; Rigorous Cotton Development Programme; Special Jute Development Programme; and Reclamation of Alkali Soils in Haryana, Punjab and U.P.

The policies and programmes made through the Government from time to time do reveal the events initiated through the policy-makers for protecting the interests of the peasants and farmers.

**The Response Of Public Agencies— Coercive And Responsive**

The governmental machinery ought to be responsive to the needs, demands and expectations of the citizens. ‘Responsiveness' of policy-makers and implementers is a term which has socio-psychological dimensions. It is certainly not a populist or slogan zed term or statement. What the demands and expectations are of the specific section of the society have to be seen through the policy-makers in the in excess of all context. The government aims at making policies in order of priority so that no section of the society is deprived of the benefits to be given to it in a given span of time. How the policies are formulated and what is the role of dissimilar governmental and nongovernmental agencies has been explained at length in a number of units of this course. So, we will not be discussing the policy-making process in excess of here. Rather the focus of discussion would be on the role of public policy-making agencies, that is, the government, in formulating policies in response to the social movement activities and demands discussed in the preceding text.

In accordance with the basic objective of the socialistic pattern of the
society, the government has from time to time been making policies to protect and uplift the peasants and farmers. The social movements which were launched through peasants and farmers did give the government requisite feedback and thought for action to create policies which could help the specific sections more. In order to ensure peace, and law and order, the government becomes oppressive when any social movement adopts violent means. Whenever the social movements’ organizers attempted to disturb peace and to destroy and damage public property the government machinery came into action. From this it cannot be inferred that the government had been anti-social movements or anti any demands having been made through the specific sections of the society through any movement. The public opinion mobilized through the social movements has been playing an active role in the formulation of policies conducive to the needs and some of the demands of the social movements.

MASS MEDIA

Mass Media And Planned Change

The governments of virtually all developing and under developed countries of the world declare themselves committed to development. Development, in the context of these countries, is seen as “a process of change to be set in motion and guided towards the objective of eradicating the hunger, disease, injustice, exploitation and related ills that afflict vast sections of the population”. Some of these countries, like India, have sought to fulfill the developmental objective through regular five-year plans. The developmental potential of mass media in general and of television in scrupulous, as a powerful aid to planned change and mass education is now universally appreciated. For a developing country like India such an electronic audio-visual medium as television has a profound impact on the millions of illiterate masses. This medium is, so, most useful for dissemination of information, diffusion of new ideas and practices, and transmission of developmental messages to illiterate and backward people living in the remotest and most isolated rural areas.
Diffusion of New Ideas and Practices

The scientific and technological revolution exerts a discernible power on the dynamism of our age. It compels man to constantly develop his knowledge, extend his general outlook and adopt new ideas and practices. This is more so for the people of a developing country as ours. Radio, Television and other types of mass media can play an educational role in helping the people to know and adopt new ideas and practices for their individual and communal well-being. In India, where more than eighty per cent of the population live in rural areas and depend on agriculture, one of the prime ingredients of economic growth is the dissemination of information in relation to the new fertilizers, seeds, insecticides, cropping patterns and so on.

According to Vikram Sarabhai, an Indian scientist of international repute, “Mass media are clearly the main component in this system of information transfer”. A micro-stage study of the impact of television on the life of a backward village in Bihar clearly reflects the positive role that a medium like television can play in diffusion of new ideas and practices. It discovers that the location of the television and its “free” access to everyone helps in breaking the communication barriers related to development, and that version of innovations through several categories of cultivators is possible if infrastructural support is provided. Otherwise, only the rich would take advantage as it happened prior to the arrival of the television. The positive contribution of the television in providing information is in those areas where it suggests do it yourself type of exercises. For programmes based on such ideas are not dependent only upon the mercies of developmental agencies, but are at the same time within the means of adopters.

Again, in a traditionally land-based rural economy as ours, it is natural that people’s economic horizons do not extend beyond land as the basis of economic opportunity and livelihood. Since television is an audio-visual medium, based on the principle of knowing through seeing and hearing rather
than knowing through reading, its programmes can educate even the illiterate people to think beyond land and to explore non-land opportunities. To quote the working group for Doordarshan (1985), “A programme of diversification of the rural economy and development of its non-land opportunities is as much a programme of economic growth as of mass education”. General instructional programmes on animal husbandry, fishery, family planning, health and nutrition, may also facilitate diffusion of new ideas and practices in respective areas. Even remakingal programmes like myth-dramatizations, music, song and dance, and puppet shows containing some instructional messages are no less relevant and useful.
**Bringing in relation to the Change in the Society**

Mass media can play a creative and constructive role in bringing in relation to the change in the society. There is no denying that change and development have also negative and destabilizing consequences. Newton’s Third Law of Motion would appear applicable here. Just as every action has its equal and opposite reaction, every step towards social mobility and change results in corresponding erosion of social stability through the forces of change. A changing and developing society would, so, require new institutions and values to replace old institutions and values. In the Indian context, for instance, the process of modernization and change pose a severe threat to religion, caste, joint family and the village which were the pillars of the old society of a pre-industrial agricultural civilization. Consequently, the traditional shapes of social control have lost their hold while the new have yet to strike roots. Therefore, we notice, what the working group for Doordarshan says, “the oscillation flanked by the opposite tendencies of religious fundamentalism or conservatism at one end and of rootless modernization at another end”. Here is a historic opportunity for the mass media to play a creative and constructive role in resolving this deep moral crisis. “The search for values”, to quote the working group further, “has to be put in the centre of the stage and people have to be oriented towards the discovery of the new meanings in life through a synthesis of the best of the old and the new values”.

Again, in a developing democracy like India, which is facing the historic transition from the Elite Society to Mass Society, and which has yet to learn to live with troubles of enjoying freedom with responsibility, of sharing the exercise of power as flanked by classes, castes and ethnic communities, the era of growth is bound to be an era of great promise, but also of great uncertainty. “A value consensus alone”, as the Working Group has observed forthrightly, “can serve as an integrating force in a society in transition, Education in the formal institutions but more importantly through non-formal agencies including the media necessity be tapped for rebuilding such a Value
consensus”.

The promotion of scientific values and temper is another major responsibility of the media in a country like India which is still dominated through the medieval outlook and through superstitions of all types. The science programmes of AIR and Doordarshan have already shown vast possibilities of taking the message of science to the millions of illiterate and ignorant masses in India and making it meaningful to them. It is necessary, though, to make public awareness and public pressures so that the forces of commercialism may not exploit science only for consumerism but also for promoting scientific temper and outlook.

**Role Of Mass Media In Influencing Policies**

Goals and policies are “value loaded conditions referring to a distant state of things that are planned to be achieved”. Removal of poverty, for instance, can be measured a goal which the Government of India wants to pursue. Rural development, urban development and industrial development policies are then geared to the attainment of this broad public goal. Policies, in this context, are “major instruments that are cautiously formulated to move the society towards the goal.” In a democratic system which recognizes freedom of the press and freedom of thoughts and expressions, mass media exert a tangible power on the formulation of policies. There are three types of role which the mass media can play influencing policies. These are: information role; orientation role; and suggestive role.

**Information Role**

Mass media reflect the real life troubles, needs and aspirations of several classes and groups of the society. Such information gives valuable inputs to policy formulation. Mass media enlighten the policy-makers with information relating to latest scientific and technological achievements, and also with their coverage of important events and processes in other countries of the world.
Mass media also present public reactions to government policies. Such information is very useful for the evaluation of policy outcomes. This evaluation may lead to major or minor changes in an existing policy.

**Orientation Role**

In India, where half of the total population lives below the poverty line, any policy which is not directed towards attacking the troubles of poverty is unlikely to have spectacular results. A mass-oriented education policy, for instance, has no meaning if it is not supported through a mass-oriented economic policy. The choice, so, lies flanked by elite-oriented policies and mass-oriented policies. Mass media can either assist the former or the later. In any system of government, the ruling elites, through virtue of their position in the power hierarchy, play a dominant role in the policy-making. It is quite natural that as policy-makers these elites would lean towards elite-oriented policies rather than mass-oriented policies. Through lending support to mass-oriented policies, the mass media can play an important role in bringing in relation to the spectacular change in the attitudes and approaches of the elite.

**Suggestive Role**

Democratic values are essentially pluralistic. Consequently, the policy-makers in a democratic system are always left with multiplicity of choices, and policy decision involves a rigorous exercise of making a scrupulous choice from multiple options. Mass media not only stimulate discussion of the several choices accessible but also create specific suggestions in favour of one scrupulous choice or the other. Editorial articles of newspapers, for instance, not only create critical comments on government policies but also suggest alternative policies or events. Such comments and suggestions create the policy-makers’ tasks easier. It enables them to arrive at a scrupulous policy decision and to amend or reverse wrong policy diagnoses and decisions.
Mass Media And Public Opinion

“Public Opinion”, as Charles Steinberg has defined it very aptly, “is the communal expression of the opinions of several individuals bound into a group through common aims, aspirations, needs and ideals”. According to him, the power of public opinion, in conditions of its social efficacy, acts in two directions. First, the opinions of a group or public are shaped and influenced to a large degree through those in authority. They use their authority to maintain and solidify these opinions. The press and other mass media are voices of authority to which the public pay heed. On the other hand, these so called authorities are influenced in a democratic society through the power of public opinion. It reveals, so, that the use of mass media for the purpose of influencing public opinion is not unilateral but operates on a system of “healthy checks and balances”.

It is against the above background that we shall now discuss the role of mass media in (1) rising awareness in the middle of the people and (2) in mobilization of public opinion in a democratic society as ours which has its consequences on policy-making.

Rising Awareness In the middle of the People

For the facts relevant to the formation of public opinion, everyone has to depend on media. If the literate people depend more on newspapers, the illiterate people would obviously depend on cinema, radio or television. Most of these media disseminate news and views of wide diversity such as legislative debates, speeches of eminent personalities, announcements of governments, political parties and social action groups, public grievances and current issues and troubles. Such news and views help people to augment their political and social awareness. Such awareness, in turn, helps in the formation of public opinion.

It should, though, be noted that the role of mass media in rising public awareness is not unlimited. Some have argued, for instance, that the mass
media such as radio and TV, mainly because of the rapidity with which
information is presented, and the impossibility of interruption, questioning, or
discussion, tend to frustrate thinking and in a sense to dull the intellect. It is
ture that there is little time for reflection, appraisal, interpretation, analysis, or
testing, as the programmes role relentlessly on. Again, a free press in a
democratic system has its limitations in as distant as it ceases to become an
open forum for the ventilations of all shades of opinion and is transformed into
a tool of big business. In both the instances, the solution, if any, can only be
found “in the inculcation of the sound education that will enable the people to
select the good and reject the bad”.

Mobilization of Public Opinion

The mass media also play a vital part in mobilization of public opinion. The
dissemination of information is not the only function of the mass media. The
interpretation and systematization of information into a scrupulous
viewpoint are also undertaken through the media. In most countries, as in
India, the radio and TV are under government control and the newspapers are,
through and large, owned and controlled through the big industrial houses. It is
quite natural, so, that the mass media tend to mobilize public opinion not so
much in public interests as in the interest of the ruling class. But, the ruling
class or its voice, the media is sometimes influenced in a democratic society
through the power of public opinion. For instance, in the 1990 by-election of
Meham Assembly Constituency of Haryana, a strong public opinion, a
plethora of enlightened independent groups and a powerful media joined
jointly to uphold the sovereignty of the voters.

Need For A Proper Policy Framework For Mass Media

It is most unfortunate that despite three and half decades of planned
development effort, the utilization of such a very powerful resource as
communication is negligible. To quote Krishna Sondhi, an adviser to the
Planning Commission of India, “There is no such thing as measured policy in
any of the Communication systems in our country whether these relate to Film or Television or Telecommunication or Computer Sciences”. The Working Group for Doordarshan also noted: “We have development programmes and projects aiming at reduction of poverty without any involvement of communication agencies. We are also rapidly expanding the communication network without providing adequately for its active role in implementing antipoverty programmes”. There is no denying that the urgent troubles of development and growth require mass involvement and motivation which can happen only through planned communication systems. It is of utmost importance, so, to establish dynamic and beneficial linkages flanked by development and communication. As the FAO report has aptly put it, “development and communication are out of gear. On the one hand, we have the media used without a developmental purpose. On the other, we have developmental action without media or communication support. Yet, in an ideal world, the two would work hand in hand”. Therefore, while appreciating the need for evolving a comprehensive communication systems approach to deal with troubles of mass involvement and mobilization of effort.

We highlight here some of the necessities for a proper policy framework for mass media, as recognized through the experts as well as the Working Group for Doordarshan:

- To identify the role of several mass media like film, TV, radio and press in the developmental process, and to look at how this role can be promoted and what organizational frameworks are required to create these channels effective for development tasks;
- To give at least one television set to each village for community viewing with special access to weaker sections of society;
- To devise alternative possibilities for community viewing of TV in view of the large proportion of villages being non-electricity areas and even electrified villages having frequent power breakdowns and failures;
- To bring in relation to the such reforms in structure and management of Akashvani and Doordarshan as would ensure functional freedom for
these two organizations within the framework of accountability to social objectives; and

- To ensure optimum utilization of radio and TV for the promotion of mass education, scientific values and temper, people’s participation in development, family planning and child welfare programmes, secular values, cultural exchanges, and national integration.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLICY-MAKING

Political Parties: Meaning And Importance

A democratic Constitution gives for a representative and responsible system of government. Concepts of responsibility and representation are woven into the fabric of a modern democracy. It is through this system that public demands are articulated, synchronized and converted into public policies. Political parties initiate a process of opinion-formation on several issues and merge the opinions, with varying degrees of success, into some alternative policies. While the representative system gives for periodical choices of such policies through the voters, such choices do not automatically lead to a coherent programme which the government can pursue. In order to formulate concrete public policies a government is obliged to compromise and reconcile the varying demands of sections of the people.

A political party is a group operating to secure the control of government. Obviously, the first significant point in relation to the political parties is that they are groups with some degree of organization and permanency. Here, they may be contrasted with the temporary political organizations such as Famine Resistance Committee, which are shaped for the single purpose of concentrating on a scrupulous temporary issue; and, moreover, on such organizations several political parties and voluntary organizations are represented. Political parties, on the other hand, have some degree of permanency, and they live through the strength of their organization. Secondly, parties have definite aims and objectives. These are often a mixture of ultimate and immediate objectives. Besides, recognition of material
advantage that goes with the securing of power is a force which motivates the party programmes. In the United States, as in several other countries the concern for material interests appears dominant. As Carl J. Friedrich points out, “What is mere observation of the actual working of the government points toward the conclusion that the ideal objectives are forced upon parties through thrash about for gaining control of the government? It is a platitude of practical policies that the outs are invariably more emphatic in their advocacy of principles than the ins.”

Therefore the parties have an organization and a programme combining ideal and material objectives. The programme, especially in its material aspect, reflects a blend of interests. Several interests discover individual and group expression in party alignments. Parties in fact serve as convenient agencies for the expression of individual and group interests. The most vital interest determining party affiliation is held to be economic. Individuals are strongly motivated in political behavior through their economic interests. This is, though, distant removed from the Marxist assumption of economic determinism and its concomitant dichotomy of social classes. What is stressed here is that people tend to support and vote for the political party that holds the prospect of promoting their desired economic objectives in public policy-making. In conditions of such interests parties can be categorized into Liberal, Conservative and Radical.

Though, in policies and programmes parties actually unite sectional interests, as no party in a modern system of representative democracy can form a government through mobilizing the support of one specific interest or section. Every party is obliged to the electorate beyond one or two specific sectional interests. At the same time, it is hard for a serious party to surrender totally its ideological stance. Within the broad ideological framework a party creates compromises to come to conditions with reality.

The most significant function of a party is to collect the opinions of the variegated “publics” from the areas of society and carry them into the
machinery of government for public policy-making. As Maclver says, “It is the agency through which public opinion is translated into public policy.” In appraising the role of parties in public policy-making three facets have to be kept in view. These are: 1) ideological stances, 2) organizational structures and 3) leadership. The first one, that is, ideological stances, has already been measured. The other two facets are equally relevant. As Maurice Duverger opines, “the present-day parties are distinguished less through their programmes or the class background of their members than through the nature of their organization.” He draws attention to the great diversity of party organization. The most motivating theme in Duverger’s analysis is the classification of party structure. He mentions four types of structure. These are: the caucus, ii) the branch, iii) the cell and iv) the militia. Most of the modern political parties operating in a democratic system are branch parties having a centralized party structure with its basic units being distributed geographically in space. Delegates are elected through the branches and the regions to a central body which represents the highest policy-making body. Though, within each party there is a caucus whose members are influential and elites.

In this connection, the theory of party structure, as presented through R. Michels, is relevant. According to him, the party organizations fall victim to, what he calls, the ‘iron law of oligarchy’. He says that the party leaders who hold positions of authority within the organization or who hold positions of authority within the organised are not controlled through the individuals holding subsidiary positions in the organization.
These leaders give direction and guidance in party policies, and obviously, they exercise authority in public policy-making. In this connection the concept of hegemonic party is important. This conveys the thought of a very strong degree of hierarchical control, and there is no real section of the leadership which commits the hegemonic party to responsible government. So there is a manifest tendency towards irresponsible public policy-making. Such hegemonic party formation, as experience shows, is possible even within a formal democratic framework.

**Political Parties In India**

A myriad of interest groups exist in India. In a pluralist society, like the United States, the parties aggregate the interests into public policies. Though, in India, since some of the principal interest groups such as caste are alien to the western society, and since, for several of the organised interest associations the areas of operation are limited, the parties do not perform the aggregative role as neatly as is done through their western counterparts.

In the middle of all political parties in India, the Congress (I) performs most perfectly the aggregative function. This is mainly because the Congress, after Independence, eventually turned into a political party with the responsibility of governance. Throughout the freedom movement the task of the party was to accommodate all the discrete interests in order to mobilize the whole country against colonialism. It was a subtle coalition of interests. Though, this historical character of the Congress (Indian National Congress) got enormously diluted in the course of its governance of post-Independence India.

Formally, the Congress is a mass party with an extensive hierarchical organization, the Working Committee being the apex executive body. Though, approximately from the beginning of post-Independence period, the iron law of ‘oligarchy’ started operating. From 1950-51 onward Nehru had complete
sway in excess of policy and politics, and set up an intimate core group the members of which acted as his mediators in intra-party conflicts at the state stage. Later, with the rise of a very powerful leader, Indira Gandhi, especially from early 1970s, the Congress increasingly developed a hegemonic tendency. This resulted in an approximately total collapse of the local units and the rise of a caucus at the summit. The sanction of normal democratic, federal system was rendered approximately inoperative.

The Congress is a middle range party whose ideological position is spelt out in conditions of generalities. The Janata Dal too is a middle range party. Though, the heightened centralization of the Congress is missing in the Janata Dal which is a strong advocate of decentralization. Actually, the Janata Dal is a very loose and disjointed party with its erstwhile constituent units trying to project their former territories of power. It does not seem to have a strong organizational centre. Besides, while in the Congress industrial and professional class’s control, the power of mobilized rural-agricultural interests seems strong in the Janata Dal.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has an extensive organizational base in the States of the Hindi Heartland, and has lately extended its power to some non-Hindi areas such as Karnataka. The BJP is a cadre-based party and its organizational discipline lies in its ideological cohesion. It believes in the unity of the country through an assertion of the dominant Hindu culture. The BJP is the dominant rightist party. It is favorably disposed towards a strong national government and a deregulated economy. Its traditional social support base comprises the middle class, and the small traders and businessmen as well as a myriad of mainly city-centered Hindu fundamentalist groups. Lately, of course, a segment of the party’s social group support is drawn from the locally dominant middle castes whose aspiration to power national politics and policy is now being mediated through mobilized Hindu nationalism.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is the single most powerful in the middle of the leftist parties. Other leftist parties contain the Communist Party
of India (CPI), Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) and Forward Bloc. All these have their ideological roots in the Marxist brand of socialism. Naturally, so, these parties insist that economic development and management should receive priority in public policy-making. Besides, these parties are advocates of decentralization and radical institutional reforms. Though, these parties, taking into consideration the nature of the rural reality, have, at times, pursued the multicastr strategies, rather than concentrate solely on the agricultural workers and the poor peasantry.

There are many regional parties in India. These contain the Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, the AIADMK and the DMK in Tamil Nadu, the Akali Dal in Punjab and the Asom Gana Parishad in Assam. These parties made a good impression on the political process in 1989 elections, but have since declined considerably; with the exception of the AIADMK. These parties reflect strong decentralizing tendencies in India’s party system. They concentrate on the local issues, and have formulated demands for the federalization of the Indian political system and for the greater autonomy for state governments. In other words, the parties seek to regionalize the public policy issues. Several of the parties represent the aspirations and demands of the locally dominant castes such as Jat Sikhs in Punjab or Kammas in Andhra or Vokkaligas in Karnataka or the newly mobilized politically aspiring Backward Communities such as Kapus in Andhra. Though, the support of the castes for the parties does not remain stable.

These parties vary in conditions of their power upon public policy-making. The regional party/parties, who are close to the national government, seem to exercise more power. For in India’s federal system, the national government has considerable policy authority; through comparison, the state governments have little power in the existing configuration of political forces the AIADMK, which is in power in Tamil Nadu, is close to policy centres in New Delhi, as the Narasimha Rao government is dependent upon the AIADMK’s support in the Lok Sabha for its continuance in power. But the Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh and the Akali Dal in Punjab, which are not in power at the
state stage, and at the same time, are in the national opposition, discover it hard to power the public policy-making. Therefore, the strength of the regional parties to affect the public policies depends upon the extent of their rapport with the party/parties in power at the national stage.

India’s political party system therefore comprises many elements. There are few national parties worth the name, and only two parties, the Congress and the Janata, have exercised power at the national stage, the latter, though, being in power only for two short spells in 1977 and 1989. The Congress is more aggregative in its role performance than the Janata, although the industrial and professional classes seem to be more conspicuous than other interest groups in influencing the Congress party’s political decisions. The Janata Dal is more oriented towards the interests of the rural-agricultural sections, especially of the backward castes. Hence, it has developed a certain/rigid posture which has denied the party a wider maneuverability to accommodate and aggregate the several interests of India’s intricate society.

The BJP is seeking a comprehensive role in political decision-making through aggregating the interests of the several groups. Though, since, the party’s ideology is turned to strengthening the unity of the country through an assertion of the dominant Hindu culture, the aggregative function is being performed within the boundary of the majority community. In its effort to mobilize Hindu nationalism the BJP is trying to consolidate the several sections of the majority community. In scrupulous, the party is trying to move from the earlier segmented Brahmanical Hindu identity to broaden the Hindu community crossways castes and regions. The overall outcome is a certain rise of Hindutva community as a conscious interest group.

For other political parties like the CPI (M) the aggregative role is minimum. This is mainly because the class ideology of the party has an inbuilt bias for the toiling masses. Though, the reality of India’s electoral politics does not allow the party to pursue uniformly its class ideology. For it to acquire national status there is a need for a certain aggregative function
though, limited, which the party perform. Nevertheless, the party like the essentially regional parties is seeking to mobilize the region as a perceived interest group through constant centre-baiting and through asserting the regional claims in public policy-making.

Therefore the parties in India perform a certain aggregative function just as in the USA. Though, this function is not as neatly done through the Indian parties as through their American counterparts, there are marked differences in the ideological stances, organizational structures in the manner of operation of the Indian parties. Moreover, some of the organised interest groups have their limited territorial bases. For instance, the landless agricultural laborer and the poor peasantry are mobilized in the political process, and so in the public policy-making, only in some states, such as Kerala and West Bengal. They do not constitute organised groups nationally. Hence, in most of the states and at the national stage, these sections are virtually outside the mainstream political party system and therefore, outside the public policy role.

**Political Parties And Policy-Making**

It is necessary to view the nature and extent of connections flanked by parties, interest groups and public policy-making within one framework. Let us discuss party politics and public policies from this perspective and in the context of some important issues of development. One such issue relates to the role of the state in planning and managing economic development. The Congress Party, at its annual session at Avadi in January 1955, adopted a resolution affirming its faith in socialism. The resolution said: “In order to realize the object of the Congress... and to further the objectives stated in the Preamble and Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India, planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialist pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership and central production is progressively speeded up and their is equitable sharing of the national wealth.”
In subsequent years the Congress reaffirmed the Avadi resolution, and took events for executing it. At its annual session at Indore in January, 1957, the Congress amended its Constitution to read that the objective of the Congress was the “establishment” in India through peaceful and legitimate means, of a “Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth.” Therefore the Congress gave the State pivotal role in the economic planning. In conventionality with this ideological parameter of the ruling party the basic objectives and strategies of economic development were formulated. And, these were embodied in the Second Five Year Plan (from 1956 to 1961). The central theme of the plan was an assertive proposal for capital rigorous, heavy industrialization, dominated through the public sector, which would set up the key industries and control the commanding heights of the economy. The private sector was assigned a relatively insignificant role, that is, “to play a complementary role in the mixed economy”.

This model of economic development was not derived from indigenous wisdom as embodied in Gandhian blueprint of development; it was patterned largely after the experience of Soviet Union mellowed through Fabian Socialism. Its principal objective was to turn India into a modern industrial power. The other aims of development such as, agricultural growth, the augmentation of job opportunities, etc. were subordinated to this principal strategy as focused in the Second Five Year Plan.

Though, from early 1980s, the controversy concerning the relative roles of public and private sectors appeared again. A significant segment within the Congress (I) adopted a critical stance in relation to the performance of the public sector which increasingly became vast loss-incurring units. There also arose an extensive criticism against the state regulation of private investment. This influenced the thinking of the leadership, especially the ruling oligarchy of the Congress (I). In scrupulous, Rajiv Gandhi successfully “resisted demands for a reinstatement of the earlier public investment strategy and instead shifted the balance in the planning process in favour of private investment while taking many modest events to liberalize the licensing, import
control, and foreign trade regimes which have been criticized for restricting private enterprise and for distorting and corrupting the whole development process”

Therefore, there took place a shift in public policy concerning the role of State in industrial development. This, though, evoked mixed reactions. Some opposition parties, especially the leftists, started seeing in this new public policy the gradual abandonment of the socialist framework, which, in the beginning, acted as a basis for legitimizing change. While the right-wing opposition parties and sections of professional economists and jurists welcomed the shift.

Throughout the last few years from opposition to government control of the national economy has increased. The popular discontent against the appalling performance of the public sector enterprises has further strengthened such opposition. The severity of the mounting economic crisis, as evidenced through unmanageable balance of payment difficulties in the recent months, made the P.V. Narasimha Rao government opt for extensive liberalization events. The enormous pressure from the World Bank and the IMF, made this choice unavoidable for the government which looked to those institutions for assistance to tide in excess of the balance of payments crisis. As the Statement on Industrial Policy says, “The attainment of technological dynamism and international competitiveness requires that enterprises necessity be enabled to swiftly respond to fast changing external circumstances that have become feature of today’s industrial world. Government policies and procedures necessity be geared to assisting entrepreneurs in their efforts. This can be done only if the role played through the Government were to be charged from that of only exercising control to one of providing help and guidance through making essential procedures fully transparent and through eliminating delays.” To do this, as the statement further says, “industrial licensing will henceforth be abolished for all industries”, except for those having overriding security, social and environmental thoughts. The main objective is “to unshackle the Indian industrial economy from the cobwebs of unnecessary bureaucratic
control”.

This policy of liberalization, though, has had an effect upon the behavior of India’s party system. A segment of the ruling party seems to consider that this policy marks a departure from the Nehruvian model of development and may eventually marginalize the rule of public sector. The Janata Dal and the left combine are opposed to this policy, as large-level retrenchment in the wake of the closure of public sector enterprises is apprehended. Moreover, the government’s policy of encouraging multinational corporations to do business in India, and of having greater links with the IMF and the World Bank, is likely to imperil India’s economic sovereignty. Let us now view public policy-making at the state stage in the context of party politics. A specific case study concerning democratic decentralization in the state of Karnataka is taken for this purpose.

The recommendation of the Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Services headed through Balvantray Mehta that public participation in community works should be organised through statutory representative bodies”, constituted the foundation of the new panchayati raj which appeared in India in late 1950s and early 1960s The Study Teams’ report was accepted through the Government of India, and later, the National Development Council affirmed the principles of democratic decentralization as enunciated through the Team but left it to the states to work out the details. Though, since the Congress party was in power at both central and state stages, the basic structure of democratic decentralization as recommended through the Balvantray Mehta Study Team was found acceptable to the states.

In conventionality with the basic recommendations, of the Team, the Congress government of erstwhile Mysore framed an appropriate legislation called Mysore Village Panchayats and Local Boards Act, 1959. Under the Act, popularly elected taluk development boards were set up and came to constitute the principal rural centres of democratic decentralization. But, in contrast, the new district-stage local body christened the district development council, of
which the Deputy Commissioner was the ex-officio chairman, lacked popular base and was not assigned any significant role.

In 1983, the people of Karnataka removed the Congress Party from power and elected a new government. The new ruling party, the Janata Party, and the other constituent units which fought the elections on a common platform, had an ideological commitment to change the grassroots system of governance in order to enhance the power of the people. The thought “Power to the people” received a conspicuous place in the election manifesto.

Since the thought was endorsed through the people, the first task of the Janata government was to translate this thought into action. In the first Cabinet meeting itself it was decided to begin the legal process for setting up people’s institutions at the district and village stages. The government enacted a legislation which came to be later recognized as the Karnataka Zilla Parishads and Mandal Panchayats Act. This was more or less based upon the principles formulated in the Report of the Ashoke Mehta Committee which was set up through the Janata Party, when it was in power at the centre, in late 1970s. Since the ruling Janata Party did not possess an absolute majority on its own, it had to accept certain compromises enforced through the Congress opposition. Besides, although the bill was sent for President’s assent towards the end of 1983, it received the assent only in the second week of July 1985. It shows that for policy-making at the state stage there is an inbuilt constraint in India's federal system.

**INTEREST GROUPS AND POLICY-MAKING**

**Interest Groups And Public Policy**

The activities of the interest groups form a chain of linkage flanked by the public policy and environmental forces and vice-versa. The socio-economic composition of a society is reflected through the structure of interest groups at work in the said environment. In the words of Thomas R. Dye, “Modern urban institutional societies spawn a multitude of diverse interest groups. The
resulting multiplicity and diversity reduces the likelihood that any single interest group can determine policy working in all fields. In contrast, poor, rural, agricultural societies produce fewer interest groups, but the opportunity for these interest groups to control policy-making in underdeveloped economies is greater.” It goes without saying that interest groups have a close relationship with public policy. These groups exercise power on the policy makers formulate such policies from which they get maximum benefit.

In comparison to the modern and developed nations, the interest groups are fewer in developing and underdeveloped states. In these states, the interest groups exert power in excess of public policy primarily through means of personalized relationship and ‘overlapping elites’. In developing states, the information content of these groups is seldom rational, their goals are narrow and parochial and they are less farsighted in comparison to the developed nation’s interest groups. Whatever be the nature of the polity—totalitarian, dictatorial, or democratic—the interest group’s role in public policy cannot be minimized. The efforts of these groups are directed towards limited values, goals and objectives. In order to support their viewpoints, the groups garner and give data to the policy makers. On the basis of the information provided, the policy formulators go ahead, in case, they feel influenced of the same. In India, as in most other Third World countries, government has a crucial role in social and economic development. Naturally, so, public policy has the most pervasive power in the formulation of development goals and priorities.

In order to understand, in depth the contextual setting of public policy-making, it is necessary to understand the role of interest groups. Interest groups are not political parties. Though, such groups “are the living ‘public’ behind the parties”. These groups do not nurse the constituencies for competing at the polls. Their principal concern is to power the governmental process in order to ensure public policy-making in keeping with their special interests. Therefore, the chambers of commerce or the trade unions get politicized to put pressures on governmental process. In brief, interest groups are organizations planned to power primarily the policy-making process; they
do not ordinarily undertake to nominate candidates. Sometimes, though, one or two interest groups nominate candidates at the polls, but this is seldom treated as a common pattern of behavior for such groups.

Through an interest group we mean “an organised aggregate which seeks to power the context of governmental decisions without attempting to place its members in formal governmental capacities”. The members of an interest group hold shared attitudes. When the members interact, some “common habits of response”, which may be called shared attitudes in the middle of the interest group emerge. These, as David B. Truman says, “afford the participants frames of reference to interpreting and evaluating events and behaviors”. An additional component comprises shared attitudes towards “what is needed or wanted in a given situation, observable as demands or claims upon other groups in the society”.

The shared attitudes actually reflect either the interests or the values, or both. Interest groups, as one of the categories, are those groups in which the latitudinal homogeneity emanates from the community of interests in the middle of their members. For instance, an interest group may comprise all big farmers. The second category, the value-based groups, are those groups the members of which share certain values in common. For instance, a pacifist group is one in which all members are totally opposed to war. The narrowly conceived interest groups such as Labor unions or farmers associations have their other activities besides the activity of influencing the public policy, and sometimes the former is more significant than the latter. But for the value-based groups, influencing public policy-making is the main concern.

In many countries there is a close relationship flanked by interest groups and political parties. Though, the intensity of relations varies flanked by countries. In France, for instance, the relations flanked by interest groups and political parties are very close. Trade union movement is split up into three principal segments. Again, in Britain a major political party, the Labor Party grew out of the British Trade Union Movement, and even now is closely
related to the movement. But in several other countries the relationship is not that close, and the degree of interest group power depends upon a number of variables. In a political party system, where party discipline is weak and strong ideological differences in the middle of members are missing, the legislators are greatly sensitive to interest group powers. This obtains, for instance, in USA. Another determinant of interest group activity is the intricate of attitude-orientations on, what is called, political culture prevailing in a country. Compared to liberal democracies of Europe, the political attitudes in USA exhibit a greater political accommodation of interest group activities.

Now interest group politics has become a subject of serious study. The topic, though, is not wholly modern. For, even in Bryce’s work entitled, American Commonwealth, there was an illuminating appendix devoted to the “lobbies”. Eminent scholars like D.B. Truman, A.F. Bentley, V.O. Key, Jr., have made notable contributions towards understanding the dynamics of public policy-making in the context of group politics. The critics of interest group politics would, though, point out that as the several interest groups seek to push their interests without bearing the responsibility of governance, they seem to be a menace to representative government. It is argued that their working undermines the basic assumption of representative government based upon common interest and general welfare.

**Interest Groups And Policy-Making**

Interest groups occupy a place of significance in the process of policy-making. These play a significant role in every political set-up. The present age is an age of competition and number of interest groups are in operation in dissimilar environments. For getting the desired ends, which strengthen their base, the interest groups cannot take the issues at hand in a non serious manner. They actively create efforts in the directions they have kept before them. An organised interest group claims to represent not only those who are potentially its members, but also all those who through virtue of some common features, go beside with the ends pursued through the groups. The
polities which do not have strong party systems are subject to more direct power on policy-making through the interest groups. Because of lack of powerful and organised political parties, the interest groups play a dominant and direct role in legislative affairs. As there is no strong political party to moderate their power. On the contrary in polities which have strong, cohesive and organised parties, the interest groups are likely to be more numerous and active. There power on policy formulation gets filtered and is also subject to moderation to key in line with the parties’ interests, ideologies, and programmes.

The evolution of India’s political economy has mobilized several interest groups and led to complexities of connections flanked by the mobilized groups and the mainstream political parties. The nature and dimension of electoral politics we have in India emphasize the need for both mobilization of funds and local votes through the political parties for winning at the hosting. The support of the interest groups is necessary in both the endeavors. Such support has recently been felt very significant in view of the fact that most of the mainstream political parties have ceased to have active grassroots organizational limbs, and moreover, election expenses have increased enormously. Some of the interest groups such as chambers of commerce give the bulk of finance for the major political parties, while groups like farmers’, associations mobilize local electoral support for the parties. In return, these groups assert their role in public policy-making.

While, on the one hand, new political elites have appeared in the rural areas in the wake of the agricultural growth many significant urban lobbies, such as the industrial capitalists and public bureaucracies, have significantly influenced public policy-making. State policies increasingly “have come to reflect the interests of the dominant classes”. In the early years all the major interest groups prospered in the process of economic growth.

The new rural elites have set up important interest groups in several parts of the country. There are many such agricultural interest groups, the most
conspicuous of which are in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Karnataka. The Bhartiya Kisan Union with its main base in Uttar Pradesh and led through Mahendra Singh Tikait and the Maharashtra-based Shetkari Sanghatana led through Sharad Joshi, have come into great prominence in the recent years. These state-based farmers’ organizations have been making efforts to come jointly for the purpose of making a greater impression on national politics. Although these efforts have not been very successful, the farmers associations have succeeded, firstly, in enhancing their power in the national legislature, and secondly, in most of the mainstream political parties.

These groups are dominated through the rich farmers who are usually members of dominant local castes. Although they are split through “deep political, cultural and economic divisions that create constant class action virtually impossible even in a localized area”, the wealthy farmers create a common cause “on matters of state policies, affecting their common class interests” such as “agitating for high farm product prices or in frustrating land ceilings legislation”.

In recent years the farmers’ associations have become enormously powerful. Though, the early years, although the wealthy farmers did not usually constitute strong interest groups at national stage, they exerted an important power in the making of public policies at the state stage. In the 1950s and 60s the principal issues were land reforms, compulsory procurement of food granules and taxation on agricultural income and property. The rich farmers, as an interest group, exerted enough pressure at the state stage to successfully scuttle much of what was planned to be done initially on those issues. For instance, because of such pressures most of the state governments adopted a diluted type of land reforms, with the result that the entrenched interests of the rich farmers were virtually kept intact.

From the late 1960s the major issues have been output and input prices and cost subsidies, with the agrarian demands pressed at the central government; do not figure in the agenda of farmers’ associations. The necessary
mobilization efforts are made at the state stage, so that the state governments are obliged to put pressure upon central decision-making.

To understand intensively the rise of rural interest groups in India, it is necessary to look at the conditions of trade flanked by agriculture and industry and the aspirations of the locally dominant caste rich farmers. Since 1975-76 the price index of agricultural products has lagged behind that of manufactured products. A significant tendency of economic policy-making in India has been to disturb parity flanked by prices of agricultural and industrial products through attempting to siphon surpluses from agriculture to industry.

The persistently unequal exchange flanked by industry and agriculture has given rise to open conflicts flanked by industrial and agricultural interests and the rise of organised agricultural interest groups. There seems to be, lately, a certain dominance of the surplus-producing rich farmers in all political parties. This has made the farmer’s lobby operate effectively in India’s political system. An equally powerful interest group comprises the industrial capitalists. A widespread concern, expressed on public platforms, in relation to the consequences of industrial policies relates to the monopoly houses (the Birlas, Tatas, Ambanis, etc.) capability to manipulate these policies in order to secure the concentration of corporate property. They have enormously benefited from the Government’s import substitutes policies, the policy of taking in excess of sick firms and the foreign investment central policy. They could also turn to their advantage the industrial licensing system. This has been possible mainly because the framework of economic policy-making and management is not insulated from “the clientelist demands of the political process”.

Therefore, the crucial question is: what are the mechanisms employed through the industrial capitalists to decisively power the political process? One is democratic politics and the play of money. In elections vast sums are spent through the candidates, and hence, the politicians look to the industrial capitalists for the necessary funds. As JRD Tata, while emphasizing the role of
his class, said: “We have for several years allowed ourselves to be willing pawns in that game, paying for it heavily at every election time either out of fear or false hopes. There has perhaps been no greater factor in the growth of corruption in the country throughout the last 30 years than the repeated surrender of business and industry to demands for the political funds.” This in return has given the business community an advantage of extracting licenses and subsidies and several other benefits from the Government through method of several policies enacted from time to time.

Moreover, these classes have their powerful organizations which act as influential lobbies for affecting decisively the political and administrative decision-makers. The Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry has played a crucial role in public policy-making. As a former President of the Federation observed, this body “… played the role of a practical and constructive adviser on events relating to commerce and industry. The Federation made its due contribution in the formulation of successive Five Year Plan through conducting advance studies and submitting its findings to the Government and the Planning Commission.”

Actually the industrial policy and strategy adopted through the Government has helped make economic and political groups with vested interests in the preservation of the system. The close links forged flanked by these groups, and the politicians and the public bureaucracy, have been the source of political and administrative corruptions, and have helped the business houses power the industrial and trade policies. Kochanek has pointed out that of the modern interest groups in India the business has been more successful in influencing the government than any other. Notwithstanding a certain opposition both within bureaucracy and the political party system, the post-1980 Indira Gandhi government and the Rajiv Gandhi government formulated and implemented some programmes of liberalization. This could took place as in the later years India’s system of control and licensing showed alarming signs of disturbances in the national economy. Actually, for quite some time, a significant segment of India’s public opinion had been favoring
both liberalization and a reduction in the role of the state in economic management.

This opinion has further consolidated and extended, and has recently affected public policy in an important manner. The pressures from both industrial capitalists and the international bodies such as World Bank and International Monetary Fund have resulted in many economic reforms at deregulation. Their principal objective is “to unshackle the Indian industrial economy from the cobwebs of unnecessary bureaucratic control”. Hence, “industrial licensing will henceforth be abolished for all industries”, except for those having overriding security, and socio-environmental thoughts.
At the bottom of the new reforms in Indian economy lies the rising strength of a coalition consisting of enlightened section of industrial bourgeoisie and national bureaucracy, and non-official academies and journalists. For many years now this coalition has been building up public opinion against the dysfunctional system of administrative control in excess of the national economy. The efforts have now fructified in significantly influencing the economic policies of government. The private sector is further emphasizing their right to enter the finance and banking fields.

Though, the major segments of the Indian bureaucracy, down to the stage of organised white-collar workers of the public sector undertakings, are not favorably disposed to the recent liberalization events. Actually public bureaucracy including the public sector skilled employees, constitute an important interest group. Their strength emanates, partly from their privileged acquisition of modern education and several types of technical skills. But in a large measure their strength arises from their capability to manipulate within a system of enormous State control in excess of trade and industry. In the upper echelons of public bureaucracy the resistance to liberalization is born out of their twin desires for power and extra benefits, both of which multiply in a system of economic regulation. At the bottom stages, though, the opposition to deregulation has its roots in their anxiety to maintain and promote job prospects.

If liberalization events undertaken through the government are implemented sincerely and more such events are adopted, the power of public bureaucracy in government decision-making is likely to fall markedly. Firstly, as their role in economic management will be minimum the number of posts in the ministries, dealing with economic matters, will decline significantly. So they will eventually lose the strength of number. Secondly, in a market-oriented economy the government officials have insufficient power of control. And, moreover, since in this sort of economy the government-private sector nexus is marginalized, the government officials discover it hard to generate
extra income for themselves. A significant interest group comprises unionized industrial Labor. Though, the unions do not usually play a positive role with regard to the formulation of Labor policy. Their conspicuous role has usually been one of criticizing or resisting a government policy rather than initiating or influencing one. This is notwithstanding the fact that there are more than 25 million people employed in the organised sector.

There are some causes for this. The internal division of the unions stands in the method of the possibility of their influencing public policy. There are almost 40,000 registered unions, and at the summit of the union organization there are 14 national federations formally connected to one or the other political party. Even the nation-stage unions, industry-wide or category-wise, are fragmented. Hence, it is hard for them to bring in requisite pressures on public policy mechanisms. Secondly, the conspicuous role even now of ‘outside’ leaders in the working class movement and the virtual absence of rank-and-file participation, deny the unions activity enough strength to power the governmental decision-making. Lastly, the union movement does not usually have enough ability and expertise to effectively participate in the process of policy formulation. This limitation is in contrast to the enough ability mobilization through chamber of commerce and industry. This in association with other advantages enables the latter to power meaningfully public policy-making concerning industrial relations. Whatever little power the organised Labor exercise upon the public policy-making, emanates from the connections the union has with political parties, principally the party/parties in power. It is regularly noticed that compared to industrial bourgeoisie and public bureaucracy, the unionized Labor has an insufficient role in public policy-making. This is clearly apparent from the fact that Government is pursuing greater liberalization events, notwithstanding the resistance of organised Labor movement.

**Interest Groups And Nature Of State**

There are numerous, largely unorganized, interest groups, such as
agricultural laborers or industrial workforce, employed in unorganized sector of the economy. These groups are not usually politicized, in the sense that, in the course of their growth, they do not deliberately create claims through or upon the institutions of government. In other words, unlike the organised interest groups these groups lack effective access to decisional authority in government. Though, their interests are not totally overlooked in the system of representative democracy which India has. In many states agricultural wages have been fixed through appropriate legislations.

Likewise, for other unorganized groups whose demands are usually ineffective, public policy-making is directed to mitigating their grievances. In a representative democracy the activity and methods of organised interest groups are kept within limits, lest the interest of the unorganized groups are jeopardized. This is the view of the state based, as Lasswell says, on the recognition that “one belongs to a community with a system of paramount claims and expectations”. All this, as Lasswell further says, “is regularly expressed as “sense of justice”. This sense of justice constitutes the bedrock of a vigorous representative democracy.

In India, as the numerous unorganized groups in combination control the bulk, of the electorate, it is hard for the state to ignore wholly their interests. Though, in India’s representative democracy the sense of justice is incompletely expressed, and hence, it is regularly seen that the interests of the unorganized groups are not fully taken care of in public policy-making or in public administration. Even when legislations are made for the unorganized or weakly organised interest groups such as agricultural laborers or women, such legislations are not enough to ameliorate their grievances. In case policies are well-structured, they are usually half-heartedly implemented. This is mainly because the unorganized groups do not bulk prominently in the political process, as this lack the pressure of organised power.

In India the three demand groups, the industrial bourgeoisie, the affluent farmers and the public bureaucracy, separately or in combination have
dominated the political process and so the public process. Hence, the general tendency of the public policymaking has been towards satisfaction of demands of these mobilized groups. The urban working class people, mainly because of their organizational splintering and ‘outside’ leadership, have not been able to significantly power the public policies. In scrupulous the affluent farmers as an interest group have recently gained in conditions of the right of access and power. This is because such groups have been able to mobilize and articulate the interests of the traditional caste institution, therefore, as Rudolph’s describes, blurring lines “flanked by natural and voluntary structures”. This blurring has given the farmers’ associations much strength to power public policy-making.

**REVIEW QUESTIONS**

- Understand the impact of international agencies on public policymaking.
- Explain the meaning, and given an account of genesis, and theories of social movements.
- Discuss the role of mass media in the process of planned change and also in influencing public policies; analyze the impact of mass media on the people and public opinion.
- Discuss the nature of operation of the political parties in a representative system of government.
- Explain the relationship flanked by interest groups and public policy.
- Discuss the nature of relationship flanked by interest groups, public policy-making and the nature of Indian state.
CHAPTER 5
POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Policy implementation problems
- Role of non-governmental agencies in policy implementation
- Role of governmental agencies in policy implementation-II
- Role of governmental agencies in policy implementation-I
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the challenges faced through policy implementers on count of policy statement and supporting services;
- Explain the meaning and significance of nongovernmental agencies in policy implementation;
- Discuss the role of policy implementers;
- Understand the relationship flanked by political and permanent executive in policy implementation; and
- Explain the policy implementation mechanism.

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS

Troubles In Policy Implementation

Former American Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, stated that, “The outsiders consider a presidential order is uniformly followed. Nonsense. I have to spend considerable time seeing that it is accepted out and in the spirit the President planned”. This statement shows the role of permanent executive in implementing the policies. The policies formulated are of no significance unless the same are executed in an appropriate and required manner.
In India the implementation is, through and large, the duty of the permanent executive. The bureaucrats are civil servants have enough knowledge, skills, and experience to their credit to undertake this task. It is often whispered that, in India, there are defects in policy implementation as a result of which there is delay in execution of the policies. The question then is that even though the bureaucracy, which has the major role in implementation, has enough expertise, yet defects are witnessed in implementation. In other words, which are the major problem areas in policy implementation? Before analyzing the said troubles in writing, it would be better to have a look at the ‘Cause and Effect’ diagram illustrating the dissimilar troubles.

The diagram above identifies dissimilar causes which ultimately amount to the delay in policy implementation. On the basis of this diagram, we can break down the problem in policy implementation in four sub-parts in order to analyze the same at length.

Policy Statement

Normally, after the policy proposal is ratified through the legislature and has received the assent of the Constitutional Head of the State, that is, the President of India, in case of policies of Union Government, and the Governor of a State, in case of State Government, it is recognized as policy statement. This statement contains the goals and objectives of the scrupulous policy and is also supposed to highlight the target group or groups and target area or areas to which the policy is directed. The policy implementers face the first problem while executing the policies on count of policy statement. It is because of the following points:

- Policy statement is not clearly worded. The policy statement issued through the top echelons of government administration is passed on to the concerned implementing agencies, which are mostly in operation at the cutting edges of administration, for execution of the same. It is done through the Headquarters. The offices located in the Capitals,
which control the lower stages of administration, seldom issue any
detailed explanation of the policy concerned. The statement of the
policy as ratified is passed on to for action concerning implementation.

- The implementers at the grassroots often face a number of troubles
because they do not discover the policy statement made in clear words
and conditions. Such a lack of clarity creates them either use their own
discretion while implementing it or they refer it back to the Head
Office for clarifications. In both the cases the implementation is badly
affected. The policy statement containing ambiguous conditions and
references poses a problem in implementation.

- Legal terminologies without explanation: It is often found that the
policy statements use a good number of legal conditions. These legal
tetras are not properly explained. Such a situation creates the
implementers interpret the conditions and references made as per their
own wisdom. This interpretation can be absolutely contrary to the
basic spirit of the policy. In case the implementing agencies submit it
back to the higher rungs of administration for clarification, a good
amount of time is wasted.

Moreover, there is no guarantee that even in the Head Office; the
officials would know the correct explanation of the legal
terminologies. It is further found that often a policy statement has
number of contradictions. These may be flanked by dissimilar clauses
of the same policy or with those of other policies formulated earlier
Such a situation puts the implementers in an awkward position as to
which clause and policy is to be implemented. This is another serious
problem before the policy implementers.

- Lack of farsightedness: The policy formulators necessity have a clear
vision and long range planning while framing policies. The policies
made to achieve goals should not be of the type that after a short span
of time it loses its utility. Short-term planning is appreciated only in
cases where the policy is meant for a specific purpose. In all other
cases, which are more in number, the formulator’s necessity reveal
their farsightedness in creation policies. Lack of it would mean
enormous policies and an equal number of contradictions, which prove to be fatal for executors of the policies.

**Supporting Services**

We have discussed in the preceding section that policy implementation is the task of permanent executive and more so of the lower stages of the same. Keeping in view the fact that the government has proliferated in innumerable areas, therefore overburdening the implementers, the executors face a number of troubles on count of poor supporting services for implementing the policies. Howsoever intelligent and efficient any given head of the implementing agency may be he cannot get the work of implementation going on smoothly unless he has the required support for the same.

This will be understood better through going through the following points:

- **Lack of staff:** A major impediment in the method of adequate implementation of policies is that of inadequate staff. Most of the policies are unable to be appropriately accepted out because of deficient staff. Several elements are combined in creation administration foolproof and efficient. These contain: leadership, organization, finance, morale, methods and procedure, and manpower. Out of all these the most significant is manpower. Thoroughly planned out policies fail to attain the proper goals without competent personnel accessible to handle those. The personnel could be made competent and efficient through training to undertake the assigned tasks. It is possible only if the concerned agency has required number of staff members to depute a few at a time for training. Invariably, the implementing agencies experience shortage of staff. The point is contested through some that the augment in staff strength in the offices is much more compared to 1950s and 1960s. These critics overlook a significant point: the amount of work load has increased much more in proportion to the staff augment. The heads of implementing agencies do feel that the staff necessity be provided training for equipping them
well to take up specialized tasks; but it is not possible as the agencies cannot spare staff for training. This affects the work performance considerably as lack of proper training does not permit the personnel to deal effectively with the issues. Lack of adequate strength is a major problem in policy implementation.

- Financial and infrastructural constraints: The implementers normally create out plan for implementing a policy. For moving into the implementation stages of the plan, they depend on the financial and infrastructural possessions for the same. Even the absolutely clear, properly transmitted, and constant "directives of the policy: cannot be implemented adequately if the implementers do not have matching financial and infrastructural possessions. The infrastructural possessions here contain the building the material, the requisite instruments, etc. The finances could get the implementers the requisite infrastructural possessions. Moreover, every new programme needs money for its compliance. Of course, the policy formulators create provisions for the money for carrying out the policy goals but simple provision of money does not mean much because the sanctioned amount does not reach the implementing agency on time. Furthermore, often the amount sanctioned is not enough to meet the necessities.

- Lack of help and support from top: It has been discussed earlier also that the implementation of policies is normally being done at the lower stages. These agencies often look towards their Head Offices for guidance and help on each and every count. The cause for overdependence on the Head Offices is that the lower rungs are not made sufficiently independent to take up the tasks. For doing everything the permission from the higher officials at the Headquarters is required. The staff in these offices does not respond promptly to the queries made through the field offices. Moreover, the implementing agencies are time and again asked to submit such information which has already been supplied to the Headquarters. Such steps affect the functioning of the executing agency therefore delaying the process of implementation.
• Shortage of time: The time period fixed for according benefits as per the policy is not pragmatic. Normally, while fixing the time frame, the policy formulators do not take into consideration the circumstances prevailing. They become idealistic while setting the time targets and forget the work load at hand with the respective implementing agencies. Consequently, the Head Offices press the agencies for speedy implementation. The implementers under such circumstances are unable to perform their duties properly with regard to the said policy as well as other works at hand.

• Gigantic targets: The policy makers are the representatives of the people. In order to illustrate what they have done for the public, to establish their own as well as their party’s credibility, the policy makers formulate too several policies and tend to provide enormous benefits to the public. On the face of it, there is nothing wrong in having gigantic targets to be attained. But decidedly matching possessions are needed — manpower, finance, and infrastructure, to comply with the work assigned to the implementers. Besides, the political populist statements augment the expectations of the public and the people start approaching the implementing agency for the benefits. Already the implementing officials have their hands full of work. And to top it all the masses, basing their expectations on the politician’s statements’, start coming to seek the benefits. This disturbs the functioning of the implementers who neither, in some of the cases, have proper policy directives nor the possessions to comply with the same, in cases where the policies directives have already been issued. The work of implementation gets severely affected because of idealistically high targets.

The implementers are under heavy pressures from dissimilar sources for either speedily implementing the policies or for going in a thoroughly slow manner. A number of agencies efforts to power the implementers suitting their own self-interests. It does not, though, mean that the implementers act always under pressures but at times these pressure tactics do make troubles in
effective implementation of the policies. The pressures on implementers are from the following:

- **Political pressures:** The politicians, both in power or in the opposition, consider it to be their right to create administration work as per their whims and fancies. The political leaders, being representatives of the people, feel it to be their duty to protect the interests of their constituents through getting them the maximum benefits from the administration. If the political leaders exercise power on the administrative agencies, assigned the task of implementation in a fair manner, through not creation it work rightfully in the interests of their selected few then the pressure could act as a check on implementers. But in reality it is the other method round. The politicians power the administration to work for getting undeserving or out of turn favors to a few. In case the implementers work as per the pressures then it gets them a bad name and if they don’t work accordingly, they have to face the wrath of the political leaders. The exercise of uncalled for pressures acts on the implementation process as a qualitative setback.

- **Citizens are not cooperative:** Majority of the policies aim at getting direct benefits for the citizens. The implementers face tremendous challenge from citizens on count of lack of cooperation from them and also through citizens becoming more and more demanding and possessive. Normally, it is found that the citizens on the basis of the political statements of the politicians and lack of proper information, press the implementers to execute the policies in such a manner whereby their ends are served. The citizens are not at all sensitized to the compulsions and constraints of the implementers. Indians through their very nature demand benefits promptly. In a method there is nothing wrong in such thinking. The implementers should Endeavour to bring home the point to the citizens concerning the constraints being faced through the administration. The politicians should also press upon the citizens to extend cooperation to the implementers. Lack of cooperation from citizens affects the process of implementation very badly.
Vested interests: The policy implementers face substantive troubles and challenges from the vested interest groups. The aggregated interests of the people are made use of for jeopardizing the implementation activities. Every subsection of the society clamors for the protection of its own interests. For doing so, the composed and mobilized people go to any extent to safeguard their interests. The implementers are influenced, the official working is obstructed, and efforts are made to get the policies implemented in a method which suits the specific interests. As a result the process of implementation gets a setback. The implementers, as a result of uncooperative attitude of the concerned interests, discover it hard to execute the policies in a desired method.

**Implementers Inclinations**

The permanent executive has the major task of implementing the policies. Unless the officials assigned the task have positive inclinations and strong will to execute the policies the desirable results cannot be expected. Lack of such inclination of the executors prove to be fatal for the overall process of implementation. The following points reveal how the lack of inclination affects the policy implementation:

- Lack of will: For proper implementation of policies much depends on the will of the implementers. It is not only enough to know what is to be done and how it is to be done but beside with it the implementer’s necessity have a forceful wish to execute a policy on proper lines. And if this will be missing, it would hamper the implementation to a considerable extent. The officials who are to carry out the policies necessity be so trained that they should feel it obligatory on their part to carry out the programme in a well-desired manner. The officials are neither dependent upon the policy makers, that is, the legislature, which formally enacts the policies, nor are they answerable to them. In such a situation it would amount to the use of discretionary will of the implementers to implement the policy in one method or the other.
• Lack of initiative: Coupled with the will of the executors is the initiative on their part in creation the process of implementation effective and efficient. Lack of such an initiative obstructs appropriate implementation. Lack of will, the prevailing circumstances, and mode of operation in the administrative system do not induce enough stimulation in the minds of the implementers to take ‘initiative’ for bringing required improvements in the implementation mechanism. Other causes for their not taking initiative contain: inappropriate delegation and decentralization; authoritative leadership; improper work environ and circumstances; etc. All these forces contribute to the officials not taking initiative. Consequently, the implementation process is affected badly.

• Lack of team spirit: Implementing of policies is not the task of a single individual in the agency to which the assignment of policy execution is passed on. A number of individuals and channel are involved. Normally, in the government offices least care is attached to team building and inculcating sense of commitment to the task and organization. As a result of lack of team spirit, in sizeable number of cases, no channel is ready to accept what the other says. The personal biases in the organization affect the implementation process. Consequently, the executive gets delayed.

• Officials made corrupt through vested interests: It has been explained earlier also that the vested interests effort to stall the work of implementation and want it in the form which suits them. The vested interests power the officials and tend to corrupt them. It does not mean that all the officials are amenable to such corrupting tactics of the vested groups. But as per the prevailing work situation which has enormous channels, ambiguous rules, and unclear policies, there are ample chances of occurrence of red-tapism which results in creation some of the officials corrupt. It leads to further inefficiency in administration as such officials want to create use of corrupt means in each case. Ultimately, it effects the policy implementation process.
Lack of motivation: The officials involved in the process of implementation do not discover enough scope for their getting motivated. There is little effort made to build the morale of the employees in governmental organizations. Demotivated employees with low morale do not contribute as required in performing the job of implementing the policies. The implementation process gets severely affected because of this.

Lack of accountability: The subordinates are, as per rules, accountable to the seniors who assign the task of policy implementation to them. It is more so in theory than in practice. Contradictory policies, inadequate infrastructure, lack of proper support and guidance from the higher rungs, frequent transfers, etc., are some of the significant characteristics which give enough leverage to the grass root implementers for not being absolutely accountable to the high-ups.’ Lack of proper monitoring and evaluation also stands in the method of required accountability. Such lack of accountability obstructs the Overall effective mechanism of implementation.

**Effective Policy Implementation Mechanism**

Policy implementation is one of the most important facets of the overall policy process. It is often belied that most of the troubles in policy process are on count of defective policy implementation, which is, through and large, the duty and obligation of the permanent executive. The policy implementation process could improve, in case; the head of the implementing channel is seriously working on systematic lines. There are always methods and means to meet the challenges and sort out the troubles. Some of the points which, if adhered to, could help a lot in improving the implementation mechanism are:

- The Head of the implementing agency necessity Endeavour to be absolutely clear in relation to the policy statement, goals, and objectives. In case he discovers ambiguity on some counts, he necessity seek required explanation and clarity of the same. It is a necessity for the Chief Executive of the concerned agency to have
clear understanding of it because the lack of same would not permit him to get the task accomplished in a desired and spirited manner;

- The implementer’s necessity be thoroughly clear in relation to the target areas and groups to be sheltered under a given policy. Such clarity would enable the implementing chief, at the cutting edge of the administration, to plan out properly the line of action to be adopted for executing the policy promptly;

- The incumbent at the head of the execution agency necessity priorities the works to be undertaken. First of all the total targets to be attained should be subdivided into stages and then the plan should be made as to how the work is to be undertaken. Such prioritization would create the task clear to all concerned and accordingly the work could be pursued effectively;

- The manpower, financial and infrastructural possessions required for the work as per the prioritization should be listed. This would enable the implementers to know of their necessities. Followed through it, the additional possessions, if needed, should be asked for from the Headquarters. In the meanwhile, the accessible possessions, strictly as per the prioritization and possessions at hand, should be deployed for accomplishing the task of implementation;

- It is obligatory on the part of chief officer of the implementing agency to properly educate the persons put on dissimilar jobs of policy implementation concerning the basic statement of the policy, its major goals, the target groups, the target area, the types of benefits, the time frame, and the break-up of implementation plan. Accordingly, wherever required, proper training should be imparted to the personnel assigned the job. Not only this, the implementing officials necessity be educated to further create the citizens aware of the policy benefits and also the limitations and constraints of the agency executing the policy;

- The implementers necessity Endeavour to mobilize public support and form favorable public opinion, both through formal and informal channels, concerning the tasks being performed through them. Such a move would not only get enough cooperation of the masses but would
also create them appreciate the constraints of the implementers, ultimately leading to more effective implementation of policies; and

- The implementer’s necessity have effective system of monitoring and evaluation. This would not only keep a check on the implementing officials but would also give enough feedback for improvements and deployment of more possessions, where required.

In a nutshell, there could be (a) political, (b) administrative, and (c) educational strategies for dealing with the troubles of implementation and for ensuring an effective policy implementation: It may be mentioned here that it is the major obligation of the permanent executive to adopt these strategies because implementation is, through and large, the duty of the bureaucracy.

- Political Strategies: The implementers face undue and uncalled for pressure from the political leaders, both belonging to the ruling and as well as opposition political parties. The implementing official’s necessity develop and strengthen their institution to muster the courage of calling a spade and spade. They necessity not succumb to the pressure of the politicians and should be firm in saying ‘No’ to whatever is wrong. The implementing agencies at the grassroots could work accordingly more forcefully — if their superior officials at the Head Offices side with them in dealing effectively with the uncalled for pressures of the politicians. The political leaders rather should be made to work beside with the implementers through providing a helping hand to them for mobilizing the soliciting public opinion to improve the implementation tasks effectively.

- Not only the political leaders but the non-governmental organizations, voluntary associations, and common citizens should be dealt with tactfully through the implementers. They should resist any wrong moves, on the part of those agencies and actors, which stand in the method of policy implementation. As mentioned earlier, efforts should be made to take these agencies beside with them in implementing the policies. Corrective criticism should be encouraged and the executors
should take the feedback in the right spirit for ushering in more improvements in implementation.

- Administrative Strategies: The agencies of the government assigned the task of implementation are supervised and controlled at the real stage of implementation through a head of that sub-organization of administration. The Chief Executive of this sub-organization necessity first of all develop himself. He should be considerate in his work attitude and practice and should not adhere to negative practices. He necessity see to it that there is a conducive work environment in his area of operation. The possessions are adequately deployed and the jobs have been assigned to the dissimilar officials in consultation with them. They are asked to attain the goals which are possible to be attained as per the given possessions. The implementing agency necessity have proper coordination in the middle of dissimilar stages of the officials. Such a system of operation would definitely facilitate the implementation.

- Educational Strategies: The Chief of the implementing agency necessity properly educate not only the personnel but also the citizens concerning dissimilar facets of the policy being implemented. It would help the involved officials’ work effectively and would also get the implementing agency the support and cooperation of the public, The masses would be sensitized to the constraints of the implementers and won’t be unnecessarily demanding, which stands otherwise in the method of effective policy implementation.

The strategies discussed above could go a long method in improving the process of implementation. If adhered to strictly, the points mentioned under effective policy implementation mechanism coupled with the strategies for effective implementation, could result in a most effective, efficient, and responsible mechanism of implementation.
ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Meaning Of Non-Governmental Agencies/ Voluntary Organizations

It is fact that policy implementation is the major obligation of the governmental agencies. Nevertheless, the non-governmental agencies, viz.: voluntary organizations, pressure groups and citizens also contribute in the process of policy implementation. It goes without saying that without the active cooperation of these NGAs the governmental machinery cannot adequately and effectively undertake the task of policy execution. In the succeeding text we would be describing the meaning of these agencies for understanding their role in subsequent sections.

Voluntary Organizations

Voluntary organizations are variously described and defined. Some of these are:

- Michel Banton characterized voluntary organization as a group organised for the pursuit of one interest or of many interests held in common.
- David L. Sills recognized it as a group of persons organised on the basis of voluntary membership, without state control, for the furtherance of some common interest of its members.
- Norman Johnson recognized four features of voluntary organizations. They are method of formation — which voluntary on the part of a group of people; (ii) method of government — with self-governing organization to decide on its constitution, its servicing, its policy and its clients; (iii) method of financing with at least some of its revenues drawn from voluntary sources, and (iv) motives — with the pursuit of profit excluded.
- The Seventh Plan Document mentions the following criteria for the identification of rural voluntary agencies:
  - The organization should have a legal entity;
It should be based in a rural area and be working there for a minimum of three years;

- It should have broad based objectives serving the social and economic needs of the community as a whole, and mainly the weaker sections. It necessity not work for profit, but on a no-profit no-loss basis;
- Its activities should be open to all citizens of India, irrespective of religion, caste, creed, sex or race;
- It should have necessary flexibility, professional competence and organizational skills to implement, programmes;
- Its office bearers should not be members of any political party;
- It should declare that it will adopt constitutional and nonviolent means for rural development purposes; and
- It should be committed to secular and democratic concepts and methods of functioning.

The above discussion on the meaning of voluntary organizations may help us to identify their significant characteristics. The National Institute of Rural Development Study recognized certain features as significant characteristics of voluntary organizations. These contain:

- Flexibility in organization;
- Personal touch;
- Easy accessibility to client groups;
- Capability to experiment with new programmes;
- Mobilization of possessions of the community;
- Sensitivity to field troubles; and
- Self-help and self-reliance.

**Pressure Groups**

It is an organised interest group in which members share common views and objectives. They actively carry on programmes to power government officials and policies. Unlike political parties, which seek to win control of and
operate the government, the pressure groups are mainly interested in influencing the determination and implementation of public policies that directly or indirectly affect their members. Such groups vary considerably in size, wealth, power and objectives. The theory of pressure group rests on the psychological principle of attainment of self-interests and accomplishment of the goals of a scrupulous section of the society. For the protection and upliftment of their common interests, individuals join hands and form groups for influencing the governmental agencies for achieving their ends.

On the Indian scene there are number of pressure groups operating to safeguard their interests. Some of the more significant ones are:

- The business group — (which is most effective), most important of the business groups are the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Associated Chamber of Commerce;

- Another significant group is the trade union. The trade unions, when required, can be very vocal and militant in their approach to fulfill their demands. All India Trade Union Congress and the Indian National Trade Union Congress are some of the examples of this group. The trade unions have been able to encourage class consciousness and class solidarity in the middle of the workers;

- Peasant organizations are other significant groups who safeguard the interests of the peasants and agriculturists. All India Kisan Congress, All India Kisan Kamgar Sammelan, Akhil Bhartiya Kisan Sangh, Bharatiya Kisan Union, Shetkari Sangathana, etc., are some of the significant types of this type;

- Student’s organizations are also active pressure groups. These groups are active on several crucial characteristics. Their activities are not just confined to issues in education. National Students Union of India, Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Union, Radical Students Union, All India Students Federation, Students Federation of India are some of the most active groups of students; and

- There are some caste and community associations in India also which operate to safeguard the interests of their respective classes and communities. Some of the notables in the middle of these are —
Scheduled Caste Federation, Backward Caste Federation, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Northern India Christian Conference, Southern India Christian Conference, etc.

The dissimilar pressure groups represent separate groups in the society and pressurise the government to function in a manner which is conducive to the best interests of the groups.

**Citizens**

In a democratic polity, the government is not only of and through the people but also for them. The policy implementers have quite a substantial role to play because it is through them that the clientele group in the form of citizens can get benefits, justice and whatever is due to them at appropriate times. The citizens depend a lot on the policy implementers because it is they who translate into action the policies and programmes formulated and framed through the people’s representatives. It is a matter of serious concern that in India, in the span of 45 years of our Independence, the gap flanked by the citizens and the policy implementers, which means the governmental administration, has increased considerably. The citizens have developed complete mistrust for the administrators. They feel that the government policies are not being implemented properly and therefore they are not getting the benefits as per the policies formulated.

**Growth Of Non-Governmental Agencies**

The voluntary organizations have existed in India for many centuries. Mainly motivated through ethical foundations of compassion and charity several voluntary agencies were shaped in ancient India. They were mostly philanthropic in nature based on religion, ethnicity, and caste, or revolved approximately a personality. In ancient period, when the State activities were limited, the voluntary efforts through religious groups and individuals played a very significant role in providing relief to the needy in the society.
N.R. Inamdar, describing the evolution of voluntarism in India, says: “In ancient and medieval India, voluntarism operated freely and extensively in the fields of education, medicine, cultural promotion and even succor in crisis like droughts, floods, epidemics and foreign invasions of depredations through robbers and criminals” Throughout British rule, Christian missionary organizations played very significant roles in the fields of education, health and social welfare. Throughout the days of national movement, influenced through Gandhian Philosophy of self-help and mutual help, several initiatives were taken to establish voluntary agencies in rural India. Gandhi advocated voluntarism not only in the field of social welfare, but also in the reconstruction of economic and political life of India.

After Independence of the country in 1947, besides the expanding number of Gandhian voluntary organizations, several other agencies were recognized through social and religious organizations. Even though it is very hard to identify the exact total number of voluntary agencies in the country, one estimate puts their number at approximately eleven thousand. After Independence, in addition to the growth in numbers, there is a change in the direction of the activities of these agencies. Marcus Franda identifies the change from charity and welfare to community development. The nature and activities of voluntary agencies vary widely. N.R. Inamdar developed a typology of voluntary organizations based on their nature and scope of activities, applicable to Indian circumstances.

**Role Of Non-Governmental Agencies In Policy Implementation**

We have discussed the meaning of NGAs in the preceding section. The emphasis in the succeeding paragraphs is on the role performed through voluntary agencies, non-governmental organizations, pressure groups and citizens in policy implementation. The cooperation or lack of same extended or denied through these agencies to the public administration facilitates or hampers the effective execution of policies.
Role of Voluntary Organizations and Non-governmental Organizations

The non-governmental organizations are expected to play an important role in the policy implementation. The first five year plan document emphasized the importance of voluntary organizations in the implementation of public programmes. Though, only in the seventh plan document, there is a detailed discussion in relation to the role of voluntary agencies in rural development. The role mentioned comprises:

- To supplement Government programmes to give choices and alternatives to the rural poor to enable them to improve excellence of their life;
- To serve as eyes and ears of the villagers;
- To devise simple, innovative, flexible and inexpensive strategies and projects of participative types;
- To activate and improve responsiveness of the delivery system to meet the felt needs of the poorest of the poor;
- To disseminate information in relation to on-going and proposed welfare and development programmes of the Government;
- To stimulate local communities to adopt a self-reliant attitude of mind;
- To demonstrate more effective utilization of local possessions, material and human, to the local people;
- To demystify and simplify technology and create it accessible to the rural poor;
- To motivate communities to mobilize local possessions for self-reliant development process; and
- To make social awareness in the middle of the poor to demand better performance of services from concerned public sector agencies and also to impose local accountability on their performance.

The seventh plan document also emphasized the importance of people’s participation in development. Development goals may not be fully achieved if there is too much dependence on bureaucracy. The plan document recognized
the areas for involvement of voluntary organizations in rural areas as:

- Integrated Ruler Development/Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme/TRYSEM:
- Implementation of land ceilings and sharing of surplus land;
- Enforcement of minimum wages to agricultural laborers;
- Identification and rehabilitation of bonded laborers;
- Supply of safe drinking water; repair and maintenance of water supply system with community support;
- Afforestation, social forestry, development of bio-gas and alternative energy sources (Solar Wind energy, smokeless chulas, etc.);
- Promotion of family planning;
- Primary health care; Control of leprosy, T.B., Blindness; and preventive health programmes using village possessions;
- Programmes for women and children in rural areas;
- Innovative methods and low cost alternatives in elementary, primary and middle school education for children, adult education and non formal and informal education;
- Consumer protection, promotion of cooperatives;
- Promotion of handicrafts and village and cottage industries;
- Promotion of Science and Technology;
- Legal Education;
- Rural Housing — improvement of rural slums;
- Environmental ecological improvement; and
- Promotion and encouragement of traditional media for dissemination of information.

Sanjit Roy, discussing the role of voluntary organizations in villages, recognized the following as significant functions of these agencies:

- To supplement government efforts;
- To be the eyes and ears of people at the village stage;
- To set an instance of communal effort;
- To activism the system and create it respond;
- To disseminate information;
To illustrate how local, village and indigenous possessions would be used for their own development;
To create communities as self-reliant as possible;
To train cadre of grass root workers who consider in professionalizing voluntarism;
To mobilize financial possessions from within the community; and
To mobilize and organize the poor to demand excellence service and impose a community system of accountability on the performance of grass root government functionaries.

In recent years, voluntary organizations are actively involved in modern social issues, like environmental protection, legal aid to poor, consumer protection, human rights protection, Harijan and tribal development, child welfare, etc. The Chipko movement created social awareness on the environmental troubles. The legal aid groups are using Public Interest Litigation provision to protect the interests of weaker sections. The consumer protection groups are trying to protect the interests of consumers in producer dominated economy. This expansion of the scope and nature of activities of non-governmental agencies designates their importance in the socio-economic transformation of society.

A great diversity in origin, nature, character, ideological stance, background, and method of functioning characterizes the voluntary sector in India. On the one extreme, there are traditional, good intention welfare oriented philanthropists, not given to or bothered in relation to the societal contradictions, busy wiping tears of the diseased and feeding the hungry and on the other extreme are those who consider in nothing less than fundamental societal restructuring. They are Gandhian and Marxist, religion based, industry promoted, wings of political parties, survivors of long defunct political and social movements, and young professionals in search of alternative ‘clients’ and new challenges. Some are foreign trained and influenced. Some are totally indigenous. Some thrive on foreign funds. Others refuse to touch them. Some
are content to deliver services to the needy. Others consider that delivering services is not an end in itself but also a means to organising people to help themselves.

**Role of Pressure Groups**

As discussed earlier, the basic purpose of a pressure group is to effort to protect the interests of its member/members. The interests of a pressure group could be somewhat personal and appropriate to the needs of separate groups. Pressure groups are the ones which do have the solid and firm support of ‘like-minded people’ with them. The pressure groups play a substantial role in the success or otherwise of the implementation of a policy. These groups usually function in a pragmatic and opportunistic fashion, using any method or technique which they consider will serve their purpose effectively.

Most of the techniques of pressure groups are dictated through the criterion: ‘what action will produce the maximum desired results with the minimum expenditure of time and possessions’. The techniques and tactics which any pressure group employs, are determined largely through such factors as size of group, geographic sharing of the membership, cohesion of membership, financial possessions, prestige, position of the organization of the group, excellence of leadership, manpower possessions, and relations with the political parties and other pressure groups.

In order to protect their interests in the best possible manner, the pressure groups seek to power the policy implementers to get the policy implemented in the manner whereby the pressure groups reap maximum benefits. It could use its power both for helping the implementing agency in the speedy and effective execution of the policy or for standing in its method for the same, depending upon the interest of the group concerned. One of the significant techniques which the pressure groups adopt for influencing the policy implementers is that of lobbying. It is an admitted fact that the permanent executive of the government has a significant role in the implementation of the
policies. Through lobbying, which means, influencing the implementers through method of personal meetings, writing of letters, sending delegations and deputations, demonstrations and telephonic calls, etc. the pressure groups effort to exercise their power on the concerned implementers. Through doing so, the pressure groups try to win in excess of the implementers to attain their respective ends. At times, they achieve some success.

Another technique which the pressure groups create use of is that of strikes and dharma’s for influencing the concerned implementers to achieve their goals and interests. Through these means the pressure groups tend to pressurize the officials and functionaries on jobs in the concerned agencies and force their cooperation through method of stoppage of work for specific causes. Strike as a technique used through pressure groups is negative in its approach. So most of the times it does not get them the success unless the concerned implementing agency has number of its functionaries as members of a scrupulous pressure group. Of course, through creation use of its own members, the pressure groups can put to use the techniques like dharma, bandh and gherao, which in a method, tend to indicate the intentions or reactions of a scrupulous group for or against the move of the government in implementing a specific policy. The pressure groups also operate through mass media. The newspapers, through their skills of communication, can make powerful public images and through continuous debate and propaganda can power the public opinion. The implementing agencies are sometimes, kept on tenterhooks through the newspapers. So, on appropriate occasions, the pressure groups do create use of the mass media for attaining their ends.

The role played through pressure groups in implementing the policies is quite substantial. Dissimilar pressure groups have a sizeable number of its core members from the organised sections of the society who can definitely facilitate or jeopardize the work of implementation. Fighting out with the administration in the sphere of implementation through the pressure groups for seeking their own and not so significant ends, when viewed in the total scenario, and contradicting each other not only lead to unsuccessful of
pressure groups in their efforts but would also give ample leverage to the administration to do whatever it wants to do especially in the absence of any strong check on it through these groups. Rather, the pressure groups, because of their organizational capacities and strengths, can stand shoulder to shoulder with the administration to help them to perform in the best interests of everyone. Also, through mobilizing the public support on positive issues with regard to the implementation of any policy these groups could create the implementers act in a responsible manner. So distant, in India, the activities of pressure groups and their role with regard to policy implementation has been narrow and parochial rather than open and positive and soliciting called for response from the implementing agencies. More often, these groups operate for the achievement of their petty goals and at times this effort to stall the implementation of a given policy. These groups can be of enormous use to the society at large if they try to create use of the mobilized public opinion in a more positive manner.

**Role of Citizens**

A citizen is an individual who is a native or naturalized member of a State owing allegiance to that State, and entitled to the protection and privileges of its laws, rules, and policies. All the policies formulated through the government are oriented towards the welfare of the citizens, or some sections of citizens, in specified cases. In accomplishing the task of implementation of policies, which is primarily the obligation of the governmental agencies; the citizens have an active role to play. The same has been discussed in the succeeding text under two headings — Citizens and Policy Implementation: Positive Approach; and Citizens and Policy Implementation: Negative Approach.

**Citizens and Policy Implementation: Positive Approach**

The policies are formulated through the decision makers to be implemented in a given environmental structure. Mainly, the policies have power and control in excess of the society and its constituents that is, the
human beings. The behavior of human beings has always remained a very complicated and intricate phenomenon hardly to be understood through anybody in a highly preuse manner. The policies are meant to create citizens act according to the rules stated therein, whether they refer to social welfare, education, industrial production, law and order, agricultural growth, tax rates and subsidies, or better employment opportunity. Ultimately it is the human beings for whom the policies are to be implemented and unless they extend their cooperation and willingly accept the policies, the implementers cannot carry these out effectively and the goals the policy is supposed to attain will never be achieved. The policy formulators do keep in mind the environmental factors at the time of framing policies because they know that without the help of the masses the policies cannot be a success. It does not mean that the attitude and behavior of the masses is the utmost significant criterion for the successful implementation of the policy, but also it is not that insignificant that one can afford to take the cooperation of the masses as guaranteed on each and every policy. The issue of the acceptance of the policies through the masses has not been able to catch the attention of the social scientists mainly because of the view that the masses are always obedient to the rules framed through the government. But this is not the case on every occasion. No government wants that the peace should be disturbed within its jurisdiction or that crimes should take place. Yet that anti-social and anti-national acts are being committed proves that large sections of society are not obedient to the rules framed through the Government. The study of policy implementation remnants partial if we don’t bring to light the factors responsible for the public’s positive support or negative approach towards the acceptance of policies enacted through the governmental institutions and actors. Anderson has given some of the factors which bring to light the positive approach of the citizens towards implementation of the policies. These are as follows:

- The citizens through and large abide through the instructions and directives of those who are superior to them. In democracies, the people elect their representatives to take care of their interests and demands. The elected representatives are fully competent, according to the masses, to frame governing rules for them. Citizens have an
inclination to obey the policies and rules framed through the government. In society there are always a thin and slender majority of those who don’t abide or care for the rules of the government. Right from the birth of a child, he is taught to obey the parents and elders at home, teachers at educational institutions, instructors at technical workshops, superiors at office, and these behavioral features rather compel the individuals not to disobey the policies of the government. In other words, the man gets used to obeying the authority of those whom he considers superior to him. The respect for authority and obedience to the government policies has relationship to the psychological and moral create-up of the individuals. No one wants to be termed as ‘Law-breaker’;

- When the citizens elect their governors or rulers they have it definitely somewhere in their minds that the elected ones would create rules which will benefit the masses.
- Supposing a policy on agricultural production and food granules price has been made.
- The section of agriculturalists will definitely obey the policy and help in every possible method would be extended through them to the implementers for its earlier and effective execution. Likewise, assume that another policy concerning industrial laborers, and third concerning employment opportunities have been made.
- Whereas the industrial laborers and unemployed will like the policies to be accepted out at the earliest, they would also expect other sections of the society, not being directly benefited, to comply with the policies and, in turn, the industrial laborers and unemployed persons would be complying with the policies suiting other sections of the society. So, this provide and take in the middle of the masses concerning obedience to the policies smoothens the method for the implementation of the policies;
- Majority of the citizens view the policies in conditions of logic and cause. People normally do not have the habit to negate or disobey a point which they feel is justified. Of course here it becomes obligatory
on the part of the implementers to effort to convince people. An influenced lot will not disobey the policies even if these hamper them. People foot the bills for the electricity consumed or other public utility services utilized through them. Why should they not pay the amount and put the question that when the government pays for its officials why does it not pay for those not in its employment. But people don’t challenge it and keep on doing it because they are influenced that as they have to pay the price for getting a service from a private organization likewise they have to pay to the government also;

- Another cause for the citizens’ obedience to the policies enacted through the government is the rightful thinking of the masses that the government policies are legitimate and have been made through the appropriate authority through following the correct procedure. Legitimacy is the excellence of being justified or willingly accepted through the subordinates, that is, the masses that converts the exercise of political power, that is, the policies, into rightful authority. It reflects an underlying consensus that endows the governmental officials with authority, and that offers respect and acceptance for government institutions and its policies. Although policy serves a legitimating function, the technicality of policy alone without widespread social acceptance, may give little support for the power of the policy makers and implementers;

- The policies, in accordance with the existing and well-recognized traditions and conventions, are very easily accepted through the masses. Nobody wishes to raise his finger on a point which is functioning well in its sphere. It is "universally accepted that on Sundays all establishments, offices, and business centres would be closed; why does this rule not apply to the railways, telecommunication, libraries, etc., why are these not be closed on Sundays?; Why do the people working in these, departments not disobey the policies? Mainly, because of the factor that they know that these establishments are meant for providing effective services to the public and hence, these can’t be closed;
• Majority of the persons in the society have the wish to be recognized as respectable persons in the society. They never want to be termed as law breakers or anti-society and anti-national elements. This thinking rather compels the persons to abide through the government policies. They know that once they are pointed out as not acting in accordance with the policies of the government, they would have a stigma and slur on their names and personality, ultimately leading to loss of status and respect in the middle of the members of the society; and

• The policies have the sanctions of law behind them and the violators are liable to be imprisoned, fined or punished for their acts. These fears also prevent the public from acting in a manner whereby they can be penalized through the government through its adjudicating agencies. A person who steals bread for the first time necessity have thought in excess of it so several times before doing it, whereas a professional thief will not mind doing it. The professionals of this type are comparatively much fewer than the ordinary law-abiding and peaceful citizens who feel scared of breaking the policy or obstructing its implementation in any method.

Citizens and Policy Implementation: Negative Approach

All the policies enacted through the government are not obeyed and complied with through the masses in totality. If the people had shown the necessary obedient regard for the policies, almost certainly more than half of the troubles of the governments would have been in excess of. The human beings have the tendency to possess both positive and negative thinking traits. It depends upon the circumstances and the individuals being affected through them vis-à-vis the policy acceptance. When people largely feel that the policy is fundamentally against their basic rights and privileges they will try their best to defy these policies and would stand in the method of their being properly implemented. We had referred to morality as a basic factor for acceptance of the policies through the public. But there are no measuring sticks whereby one could say how much of morality is required and from
which section of the society. Morality in itself is a subjective phenomenon and
varies from individual to individual. If ‘A’ feels it his moral obligation to
respect his parents, it is not necessary ‘B’ will also think on the same lines.
Moreover, human behavior is quite dynamic and distant from being static. A
person who has remained confined and attached to moral issues may turn up
as immoral on some count and still there won’t be any parameters to convince
him that he has become immoral on a scrupulous count. Individuals have a
natural instinct for defending their actions as right even if the others term it
them wrong. In the words of Anderson, “It will be readily apparent even to the
most casual observer that all persons affected through public policies do not
comply with them. It is not very useful, though, to ascribe noncompliance to a
broad disagreement flanked by law and morality. Those who proclaim that
“you can’t legislate morality” not only in excess of simplify but also ignore
the fact that morality is regularly legislated with considerable success. Failure
to comply results when a scrupulous law or set of laws conflicts with
scrupulous values or beliefs in a scrupulous time and situation. The Law-
value disagreement necessity be stated in fairly precise conditions if it is to have
operational value in explaining noncompliance”.

The major causes for the public not accepting the policies are as such:

- These groups thrash about to get such types of policies which suit their
  self-ends: The interest groups can also play a negative role in amassing
  the public opinion to not be obey a policy which basically harms the
  interests of the group. Moreover, the individuals who feel that with the
  policy they are going to lose considerably they would effort their best
to stand in the method of the implementation of the policy irrespective
  of the factor whether they have regular membership of an interest or
  pressure group or not. In such situations persons being affected may
  join hands with each other and form an association or group to fight
  against the policy;

- Proper communication, including foolproof transmission, clarity, and
  consistency is required for the policy to be thoroughly implemented.
The masses should also be made to understand the policy and its goals
  and objectives at length so that they may develop the desire to obey the
Policies which are equivocal and ambiguous in conditions and references won’t be easily obeyed through the masses for the simple cause that they won’t be in a position to understand the same. Lack of proper information to the public in relation to the policies stands in the method of citizens’ ready acceptance and obedience. The governmental institutions and implementers should try to educate the masses in relation to the policies;

- Citizens weigh the policies in conditions of their values and force. According to Clinard, selective disobedience of law is closely related to the law-value disagreement. It is a natural human habit to comply with the aspect which seems more threatening. Supposing a person comes crossways a snake and dog simultaneously, he will first of all try to save himself from snake rather than the dog because he feels more danger from the snake. Same is the case with the policies. People feel scared of severe punishment if caught for committing criminal acts, so, they normally avoid doing these; whereas they are not that much bothered in relation to the acts of civil disobedience if it suits their interests. Citizens view the policies in conditions of punishment they can receive for breaking these. We should not forget that the overall strength of law-breakers is much less in comparison to law-abiders; and

- Interest in several policies is also a factor for citizens not obeying them. Such like situations normally confuse the masses as to which policy is to be obeyed in which circumstances and which is not to be obeyed.

Policy creation process does not end with the taking up of the decision on a scrupulous issue and laying down a policy on it. The policy implementation is equally significant as the policy decision-creation. It can have approximately an equal amount of impact on the issue as the decision-creation itself has. The policies formulated are not implemented in an automatic manner but the governmental institutions, officials, administrative agencies, and the non-governmental actors and associations play a considerable role
both individually and collectively, for implementing the policies properly.

**Interaction Flanked By The Government And Non-Governmental Organizations**

In a democracy, the role and attitude of Government is very crucial to the effective functioning of voluntary agencies. After Independence, the Government began to recognize the useful role which the voluntary agencies were playing and their significant potential in the future to complement governmental programmes under five year plans to alleviate the social backwardness and poverty. The First Five Year Plan (1951-56) observed that ‘any plan for social and economic regeneration should take into account the services rendered through these agencies and state should take maximum cooperation in strengthening their efforts’.

In pursuance of the policy to encourage voluntary action, the Government took many events for the coordination, assistance and guidance of voluntary agencies at Central and State stages. Some of these are:

- The Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) was set up in 1953, under the Chairpersonship of Durgabai Deshmukh, to give encouragement, advice and grant-in-aid to voluntary agencies occupied in social welfare. The CSWB also encourages the establishment of State Social Welfare Boards as its affiliates in several states. The voluntary agencies are represented on the management board of CSWB, beside with government officials. The Board gives financial assistance for strengthening the infrastructure of voluntary agencies and for employing professional staff. The Board also gives grant-in-aid for extension services and encourages activities to strengthen peoples capability for self-reliance;

- In 1986, the Ministry of Rural Development set-up the Council for Advancement of People’s Action and Rural Technology (CAPART) to deal with the voluntary agencies. The CAPART has been recognized to encourage, promote and assist voluntary action in the implementation
of projects for enhancement of rural prosperity and to strengthen and promote voluntary efforts in rural development with a focus on injecting new technological inputs in this belief;

- Social Welfare Departments were created both within the Union Government and the State Governments to undertake social welfare activities directly as well as through selected voluntary agencies. Many Development departments of Union and the State Governments also provide grant-in-aid to voluntary agencies which come forward to participate in implementation of projects and programmes requiring substantial extent of public involvement. For instance, certain voluntary agencies were given the responsibility of the management of adult education, ability training, children’s health and family planning programmes, certain voluntary at some places. The National Wasteland Board gives financial assistance to voluntary agencies in rural development.

- The Government also regulates foreign assistance to voluntary agencies. There are several voluntary organizations at the international stage working for the cause of the poor. A number of voluntary agencies in India receive financial assistance from international agencies, like Christian Aid, and Save the Children Fund, etc. The inflow of foreign donations was regulated under the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act, 1976. The voluntary agencies getting these donations are required to intimate the Union Government in relation to the source, amount and purpose of donation. Only those registered with the Ministry of Home Affairs are normally eligible for getting donations. The Ministry is to see that the source of donation is not politically suspicious in the context of national interest of India; and

- The Government is also encouraging business and industrial houses to become involved in rural development activities through giving tax exemptions to the contributions made to voluntary action.

As described above, the stated policy of Government is to actively assist
the voluntary agencies in the implementation and monitoring of developmental programmes. The Government emphasizes its ‘Watch-dog role, the corrective role and change agent role in the field of voluntary action. But several critics and field observers also notice the negative role of Government in certain cases. From the middle of seventies, there appeared a new type of voluntary agency more appropriately called Social Action Groups. In some of their activities the State see a threat to their position. The State’s response, in some cases, has been to intimidate, harass or physical attack voluntary agencies and their staff. Another form of harassment of voluntary agencies is through the Income Tax Act, Wealth Tax Act, Sales Tax Act, Foreign Contribution Regulation Act etc. Another form of intimidation is to label false charges against voluntary agencies and their leaders. In states like Andhra Pradesh and Bihar the leaders of some voluntary agencies who are mobilizing the poor are branded as Naxalites. The ‘invisible foreign hand’ allegations were made against several Gandhian voluntary agencies and government appointed Kudal Commission to enquire into these allegations. The Government is also accused of using financial assistance to encourage pliable voluntary agencies. R. Chaturvedi, who has been a close observer of role of voluntary agencies, pointed out both negative and positive characteristics of government policy towards voluntary agencies. According to him the positive characteristics of Government policy are:

- The flow of funds from the government enables voluntary agencies to expand and diversify their activities to meet increasingly the challenge of the improvement of the depressed lot of large sections of the common people;
- Many voluntary agencies took to intermediary role flanked by the government
- Departments and the people, thereby facilitating the access of the latter to officially sponsored programmes and providing feedbacks to the former; and
- Voluntary agencies succeeded in attracting the Youth to join in their expanding and diversified welfare and developmental activities.
The negative characteristics, as pointed out through Chaturvedi, contain:

- Voluntary agencies became too dependent on government assistance and began to neglect their efforts for getting public support through donations;
- Instead of promoting activities to meet the felt needs of people, voluntary agencies began to provide preference to implementation of projects as suggested through the governmental bureaucracy; and
- In order to meet the formal circumstances laid down through the government for giving grant-in-aid, the voluntary agencies began to formalize and even bureaucratize their management and therefore flexibility and innovativeness began to suffer.

**ISSUES IN THE WORKING OF**

**Non-Governmental Agencies**

There has been an augment in the number and scope of activities of non-governmental agencies in India. There are many issues which need attention to create these agencies play a more dynamic and purposeful role in development.

**The scope of the activities of non-governmental agencies**

In view of the limitation of government bureaucratic organizations, who favour giving a major role to non-governmental agencies in poverty alleviation and social transformation in India? But there are several who doubt the capability of non-governmental agencies to play the change agent role. It is said that the voluntary agencies can only play a marginal role in development in the given socio-economic situation in India. The local nature of their activities, limited possessions—both human and material, absence of well developed national organizational linkages, and lack of ideological framework are some of the causes given for their limited role in social transformation. it is said that the scope of activity of pressure groups is very limited. Very few out of the total population are members of one group or the other. Moreover, the
groups mostly operate to safeguard the interests, in the true sense, of the top and influential selected few in the groups and therefore large sections of the society remain uncovered.

With regard to citizens, it is said that the Indian citizens are quite conservative in their approach having little interest in as well as awareness of the governmental policies. The citizens are concerned mainly with their own individualistic interests and seldom get united for a common cause. Of course, of late the awareness in the middle of citizens is rising and they are attempting to contribute in the implementation process through helping or standing in the method of implementing agency. But to expect them perform this task in a rightful manner will yet take a long time.

**Accountability of non-governmental organization**

In a democracy, the autonomy vs. accountability is another major issue in the working of non-governmental agencies. Autonomy of public organizations in a democratic polity only means relative autonomy from the polity. The Government, in its overall responsibility to society, necessity ensure social accountability of all public organizations.

There are some allegations of misuse of possessions through voluntary agencies and non-governmental organizations. Here the state steps in. But some time the state may use this regulatory power to silence the genuine activities of these agencies, when it subjects them to oppressive acts of bureaucracy and the state. To ensure accountability of these agencies, without state intervention a self regulating mechanism has to be evolved. For instance, in 1985 some voluntary agencies from several backgrounds — Christian, Gandhian, Sarvodaya, Social service and activist groups, prepared a draft code of conduct for self-regulation. Likewise, some of the enlightened groups of citizens and also some pressure groups have drafted their conduct and regulation codes.
**Threats from vested interests**

The efforts of non-governmental agencies to empower the poor attracts the wrath of vested interests. The landlords and other vested interests in rural India consider the actions of several such agencies as a threat to their privileges. The apolitical, and small agencies of this type may not be able to face the power of vested interests their collaborators in the state machinery; and Sharp decline of national spirit in the middle of people

Through and large, one discovers that there is deterioration in the moral standards, values, and ethics. As a result majority of the inhabitants are embracing wrong and corrupt means. This has been a major setback to the system. The citizens, the press, the pressure groups and the voluntary agencies are trying to get whatever they perhaps could get. This has resulted in their mutual in-fighting and providing a handle to the administration to use them the method it likes. The point could be that such a thing helps the implementers and smoothens their method. But it is not like this because the number of people being satisfied and pleased with the implementing agency instead of helping it makes more troubles for it as the majority takes a stand against the concerned agency or agencies being given the responsibility of policy implementation.

**ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION-II**

**Policy Implementors**

It is hard to draw a hard and fast line flanked by the policy creation through governments and the implementation of these policies through professional administrators. The relationship flanked by policy and administration can be analyzed within the framework of the division flanked by politics and administration as such. The classical view is that the two concepts are separate and separate. In other words, policy creation and policy implementing tasks are two dissimilar functions. The first is the task of the
popularly elected legislature and the second is the function of technically skilled and politically “neutral” civil servants. It is also assumed that whereas “administration involves how to do things”; the field of politics is ”deciding what is to be done”. According to Dwight Waldo, “It was approximately as if the two elements, though both clearly related to the common goal of the public interest, operate in separate vacuum chambers. The policy ‘cake’ was baked in the legislative chamber, and was delivered to the administrative chamber for slicing and sharing. But the bakers and the slicers did not really consult or communicate with each other, except at arms length”.

The dichotomy’ view is entertained through Woodrow Wilson, in his essay “The Study of Administration” (1887). He observes the field of administration is field of business. It is removed from the hurry and strife of politics; it at most point’s stands separately from the ‘dichotomy’ view is entertained through Woodrow Wilson, in his essay “The Study of questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices”. Politics and administration were therefore measured two separate activities — institutionally as well as professionally. Weber’s concept of rational bureaucracy, beside with its structural characteristics and behavioral norms, further contributed towards a clear-cut distinction flanked by politics and administration.

Though, the modern view is that politics and administration are interrelated. This is perceptible at several stages of the public policy process. So distant as the policy creation stage is concerned, it is clear that such an initiative takes place within a political-bureaucratic framework. The initiative comes from both the political leaders as well as the bureaucrats. It will be partially correct to say that politicians are the initiators of policies. This may be true in conditions of major blue prints of overall policies (MEGA POLICIES). But, even within these overall policies, there are hundreds of policies needing active part of the permanent executive, which can be grouped as META POLICIES.
Therefore, the dichotomy flanked by policies and administration which had started in the 19th century, became more perceptible in the 20th century. The modern view discovers its hallmark in the systems approach of public policy. The political system can be explained as a ‘structure’ that performs certain functions for the society. Its most significant function is — creation ‘authoritative decision for the society’. The capability of the political system refers to the capability of the policy and the government to meet increasingly heavy demands and challenges, the loads they are able to cope up with, and their outputs in conditions of policies, decisions and their implementation.

The administrator plays a dual role of performing the “output” functions of executing policies and programmes, and also the input functions which relate not only to policy creation but also in influencing public attitude towards the government. This aspect has been clearly defined through Peter Seif. According to him, “The political process deals with the input of demands and the administrative process with the output of services. The former process moves upwards, embracing the claims through successfully broader constituencies, while the latter process moves downwards, disaggregating laws and general policies into specific operations. Both processes can be said to have become more “Pluralistic” in the sense that powers and decisions have become more diffused and that (in most western democracies) more contacts occur flanked by the two processes”.

Therefore, at the formal stage, it may seem that policy formulation and policy implementation are two dissimilar and separate tasks of politics and administration. But, at the informal stage, such a distinction is diffused. In other words, they overlap to a great extent. Almond, who subscribes to the approach (structural-functional model), says that output functions of a political system are mainly three in number. They are:

- Rule-creation;
- Rule-application (that is, implementation); and
- Rule-adjudication.
It is very unusual that the policies formulated are self-executing and are executed through the mere statement. Often the policies require some action for execution and implementation. The implementation process has certain activities working within it, such as issue and enforcement of directives, funds disbursement, loans and grants sanction, gathering and passing on information, roles and duties assignment in the middle of the personnel occupied in implementing, etc.

Most of the activity nearby policy implementation takes place within administrative or bureaucratic agencies. The implementation of policies is largely done through the bureaucrats as they have control in excess of the possessions and legal powers of the government. They are passed on directives to implement policies through the three organs of the government, that is, executive, legislature, and judiciary. It is also commonly felt that the political executive who are the elected representatives of the people in democracies, perform the major task of implementing the policies. Commenting on it, Henry Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State said, “the outsiders consider a Presidential order is uniformly followed. Nonsense. I have to spend considerable time seeing that it is accepted out and in the spirit the President planned.” Of course, the ultimate responsibility of implementing policies in proper form is that of the political executive but in actual practice this work is accepted out through the bureaucrats. They are heading the full-fledged departments of the government and are in the pipeline right from the top down to the bottom stages. It simply cannot be expected that policy will be implemented at every stage through the political executive. Though the bureaucrats and the officials are supposed to carry out the policies on the lines laid through the political executive, yet there are so several instances when the bureaucrats use their own discretion in implementing a policy decision.

Role Of Political Executive In Policy Implementation

As we have discussed earlier, policy implementation is also as complicated a task as the policy creation is in a political system. A policy, though good it
may be, its effectiveness depends on its proper application. This is the task of the executive who can be classified into two categories i.e. the political and the permanent executives. The political executive plays diverse roles in dissimilar types of political systems. In a parliamentary system of government the political executive shapes a part of the legislature and, so, there is close cooperation flanked by the executive and the legislature in the policy implementation process. Although the administrators or the permanent executive are the real implementations, yet it is the political executives who are responsible and answerable to the legislature for proper application of these policies.

In a presidential form of government the executive is not a part of the legislature and, so, it is not responsible to the legislature for effective implementation of the public policies. This is because of the traditional doctrine of the separation of powers. In totalitarian countries, the whole political process operates under the guidance, supervision and control of the Communist party. In the erstwhile Soviet Union the distinction flanked by the politician and the bureaucrat was more hard to, describe at the top stages of the government. The administration was the party’s servant and the party became a bureaucratic machine itself in the effort to parallel other rival power structures. To quote Merle Fainsod, “Soviet public administration is one-party administration. The conception of the politically neutral civil servant who serves his successive political masters with equal fidelity and equal contempt is utterly foreign to the Soviet scene. Soviet public administration is suffused with political content”.

The dividing lines flanked by political and bureaucratic executive are confused in the developing countries so distant the policy implementing aspect is concerned. In political systems where the development of party systems and other coherent power centres may be lacking, the bureaucrats are less likely to be the passive pawns of political leaders in public policy implementation. This is especially so if there are strong cultural differences flanked by the nationalist politicians and neocolonial trained civil service. The role of
political executives in the policy implementation stage can be somewhat clear through taking a look at the structure of departmental organizations which are the instruments for the execution of policies of the government. The President of India under Article 77(3) of the Constitution allocates items of business of a Ministry. A typical Ministry is a three tier structure which comprises.

- The political head, that is, the Ministers who may be assisted through one or more ministers of state, deputy ministers or parliamentary secretaries;
- The secretariat organization of the Ministry, with the Secretary, who is a permanent Official, as the head; and
- The executive organizations of the departments comprising a ministry, the official head bearing the designation of Director-General, Inspector-General, etc.

The ultimate responsibility concerning the implementation of specific policy lies with the concerned political executive. It is through the guidelines formulated in consultation with the top echelons of concerned administrative agencies that the task concerning execution of the policy is undertaken. The political executive has overall control in excess of the personnel and agencies occupied in policy implementation. It is obligatory on its part to ensure that the work assigned is not only completed but done so with full justice and uprightness. The political executive has to be particularly careful in the implementation because it is directly responsible to the legislature and can stay in office only as long as it enjoys the confidence of the House. Moreover, being political representatives; the political executive is in the position to have the channel of getting direct feedback from the target group with regard to implementation of any given policy. Such a feedback gets them information and data to exercise checks and control in excess of the permanent executive who has been given the job to implement the policies. The role performed through non-governmental agencies and actors in execution of the policies is also under the control mechanism evolved through the political executive for the same.
As mentioned earlier, the bureaucracy is not directly responsible to the legislature but is both accountable as well as responsible to the political executive which in turn is responsible to the legislature. This creates the role of political executive in policy implementation more prominent. For as if there are going to be any defects in the implementation of policies then the political executive shall earn the wrath of the legislature. This creates the ministers more careful in getting the policies executed in a proper, fair, effective and efficient manner. The following functions normally undertaken through the political executive highlight its role in policy implementation more clearly:

- To advise and suggest the permanent executive to adopt a set line of actions concerning implementation of the policies in the spirit in which those have been formulated;
- To emphasize upon the masses to extend a cooperative hand to the policy implementers. The political executive being representative of the citizens can do it in a better manner;
- To ascertain that the policy is implemented judiciously;
- To give the necessary infrastructure to the implementing agencies for speedy execution.
- To ensure that non-governmental supplemental channels, wherever necessary and befitting, are made use of in a positive manner for prompt execution of the policy;
- To keep required administrative check on the governmental implementing organizations not only for ensuring effective implementation but also for garnering data for purposes of further improvements in the policy intent, through the legislature;
- To keep its communication channels open with the bureaucracy for the necessary strategies to be mutually evolved and put into action for speedy implementation; and
- To give real and genuine leadership to the permanent executive for implementation tasks.

The discussion made above reveals the significance of the role of political
Role Of Permanent Executive In Policy Implementation

Policy creation and implementation were said to be the tasks of political executive and permanent executive, respectively, in the earlier days. Though, with the passage of time, this type of strict demarcation flanked by the job roles of political and permanent executive concerning formulation and execution of policies has been done absent with. As discussed in the earlier sections of this unit and also in Unit 19, besides permanent executive, the political executive, the legislature and the judiciary also have significant roles to play in implementation of the policies. Though the political executive, legislature and judiciary each plays its part in implementation, yet execution of policies is the major task of the permanent executive.

The civil servants are measured to be the agency of government for getting the benefits of legislation to the public through implementation of several policies which have been enacted from time to time through the governmental agencies. The citizens look towards governmental bureaucratic organizations, which are manned and administered through the permanent executive, for the execution of the policies. It is often found that both the political leadership and the citizens blame the permanent executive for lack of proper execution of the policies. The permanent executive on the other hand, feels that it is not getting the due support and infrastructural facilities from the political executive as well as the citizenry, as a result of which they are handicapped in the execution of the policies. Whatsoever the case may be, the point that emerges clearly is that mainly policy implementation is the task of the permanent executive.

The significant duties of the permanent executive are: (i) to execute policies and orders as prescribed through the government, (ii) to maintain and keep in order the overall administrative tools which lies within its official
charge, and (iii) to provide advice to the political executive concerning rules of procedure, regulations and other matters concerning the implementation of the policies. From the points stated above, it is clear that the permanent executive is to implement the policies, and in order to do so it should go through some recognized manners of actions. The civil servants, on the basis of their experience, skills, knowledge and prominence in the job, are in a position to undertake the task of implementation of policies in an appropriate manner. Normally, the permanent executive adopts the following strategies for execution of the policies.

**Permanent executive and political executive**

It has been discussed in the earlier units that the political executive has a major role to play in policy formulation; but the implementation of policies is also its major responsibility. Since it is responsible to the legislature, it is obligatory on its part to see to it that the will of the legislature, expressed through a policy statement, is executed in its true spirit. For getting this task completed, the political executive has to depend upon the permanent executive. It may be made clear in excess of here that the permanent executive is under the overall control of the political executive and has to perform the task of policy implementation as suggested through the political executive. Through and large, this is the situation in theory. In practice, the permanent executive, though under the control of the political executive, frames its own line of action for implementing the policies. In order to do it in a befitting manner the permanent executive looks towards the political executive for the required possessions essential for taking up the policy execution assignment.

The bureaucrats plan out the tasks to be undertaken in a systematic manner and jot down their necessities. They create clear to the political executive whatever is not possible, and try to bring them round to the appropriate procedures to be adhered to in the overall interest of the polity, government, and society. The target of any policy, attained through implementation through permanent executive, brings laurels to the political executive which is
composed of the representatives of the people and is to go to the polls again after a fixed tenure. The implementation of policies through the permanent executive helps in building the credibility of political executive in the eyes of the common people. The drawbacks of the policy which surface throughout implementation are brought to the notice of the political executive through the permanent executive who takes appropriate action through creation appropriate amendments in the policy statement.

**Permanent executive and citizens**

All the policies of the Government are directly or indirectly meant for the benefits to be accorded to the citizens. The citizens are aware of the fact that such benefits are to reach them through the permanent executive. Hence, the citizenry looks towards this organ of the government with all anxiety and depends on it for the fulfillment of all their needs, wants, desires, and expectations. The permanent executive has to take people beside with it for performing this task of implementation in an appropriate method. The public gets in touch with the permanent executive on approximately every problem being faced through them in regard to the implementation of the policies.

The bureaucrats themselves, and through their subordinates, effort to create the motives, objectives, and goals of the policy clear to the people so that they could know what a scrupulous policy is in relation to the and who are to get the benefit out of the same. This reduces the pressure on bureaucracy through those groups in the society who are not sheltered through the scrupulous policy. The bureaucracy also persuades the masses to obey the policy because such an effort of the public definitely smoothens the task of policy implementation. The permanent executive, especially at the cutting edge stage of the administration (the stage where virtually the policies are implemented), through formal as well as informal methods, tries to be closer to the public being served through it. Such relationship instills trust in the minds of people towards government officials and creates the relationship flanked by the two cordial. The cordiality of relationship is very much
required for implementing the policies in an efficient and effective manner.

**Permanent executive and interest groups**

These groups effort to create the permanent executive undertake the task of policy implementation in a manner which suits their interests. The permanent executive has the obligation of implementing the policies ire such a method whereby the benefits reach the clients in the most optimum manner. It does not crack under the weight of the interest groups. Rather the bureaucracy endeavors to manage the interest groups in a method whereby it could get the maximum support of these groups in the implementation of the policies.

In a situation where the interest groups effort to stand in the method of implementers, the permanent executive, on the basis of its strength, authority and power, deals with such groups in a repressive manner. Any such move whereby the implementation activities are jeopardized is suppressed through the permanent executive. The valid points raised through the pressure groups are taken in consultation through the permanent executive and accordingly the policies are implemented.

**Permanent executive and non-governmental agencies**

In excess of the years, the government has proliferated in innumerable methods. Right from womb to tomb, all the affairs of the people are supervised through one activity or the other of the government. Taking so several works under its hold has increased the workload of the government considerably. It has further amounted to the increased expectations of the people. The net result is a rising number of policies of the government are to be executed through the permanent executive. The bureaucracy, in order to cope with the quantum of excessive workload, encourages several non-governmental organizations and voluntary agencies to take up some of its tasks. Of course, the overall control of such organizations and agencies remnants with the government and its several organs. There are a number of examples wherein the permanent executive has encouraged the supplemental
channels in the non-governmental organizations and voluntary agencies to undertake the task of implementation of the policies or parts thereof. Adult education' children’s health, female immunization, informal education to children, etc., are some of the examples to this effect.

For the proper implementation of policies much depends on the personality and inclinations of the implementers in permanent executive. It is not only enough to know what is to be done and how it is to be done, but the implementer’s necessity have a forceful wish to execute a policy on proper lines. In case this is missing, the implementation is hampered to a great extent. The officials to carry out the policies necessity be so trained that they feel it obligatory on their part to carry out the programme in a well-desired manner. The officials are neither directly dependent on the policy-creation organ, that is, the legislature, nor are they answerable to it. In such a situation, it amounts to the use of discretionary will of the implementers to implement the policy in the method they deem fit. Though, it does not mean that permanent executive has no control in excess of its own activities. The detailed legislation and the political executive do not leave ample scope for the bureaucracy in all the cases for executing the policies in the manner it desires. Still in a number of cases the bureaucracy uses its discretion.

Some officials assigned the role of implementation, have positive approach towards the goals, whereas some are born with negative approach. When the tasks are totally left to the implementers, the ones with negative inclinations do not go much beyond the expected stages; whereas the officials with a positive approach go beyond the expectations. The policy implementation neither requires going above nor below the required stages, but to work according to the required standards. An implementer not willing to carry out the policy behaves in a manner which decidedly stands in the method of ‘policy goals attainment’. It is possible he may just ignore a few of the specifications made through the formulators or through the senior officials for implementation of the policy properly. He can also take much time for implementing the policy because of the prime cause that he is not much in
favour of the policy. Of course, if these lapses on the parts of the implementers are pointed out, they can be put to question and enquiries through the courts, higher officials, political executive, etc. can be mannered. But for bringing such situations to the notice of top echelon of officialdom, the masses need abundant and thorough awareness and "knowledge.

From the discussion made above - it is amply clear that policy implementation to a substantive extent is the responsibility of the permanent executive. To this effect, the role of permanent executive, in a nutshell is:

- To seek the guidance and help from the political executive and also higher echelons of administration;
- To resist uncalled for pressures of the politicians, social leaders, interest groups and citizens;
- To have clear understanding of the policy statement, its goals and objectives;
- To have thorough understanding of the target area and groups: where and for whom the policy formulated is to be implemented. This would help them to adopt the most appropriate strategy for policy execution;
- To priorities the works to be undertaken;
- To list the manpower, financial, and infrastructural necessities for implementing a policy;
- To ask for more possessions, if required;
- To allocate human, financial and physical possessions out of the accessible/provided Ones;
- To educate and impart training to the personnel put on dissimilar jobs concerning implementation;
- To educate the masses concerning policy benefits, and agency’s limitations in seeking their cooperation;
- To form public opinion through formal and informal channels;
- To ensure effective monitoring and evaluation; and
- To develop a feeling of trust for the political executive, politicians, and citizens.
It goes without saying that most of the points referred to above are adhered to through the permanent executive but still somewhere beside the line it is not subscribed to in that fairness in which it should be. Hence, there are delays in policy implementation. The permanent executive carries the real burden of policy implementation task. They perform under the guidance and control of political executive. This does not, though, mean that these professional administrators are passive order takers only. They do illustrate a greater degree of independence and freedom in their action when the need arises. In fact, the role of the civil servants in policy implementation is immense, from every point of view, but it largely depends on the nature of political system’s environment in which they operate.

**Relationship Flanked By Political And Permanent Executive In Policy Implementation**

The relationship flanked by the permanent and the political executive is guided through two significant principles; neutrality and anonymity. In a parliamentary system of government, a clear line of demarcation exists flanked by the two types of executives, each performing separate types of functions. The functions of the political executive are:

- On behalf of the governmental policy within the administration;
- On behalf of the public opinion while framing the public policies;
- Providing leadership in the formulation of national policies; and
- Exercising statutory powers guaranteed under the constitution.

The functions of the permanent executive or career administrators are:

- Execution of laws and government decisions;
- Providing expert guidance, information and managerial assistance to the political executive, where necessary;
- Maintaining the stability in administration; and
- Creation the political executive aware of the probable consequences of alternative courses of action.
Political executives are amateurs in administration while the career officials are professionals having permanency of tenure. It is the minister who remnants constitutionally responsible for his ministry to the parliament. Hence, he has to remain within the sphere of accountability and responsibility to the legislature. This implies that even in cases where he is not personally responsible, he has to take responsibility for any omissions and wrong actions of his subordinates.

Though, the traditional concept of civil service neutrality is undergoing a change, particularly in developing countries. If the administration is to work efficiently and the governmental objectives are to be achieved satisfactorily the ministers and his subordinate’s necessity act in agreement. The Administrative Reforms Commission laid down the following norms to this effect:

- The obligation of every public servant to implement faithfully all policies and decisions of the ministers even if these be contrary to the advice tendered through him;
- The freedom of public servants to express themselves frankly through tendering advice to their superiors including the ministers; and
- The observance through public servants of the principles of neutrality, impartiality and anonymity.

There is a need to exercise control in excess of activities of the civil servants in order to prevent them from becoming something like Frankenstein’s Monster. This has been emphasized in liberal democratic systems, because of representative and responsible characteristics of political leadership. Even in totalitarian regimes the party usually possesses more communication links with the mass of the governed than the bureaucracy does; it is the political elements within the system, such as the political leaders, assemblies and parties, which are legitimizing forces, not the permanent administrators. The civil servants are everywhere through and large
change resistant and conservative in their attitude. They seek to strengthen their position vis-à-vis other agencies and the executive through alliances with the legislature and pressure groups as well as calculated support-building campaigns directed against the general public.

Implementation is bureaucratization of policy. To become effective, most of the policies require action through the bureaucracies of the executive wing of the government. Undoubtedly, it is true that the permanent executive translates the policies into action but it is done in consultation and under the guidance of the political executive. Both these executives are to move, step through step, beside with each other, for speedy implementation of the policies. Their relationship requires absolute cordiality and clarity without even a grain of doubt or mistrust for each other. Such a situation could only facilitate the process of policy implementation.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION-I

Policy Implementation: Meaning And Perspectives

In the words of Jeffrey Pressman and Widavsky, “the cards in this world are stocked against things happening, as much effort is required to create them move. The extra ordinary thing is that new programmes work at all”. The policies made would be of no use at all unless the same are implemented, with all effectiveness and efficacy. The implementation of the policy is as significant as is the formulation of the policy. The policy issue, demand, or proposal, once formulated has to be translated into action through implementation. Policy implementation has been termed as the ‘great Achilles heel’ of the policy process. As per Louis W. Koenig, “From every side come lamentations that government is unable to implement successfully the policies and programmes it produces”. Implementation is the process through which the goals and promises of a policy are accepted out. It refers to action or activity.
Let us consider policy implementation as a process. In this process there are number of steps involved. The very first is the study and understanding of the policy statement/document. The implementers and the implementing agencies create in-depth study of the said policy document and seek clarifications on any given point or points of ambiguity. Planning is a step which usually comes before implementation, but it is more true in case of industrial units or projects. With regard to day-to-day implementation of the policies, the implementers analyze the issue assigned to be implemented in the current situation and breaks it down in manageable parts or segments. The detailed study of the policy raises number of questions in the minds of the implementers. These could be:

- Whether they are to go ahead with the task of implementation as prescribed?
- Would the support staff and possessions be adequate enough to cope with the quantum of task assigned?
- Would they be able to perform their tasks effectively so that the policy objectives are attained?
- What additional possessions and information would be required? and
- What additional possessions and information would be required?
- Through which criteria the policy outcomes, as a result of implementation, are to be evaluated and assessed?

Unless the policy implementers are well conversant with the details, goals, objectives, and time framework of the policy; and unless they address themselves to the number of dependent and independent variables likely to interact and affect each other vis-à-vis the implementing agency, the task of implementation cannot go ahead smoothly. Followed through it is the second step in the process of policy implementation — that is, to break down the policy into dissimilar segments. For doing so, the target area, the target group, the possessions required, the possessions accessible, etc., have to be properly assessed and analyzed. The deployment of possessions would be done as per the breaking down of the said policy into dissimilar segments.
Third step is collecting required information and data concerning the area and the group of people who are to be affected through the implementation of the policy. In some cases, a given policy could have some negative effects also upon some sections of the society. Such affected sections could stand in the method of implementation. Information composed to this effect enables the implementing agency to adopt remedial/action events and strategy beforehand. Lastly, for implementing the policy, the agency concerned decide the criteria and norms to be followed for the implementation purposes.

In case the policy implementation process is not put to gear systematically, the goals and objectives meant to be achieved through the formulation of policy could be negated. It can also lead to more serious and grave troubles and issues. It is very unusual that the policies formulated are self-executing. Often, the policies require some action for execution and implementation. The implementation process has certain activities working within it. These are: issues and enforcement of directives, funds disbursement, loans and grants sanction, roles and duties assigned to personnel involved in the implementation task, inter and infra-departmental coordination, etc.

It is often said that the policies formulated are good enough but don’t succeed because of faulty and defective implementation process. Commenting on the vast criticism of the implementation process, Louis W. Koenig says, “Nonetheless, in the hubbub of criticism, the solid long-running accomplishments of implementation should not be overlooked. Men are put on the moon, wars are fought and won. Day after day, mail is delivered, police and fire protection are provided, taxes composed, social security benefits disbursed, pollution reduced, the nation’s health improved. Some of the society’s ablest individuals work for government and compile enviable records as achieving implementers. The bureaucracies of which they and others are members are highly diverse, and are neither equally efficient nor inefficient. Likewise there are poor as well as able bureaucrats”
Perspectives on Implementation

Implementation, as a process, in a number of compliments has nontransparent phenomenon. It is hard to easily lay hands on such of its features which have distant reaching and important consequences. It has the excellence of being pliant as a result of which it undergoes tremendous and rapid transformation. There are many perspectives on the process of implementation. Some of these are discussed below in order to provide us a more understanding in relation to this process.

Implementation as Evolution

A policy which is formulated has a set of objectives, goals and ideas which are loosely linked with each other. A causal chain flanked by the multiple goals and objectives of the policy is forged through the implementation process. Changing environmental thoughts, vested interests of the political parties and influential groups at times compel the framing of such policies which have rather numerous, contradictory and equivocal goals. At the time of the framing of such policies, the formulaters are not in a position to expect the possible troubles and the constraints to be faced at the time of implementation of such policies. Giandomenico Majone and Aaron Wildavsky have said that implementation is shaped through the original policy framing from which it springs. Such troubles and constraints, in fact, should be thought of and worked upon accordingly at the time when the policy is framed. May be it is impossible to do so at that stage and so these appear on the scene when the policy is put to execution. Consequently, the implementer addresses himself to number of points, viz. which of the dissimilar objectives of the policy are to be implemented? How is it to be done?; which priority order to be made? What possessions are to be put to the said task? etc. Besides, number of other troubles, like: Support or opposition of the target group, contradiction with some other related policies already in subsistence; and the feedback in relation to the positive and negative points of the policy are also noticed at the implementation stage. It goes without saying that implementation is a critical juncture at which such essentials are incorporated in the policy which at the
time of its original manifestation could not be done. As the policy moves crossways the implementation spectrum new circumstances and troubles are realized, and the policy continues to evolve. This necessity be duly coped with so that the required potentials and facets are incorporated in the original policy thought. Majone and Wildavsky have stated that “Initial policy creation is also susceptible to errors, and the evolutionary character of implementation gives experience and learning that permit their correction. In essence, policy implementation is an adventure in discovering and realizing the several dimensions of policy ideas”.

**Implementation: Work Mechanism**

Implementation as a process is translated into working through institutions and agencies which are assigned the said task of execution of a specific policy. Besides planning, the hierarchical stages and element of control are essential ingredients of the work mechanism of implementation. Lack of these would create it hard for the superiors to keep a check on the performance of the subordinates and also the output of the task assigned cannot be measured. The important imperatives are rather necessity to be satisfied through the implementation process. Firstly, implementation must, through process and action, submit courteously to the legal contents incorporated in the policy document. Unless, it is insured on the part of implementation agency, the policy execution in desired method cannot be looked for. Secondly, for translating policy intent into virtual action coupled with instrumental rationality, the implementing officials and functionaries’ commitment to the task has to be activated and assured. Thirdly, concerted efforts have to be made for having consensus on working concerning implementation not within the said given implementing agency but also a cordiality of relationship flanked by the internal system and the external system, that is, micro system (the implementing agency) and macro system (the political system). Stress is laid on hierarchical approach in order to control the discretion used through the subordinates therefore affecting the implementation process. In the words of Koenig, “The hierarchical approach uses organization control processes as
the most dependable means to transmute the purposes of policy into actual accomplishment. Implementation, according to this perspective, also entails administrative learning, an outgrowth of the difficulty of implementing policies through multiple institutional structures with their distinctive interests, fragmented power, and narrow skills that order their efforts and that create coordination both a necessity and elusive function”.

**Implementation as Politics**

The process of implementation, which is followed through the governmental agencies, has elements like bargaining, gaming, accommodating, compromising, etc., therefore creation it a type of political issue. In the words of M. Helen, “Implementation is mannered largely through accommodation and bargaining, with relentless provide and take, winning and losing, chronic disjointedness, and pervasive disarray. The policy to be implemented is simply a point of departure for bargaining in the middle of the implementers, and what materializes as implemented policy is essentially determined through specific local features, which are unique to each implementation context and which form the contours of the eventual outcomes”.

In simple words, it means that the inclinations of the implementers and importance of the local areas, that is, the target areas and groups play a significant role in implementing the policy. It is upon these variables that the success or failure of the policy being implemented depends.

**Implementation as Problem Tracing**

It has been discussed earlier also that a number of troubles which could not be appreciated or anticipated at the stage of policy formulation appear at implementation stage. The implementation process is in fact a problem tracing process. The troubles/constraints, the viewpoints of the affected groups, the necessities on count of infrastructural and financial possessions are the ones which add to the process of improving the policy further. In their book,
Implementation and Public Policy, Mazmanian and Sabatier, have stated that, “Implementation proceeds through many stages, commencing with policy outputs or decisions of the implementing agencies, which incorporated the translation of statutory objectives into substantive regulations and standards operating procedures. A second stage is the target group’s compliance with policy outputs, which is influenced through such factors as the relative costs and benefits of compliance, the probability that non-compliance will be detected and penalized and its members’ attitudes towards the legitimacy of the implementing rules”.

Implementation is a process which creates the implementers perform the role of linkers flanked by the policy formulators and the target groups. Though mostly the permanent executive has the major role in implementing the policy, yet the role performed through other governmental institutions cannot be minimized or ignored. So, in the succeeding sections the role of legislature and judiciary in policy implementation has been discussed.

Role Of The Legislature In Policy Implementation

There has been a great controversy in excess of the relationship of policy and administration especially in democratic political systems which are based on the principle of popular sovereignty and mass citizen participation. The administrative organizations are most often structured in a hierarchical order having orders flowing from top to down. Such top-bottom arrangements seem to disagreement inherently with democracy especially under the circumstances when democratic polity is viewed in conditions of wide participation of citizens. Simultaneously, a strong and effective administrative tool is essential for implementing the policies having been enacted through the legislature. It is a fact that no longer now the politics-administration dichotomy is in subsistence. The administration tries its best to carry out the policies as formulated through the legislators. The relationship flanked by politics and administration has been strengthened further in wake of ‘delegated legislation’. Legislators’ lack of time, lack of interest, improper information
concerning target area, group, and technical troubles to be faced augment the responsibility of the administration in implementation of the policies. Most of the policies are not self-executing and the agencies normally assigned the task to do so are the administrative ones. But it does not mean that the legislature has no role to play at all in implementation of the policies. In cases, where the policy initiated in the legislature is described in full details, it leaves little scope or choice with the administrative organs for implementing the same in any dissimilar mode. It rather sounds more logical in democratic systems that the policies should be discussed and formulated in detailed manner through the elected representatives of the people so that the same could be implemented in a true spirit. But because of issues viz. shortage of time with legislators, lack of information, conflicting goals, contradictions with other policies, indifferent expectations of the masses, etc., the legislature is left with no choice than to entrust the job of policy implementation to the permanent executive through the political executive who is answerable to the legislature.

The three sides of the triangle are legislature, political executive, and permanent executive. Mostly at the initiative of the political executive the policies are formulated in the legislature. Legislature has all control in excess of political executive but no straight or direct control in excess of permanent executive. The political executive is responsible to the legislature and the permanent executive is answerable and accountable to the political executive. Therefore, indirectly, the permanent executive has its relationship with the legislature so distant as policy creation and policy implementation is concerned. The elected representatives of the people feel much concerned in relation to the implementation of the policies. The forum accessible to them to exercise check/control for bringing improvements in implementation process is the legislature. There are a number of devices through which the legislature can create the permanent executive implement the policies speedily as well as effectively. The meaning of legislature and its role in policy implementation is discussed in the succeeding text.

The word “Legislature” is a generic term meaning a body which legislates.
It is the branch of government, which formulates, amends or repeals the laws or policies for a society. Its authority to enact laws has its source in its representative character. All policies, in a political system, have to be set through legislative enactments, except for such policy-creation that has been delegated to administrative branches, and the courts. Legislatures have another name for themselves, the “rule-creation department”. The bills are moved, debated and then passed with certain or without any amendments. In a number of countries, having a democratic form of government, a bill has to undergo three readings and reference to the committees has to be made, to discuss the positive and negative characteristics of a bill in question. But this process varies in a communist country where not the legislature as such, but a small committee, for instance, the Standing Committee in China and the Presidium in erstwhile Soviet Russia, adopt a bill, at the direction of their communist parties respectively.

Likewise, in a democratic country, an ordinance passed through the President, has to be ratified through the legislature within a period of six weeks from the date of the commencement of the session. If the legislature is the official agency for policy creation, the Executive is the official organ for executing these policies. But the old formula of policy-creation and policy-execution concept has undergone an extensive reform in modern age. Today, the executive plays a much more significant role in the modern political system because the political process is subject to dual pressures; public pressure (from below) and effective and powerful leadership (from top). Vast extension of state activity has made the executive branch also a much more significant organ. This has made it necessary to restate the classical doctrine of “Separation of power”.
Today, the leadership in a political system rests with either a Prime Minister or a President who controls his followers through the help of organised party systems, and sharing of patronage, etc. This has diminished or subordinated the role of the legislature to the executive. Or, as H.R. Greaves mentions, “the executive has become in practice the first chamber in our law-creation mechanism”.

The first and the foremost job of the executive, as its name suggests, is to run the administration of the country. Maintenance of internal law and order, establishing peaceful foreign relations, providing basic needs to its citizens are its major tasks. In the modern age, though, it has assumed policy formulation job as well. Delegated legislation it can be seen has become an inescapable necessity.

The role of the legislature in the policy implementation process is though indirect. In parliamentary type of government, the political executive or the ministers are the members of the parliament. These ministers work on the principle of communal responsibility. In other words, they are collectively responsible to the parliament if there is any type of mistakes in the implementation of public policies. The government in such countries is organised into several ministries or departments. Each department is under the control of a minister. He is assisted through the higher as well as lower civil servants in running the organization. Being an integral part of the ministry the political executive becomes automatically a part of the executive branch of the government.

The relationship flanked by the minister and the bureaucrats revolves approximately two basic and fundamental principles. They are the principles of neutrality and anonymity. In other words, the ministers are responsible to the legislature for the working of their departments or ministries. In presidential form of government, the executive is not a member of the legislature and, so, legislature’s control in excess of the implementation of
public policies is not so extensive. Though, due to the system of checks and balances, there may be some differences. For instance, in U.S.A., the President has the power to execute international agreements, but his action has to receive the previous sanction of the senate.

In totalitarian systems, political control is centralized in the hands of one or a few persons. They are the policy formulators as well as the implementers. To create a distinction flanked by policy-creation and policy-implementing is rather a futile exercise in such countries. For instance, in erstwhile Soviet Russia it was the Communist Party which was in command of the whole political system. All legislatures, except in totalitarian countries, exercise control and surveillance in excess of the executive through a number of events. Though the legislature delegates its task of policy formulation to the executive the latter has to formulate and implement policies within the limits set through the former.

In parliamentary systems, the legislature exercises control in excess of the executive through parliamentary questions, adjournment motions, no-confidence motions, etc. It passes the annual budget. It can withdraw confidence against the ruling party, therefore compelling it to resign. Hence, legislative control in excess of administration is of three types. These are:

- Control in excess of policy,
- Control in excess of implementation and the day-to-day working of the department; and
- Control in excess of finances.

Legislature in democratic political systems exercises control in excess of administration through reviewing, scrutinizing and evaluating the actions of the administration.

The legislature adopts a number of events, in the exercise of its control in excess of the administration for the purpose of implementation of the policies. These are:
Legislative Questions: When the legislature is in session, every day the very first hour is devoted to the questioning of the executive’s functioning in any sphere within the jurisdiction of the government. The minister concerned is supposed to answer the question raised through any member. Anything which is happening in any part of the country could be pointed out. It is measured as the most effective check on the political as well as permanent executive which have the responsibility of carrying out the policies enacted through the legislature. It is a fact that a question is asked to seek information but it is a pointer that the things are not being done as required and the administrative action has been inconsistent with the formulated policy. There are supplementary questions also raised for bringing to light what is happening and for ensuring the steps likely to be taken through the government on a scrupulous issue. The issues of immense importance concerning flaws in implementation of a specific policy, and which could not be satisfactorily answered in the Question Hour, could be raised through the member/members of the legislature to be discussed and debated upon in a half an hour discussion at the end of the day. In Indian parliament, the provision exists for such discussions on three days in a week when the parliament is in session. The member concerned raises the issue and the minister concerned answers to that. Besides, there exists the provision of the zero-hour in the legislature. The legislators can raise issues which may be agitating the masses in general or a specific group in scrupulous concerning a specific issue. The minister concerned has to satisfy the member/members on the issue in question.

Adjournment Motions: “It is a motion for an adjournment of the business of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance with the consent of the Speaker”. The major objective of this device is to interrupt the normal business of the House and to seek the attention of the House and political executive towards a sensitive issue. The issue for the Adjournment Motion has to be definite, having enough public importance of modern happenings,
revealing government’s failure as having been accepted through the government. Such motion necessity have support of at least fifty members of the House. Once permitted through the Speaker, the government has to answer the points raised and that too to the satisfaction of the members raising the motion.

- **Short Duration Discussion:** A legislator keen to have short duration discussion on any urgent matter of public importance provides a notice in writing to the Secretary of the House clearly indicating the issues and points he wants to have discussion on. His request necessity spell out the causes for his asking for short duration discussion.

- **Legislative Committees:** Other than the standing committees, like Public Accounts Committee, Estimates Committee, Public Undertakings Committee, there are number of legislative Committees. To mention a few: Committee on Government Assurance, Parliamentary Select Committee on Legislation, Committee on Subordinate Legislation, Committee on petitions, etc.; where the government officials have to answer the points raised through the members. There is also provision for Parliamentary Committee of Investigation. This committee can ask for files and documents required in order to assess what is being done and how.

- **Financial Control:** The legislature exercises its complete check on administration concerning implementation of policies — what has been done, what has not been done, how it is to be done, what is required for doing it — through the budget under discussion. Only after ascertaining the targets assigned and achieved in the preceding year the budget for the after that year is sanctioned. Any matter can be raised throughout the budget debate. Issues of policy, economy, efficiency, efficacy, complaints, grievances, etc., can always be raised and the Minister concerned has to answer to the satisfaction of the House. Comptroller & Auditor-General's audit of expenditure of public money is also used for controlling administration. This system ensures that the funds sanctioned through the legislature for a scrupulous programme are utilized in the proper spirit through the permanent executive.
CAG’s Report is placed in the House for discussion. This is quite an effective mean of ensuring legislature’s role and significance in policy implementation.

Therefore, the legislature plays a significant role in policy implementing process through indirectly controlling the activities of the executive. The executive is answerable to the legislature for its acts of policy implementation. To sum up, in a democratic system of government, the executive has to be careful while implementing the policies. It does play a major role in policy formulation, but it has to do so, within a framework provided through the legislature. Hence, the role of legislature in policy implementation cannot be minimized.

Role Of The Judiciary In Policy Implementation

The judiciary also has a role to play in policy implementation. This normally happens when the policy intent is not clearly worded and dissimilar interpretations of the said policy are made. In such cases, the courts provide their verdicts and whatever is decided through the Court is normally measured and accepted as final unless the legislature further legislates on the court’s decision. Throughout the process of implementation, the actions of the implementing agency may encroach upon the Constitutional rights of an individual through causes of error, misunderstanding or deliberate action. The administrative agencies have been given enormous powers for implementing the policies. In order to check misuse of its authority to this effect, the safeguards have been provided through the judiciary. Control of judiciary in excess of administration is rather an essential aspect in a democratic polity. Besides, there is a tremendous augment in the number of controversial issues which need to be sorted out through administrative adjudication.

The Indian parliament, which is the supreme policy creation body, does not have as much power as the British parliament has. The policies enacted
and implemented necessity be in conventionality with the Constitutional provisions. In case it is not so, the policy is to be declared as void. The judiciary has been empowered to strike down a subordinate or administrative legislation in case it is ultra virus of the Constitution; it violates the Constitution; and it runs counter to the enabling Act’s provisions. There is substantial augment in the volume of agencies for administrative adjudication, such as administrative tribunals in India. The administrative tribunals have been recognized in India in number of areas to adjudicate disputes and claims coming to light concerning execution of an “Act” or “Policy”. The nature of operation of these tribunals is based on 'in formalism’ to the nature of issue at hand. The administrative tribunals adopt a procedure as per the provisions made in the Statute for their creation. Within the parameters of statutory necessities, these tribunals enjoy the freedom to regulate their procedure of functioning. The administrative tribunals and agencies for administrative adjudication operate to exercise checks on the functioning of implementing agencies and whosoever feels affected can approach these bodies. Though the verdict of these agencies and tribunals is final but the civil courts could interfere in case the agency or tribunal:

- Has acted on an issue outside its jurisdiction;
- Has overacted which means acting in excess of its powers;
- Has acted against any rule of natural justice;
- Where the compliance of the provisions of act has not been adhered to;
- In its proceedings has been fraudulent and dishonest.

In order to have an effective check on the functioning of Administrative Tribunals, some safeguards have been provided in the Constitution. As per Article 32(2) of the Indian Constitution, the Supreme Court is empowered to issue writs, viz. Habeas Corpus, Mandamus, Prohibition, Quo Warranto, and Certiorari. Any individual feeling that his fundamental rights are being infringed through the implementation of a given policy and has failed to get justice through the administrative adjudication agency or tribunal could move the court for protection and safeguarding of his rights. The High Courts, as per
Article 227, have been empowered to exercise superintendence in excess of the tribunals and courts falling under their operational areas to check any wrong decision. Article 136(3) grants the persons the right to create a special leave to appeal to the Supreme Court against any decision made through the courts and tribunals throughout the country. It becomes amply clear from the discussion made above that the judiciary, though indirect, yet has a substantial role to play in the implementation of policies. It does so through exercising several types of checks and controls in excess of the implementing agencies and through leaving the scope with the citizens the right to take shelter of the Court against any arbitrary decision of the implementers. This in itself speaks volumes for the part performed through judiciary in implementing the policies. Doing an act is one thing but seeing to it that it is being done in a rightful manner is another and rather more significant than the former. The judiciary is undertaking the latter aspect so distant as the implementation of policies is concerned. The role of judiciary in several political systems, with special reference to India, concerning implementation of policies is discussed in the succeeding paragraphs.

In all democratic countries, the judiciary, which is otherwise recognized as the “Rule-adjudicating” organ of the government, upholds the sanctity of the Constitution and protects the rights and liberties of the citizens. Hence, judiciary’s role is to give justice. Though, structure, role, and functions of the judiciary of a liberal democratic political system differs from a totalitarian political system. In the former, it is characterized through impartiality, openness, and stability. It is based on the celebrated principle of jurisprudence: let a thousand culprits be acquitted, but not even a single innocent should be punished.

In a totalitarian state, the judiciary performs its tasks in accordance with the commands of party directive. Courts operate to serve the purpose of the executive. The Communists “see the legal system of liberal democracies and NON-MARXIST totalitarian or autocratic states as instruments of class rule, and consider that the main functions of the courts in this system are to
legitimize and buttress the domination of the capitalist class”.

In liberal-democratic states, e.g. U.S.A., India or U.K., the judges are recruited through a process of selection, or, they are even elected or co-opted through the fellow judges. For instance, in U.S.A., the judges are nominated through the President and their appointments are then ratified through the senate. In India, the higher judges (e.g. Supreme or High Court) are appointed through the President who is expected to act on the recommendation of his Council of Ministers. The district judges are appointed through competitive examinations and personality tests.

The nature and structure of judiciary may differ flanked by a federal and a unitary form of state. There is a limited understanding that the judiciary is the upholder of the Constitution and administration of justice. It analyzes the legality and validity of scrupulous policies and, in certain cases even gives for stay orders, etc. The redresses of citizens’ grievances is also its significant task. So, the courts have every right to look into the constitutionality of every type of public policy that is made from time to time. For instance, if an individual thinks that his rights and freedom have been encroached upon illegally through the government, he can appeal to the courts. To cite a few examples, the decisions of the Indian Supreme Court in the context of Mandal issue, or, building of Temple in Ayodhya, etc., are cases in point. In these cases, the court is expected to analyze the policies framed through the government, and then interpret them and finally provide its own verdict.

In other words, public policies whether good or bad, need to be evaluated from time to time. Here the role of the judiciary becomes significant. Though legislature’s job is to legislate, the courts also legislate in a dissimilar method. What American Judge Hughes observed, befits the court’s role in the modern age. He said that “the judges do legislate”. In other words, the judges also in a method formulate policies, through interpreting, through providing guidelines, and through creation pronouncements. Legislature formulates, modifies and amends public policies and gives budgetary supports on the basis of judicial
pronouncements. In federal systems, the courts play the role of independent and impartial mediator flanked by two sets of governments — the Central and the state. They regulate the relationships of the two governments and upholds the sanctity of the Constitution. They review whether any public policy made through the Government does or does not override the powers set aside to them through the Constitution. For instance, in India, the Constitution gives for the division of powers flanked by the Centre and the states. They are incorporated in the Central, State and Concurrent lists. The judiciary in India has to see that the Central government formulates public policies on the items which are allotted to it under the Central list. Likewise, the state government formulates public policies within the limits provided through the State list, etc.

The judiciary not only exercises its control in excess of the legislature through its role of “protector of the fundamental law of the land”, it also exercises control in excess of the executive branch of the government. As we know, the executive also performs the task of policy creation and policy implementing. The executive has to function within limits set through the Constitution and the legislature. Hence, the judiciary has the right to see that policies made through the executive, do not go against the Constitutional provisions, either throughout their formulation or their implementation. According to L.D. White, “The system of formal external control in excess of officials and their acts falls primarily into two main divisions that exercised through the legislative bodies and that imposed through courts. The purpose; of legislative supervision is principally to control the policy and the expenditure of the executive branch, the end sought through judicial control of administrative acts is to ensure their legality and therefore to protect citizens against unlawful trespass on their constitutional or other rights”.

Therefore, the problem of judicial control in excess of administration is as significant as legislative control in excess of administration. The judicial control in excess of administration is a direct outcome of the doctrine or rule of law and its scope is very wide. It can interfere with administrative orders whenever they interfere with the rights of the citizens or violate any
characteristics of the Constitution while formulating or implementing public policies. The causes of judicial intervention can be:

- Lack of jurisdiction;
- Errors of law;
- Errors of fact-findings;
- Abuse of authority; and
- Errors of procedure.

The civil servants have to be careful while implementing the public policies, so that their authority and action does not override the provisions of the Constitution. If an official abuses his authority, or becomes partial, or becomes vindictive, the aggrieved party can go to the court of law for protection against the unscrupulous official. If a person feels that an official acted beyond his jurisdiction or area of authority, he can approach the court for review. The acts of officers which lead to liability are: non-feasance, consisting of failure to act when there is a clear duty to act; misfeasance, implying a careless and negligent action, but without malicious or evil intent; and malfeasance, involving an unlawful action with willful intent to cause injury.

The judiciary also controls the activities of the legislature and executive through its power of judicial review. Through this the courts have the powers to declare acts of legislative and executive branches as unconstitutional. It is based on the assumption that the Constitution is the supreme law and any action or act which is contrary to the Constitution is void. The judiciary is the guardian of the Constitution and is bound to protect the citizens from any misuse of authority through the implementing agencies.

The fourth amendment to the Indian Constitution has barred review or interference through the judiciary with regard to Zamindari abolition legislations. As a result of this amendment, the following characteristics have been left out of the purview of judicial review: State’s acquisition of any estate
or rights therein; extinction or modification of any rights with regard to estates or agricultural holding; exercising ceiling limit on the size of land holding through any person and the disposal of the excess in excess of the prescribed ceiling; property acquisition through the State for purpose of rehabilitating displaced persons and slum clearance; holding management of any property on temporary basis in public interest; transferring any undertaking from one company to another or amalgamating two or more companies in the interest of public; and modification or extinction of any rights of administering of managing mediators of companies. Besides, the enforcement of Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution can be put under suspension through an order of the President while emergency is declared.

Separately from the characteristics referred to above, the judiciary has the right to review both the parliamentary legislatures and administrative decisions and acts. In spite of the above restrictions the judiciary still has a vast scope for keeping a check on the implementation of the policies. Though it appears to be a little indirect but the role which the judiciary performs in policy implementation is of enormous importance and significance. It won’t be wrong to say that there would be a greater misuse of power in implementing the policies, had judiciary not been empowered to keep a vigilant check on the implementers through its pronouncements and judgments made from time to time.

**Relationship Flanked By The Legislature And The Judiciary In Policy Implementation**

Public policy creation is an intricate process which has a number of not only governmental agencies and actors but also non-governmental agencies and actors playing a significant role. It has been referred to in the preceding sections of this unit that equally significant and important is the process of policy implementation. Unless and until the policies formulated are executed in a fair, impartial, and effective way, how so ever good the policy intents may be, the expected results can never be attained. The legislature and judiciary
have a significant role to play in implementation of the policies. The legislature is not only the forum where the policies are enacted but it has an indirect but substantively qualitative part in implementing the policies. The judiciary acts as a custodian of the Constitution and creates it a point that no such departure, in formulating as well as executing the policies, is made which goes against the basic spirit of the Constitution and natural justice.

Legislature and judiciary have an effective inter-relationship with each other so distant as policy implementation is concerned. The legislature not only enacts policies but also oversees their implementation. The policies framed are executed mainly through the permanent executive. Their acts and deeds are subject to be reviewed through the judiciary, on the request of any affected person or through anybody else in public interest. The verdicts given through the courts act as a feedback to the legislature for incorporating the ‘referred to points' in the policy intent. Further, it gives information to the legislature, through its decisions, to exercise a check on the political executive for controlling permanent executive in a desired manner. The relationship in the middle of legislature and judiciary in policy creation, policy implementation, and policy evaluation is of crucial significance.

Disagreements may rise from time to time, but there should be attempts to arrive at compromises. For instance, the judiciary cannot review each and every policy of the legislature because in such case there will be total paralysis of the system. Likewise, the legislature cannot restrict the power of the courts, which creates them guardian of the Constitution. This will create the political system totally undemocratic. In a democratic system, the prerequisite is that each organ should have its specific functions and roles to play, and the best method of achieving “efficiency” and “attaining the desired goals” is through the process of “internal adjustment” and “interrelationships” flanked by the dissimilar organs which are involved in public policy creation. In other words, the principle is not “separation” but “cooperation” in the middle of the dissimilar types of public policy makers—proximate or otherwise—to implement effectively the goal oriented public policies.
REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Discuss how the pressures from dissimilar quarters stand in the method of policy execution.
- Discuss the role of nongovernmental agencies in policy implementation.
- Explain the issues in the working of nongovernmental agencies.
- Explain the role of political executive in policy implementation.
- Describe the role of permanent executive in policy implementation.
- Discuss the role of legislature in policy implementation.
CHAPTER 6
POLICY INTERVENTION: CASE STUDY

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Panchayati raj (rural development)
- Industrial policy
- Anti-poverty programmes
- Land reforms
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you should be able to:

- Throw light on the evolution and growth of panchayati raj system in India,
- Understand the current troubles facing industrial development.
- Throw light on the meaning and causes of poverty in India
- Explain the nature of agrarian problem

PANCHAYATI RAJ (RURAL DEVELOPMENT)

Evolution Of Panchayati Raj System In India

Some form of rural institutions or the other have been in subsistence in India since the ancient period. According to the Agamas and Jatakas, villages were classified according to the size and mode of habitation. The religious orders founded through Buddha and Mahavira observed highly democratic procedures in arriving at decisions. Kautilya’s Arthshastra gives an exhaustive account of the system of village administration prevailing at that time. Manu has given a detailed account of local self-government institutions in his ‘Manusmriti’. There are three characteristics of the village administration of the ancient period which deserves mention. One is the community spirit which
prevailed in the middle of the people. Another is the type of public functionaries who were concerned with its administration and the third is the nature of public bodies through which the inhabitants participated in the management of its Policy Interventions: Case Studies attairs. 1 his type of system sustained to exist in the Mauryan and Gupta periods.

The advent of Moghuls and the introduction of a more elaborate administrative machinery in the field of revenue led to a tighter control in excess of village administration but the traditional village institutions were left untouched. Throughout the British rule the disintegration of village communities had already begun. The introduction of zamindari and Ryotwari system dealt a death blow to the corporate life of villages. Many attempts were made later to revive the local bodies. The Royal Commission on Decentralization made several recommendations in this direction. Under the 1919 (Dyarchy Act) local self-governments was made a transferred subject since the acceptance of Mont-Ford reforms (1935) there were a stream of legislations relating to village panchayats all in excess of the country. Therefore throughout the freedom movement establishment of self-governing institutions of the grassroots stage shaped a part of nationalist ideology. Mahatma Gandhi observed ‘my thought of village swaraj is that it is a complete republic independent of its neighbors for its own vital wants and yet, interdependent for several others in which dependence is necessity.’ Gandhi’s thought had a pervading effect and this was reflected in the Constituent Assembly debates too. Though the draft of the Constitution did not create any reference to village as units of self government, there were several in the Assembly who felt that the villages should play a significant role in economic and social development. After considerable debate and discussion, Article 40 was incorporated in the chapter on the Directive Principles of State Policy. This Article calls upon the state ‘to take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self governments’.

The adoption of planning as a strategy for development required securing
cooperation of the people in rural areas to implement development programmes. The Community Development Programme was initiated in the country in October, 1952, Development blocks were recognized with limited staff and funds. The aim was coordinated development of the area with the help of an extension organization consisting of technical specialists working under the leadership of Block Development Officer. At the grass root stage there were multipurpose workers. The finances were made accessible on the basis of matching contribution from the community. The intention was to use limited government funds to stimulate action for self help. Advisory committees were constituted for every block for advice on the allocation of funds for development programmes. To review the working of Community Development Programme, the Committee on Plan Projects constituted a team to study the programme and to report on the content and priorities of the programme to ensure greater efficiency in their execution. The Panchayati Raj in India is broadly based upon the recommendations of this committee popularly recognized as Balwant Rai Mehta Committee named after its chairman.

The Committee which went into detail felt that the Community Development Programme could not create appreciable progress as the bodies neither had durable strength nor necessary leadership. They felt that these institutions should have representative character if they have to create any programme. The Committee whispered that so long as We do, not discover or created representative and democratic institutions and endow them with adequate powers and finance, it is hard to evoke local interest and local initiative in the field of development. With this basic promise, the team made a large number of recommendations which shaped the basis for the establishment of three tier structure of Panchayati Raj in the country. The team felt that the district was too large and the village too small to be a unit of planning and development. For development work, so, a new local body with the territorial jurisdiction larger than the village and smaller than the district should be created, if opted in favour of a block, in preference to district.
The experience of community development influenced the team to favour the block. The block offered an area ‘large enough for functions which the village panchayats would not perform and yet small enough to attract the interest and service of the residents’. If recommended establishment of statutory bodies called panchayats samitis for each block. Below the samiti, a village panchayat at the village and above the samiti, a zila parishad for each district was recommended. The team felt that the village panchayat should be constituted with directly elected representatives whereas; samitis and zila parishads should be constituted with indirectly elected members. If it is accepted in principle that the executive and deliberative functions should be separated. In its view, samiti should be responsible for developmental functions and zila parishad for coordination and supervisory functions. It recommended a three tier

It made many recommendations in relation to the constitution, internal organization, functions, financiers, staffing pattern as well as the arrangements for control in excess of these institutions. Most of the state government accepted the recommendations of the Baiwant Rai Mehta Committee and PRIs were recognized. Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan were the first to establish them in the country. The structure of Panchayati Raj that appeared in the states is considerably in tune with Baiwant Rai Mehta team recommendations, though there are differences from state to state. The Government of Maharashtra, though, appointed a separate committee with V.P. Naik as Chairman. Based on the recommendations of the Naik Committee a three-tier structure of Panchayati Raj was recognized in Maharashtra and Gujarat. In these two states, district instead of block, was measured an appropriate unit for development. So districts were recognized as units of planning and development and samitis were to function as the extended arms of zila parishad to implement rural development programme. Though village sustained to be the basic unit of Panchayati Raj.

In the country, therefore two separate patterns of Panchayati Raj have appeared. The first was the Andhra-Rajasthan pattern where block was the unit
of planning and development. The second pattern is called Maharashtra pattern—in this the district is the unit of planning and development. Flanked by these two patterns, variation in the structure of PRIs in dissimilar states exists concerning their constitution, powers, functions and size.

In the mid-sixties, PRIs started facing several troubles, as a form of local government; it fell out of favour everywhere. There were several factors for their limited success. The new national and state stage political leadership which appeared approximately 1966 had much thinner links with the ideals of Gandhi and therefore much weaker commitment to panchayati raj. Another cause was the mounting food shortage of this period which led to a reshuffling of priorities in the community development programme. More emphasis came to be laid on agriculture and on centralization throughout this period, relegating the PRIs to a lower status. Backed through the new technology, the central government launched several rural development programmes, as a result independent administrative hierarchies were created at the local stages. Many commissions and committees for reviewing and recommending reforms to strengthen Panchayati Raj were appointed. The committee of Panchayati Raj appointed through the central government under the chairmanship of Shri Ashoka Mehta in 1978, is very significant as it reviewed the system in dissimilar states and recommended a dissimilar structure of Panchyati Raj.

The most important recommendation of the committee is for the creation of a two tiered system of Panchyati Raj. It regards the revenue district as the first point of decentralization below the state stage. Zila Parishad was envisaged as the executive body. According to the committee, model panchayats would alone be able to ensure imbalance flanked by technological necessities and possibilities of popular participation in decision creation. As regards taxation, the committee wanted the PRIs to have ‘compulsory powers of taxation’ to mobilize necessary possessions. An extra ordinary characteristic of the Committee is its recommendation favoring ‘open participation’ of political parties in panchayati raj affairs. It also made a motivating recommendation concerning the creation of monitoring fora to
safeguard and promote the interests of the vulnerable social and economic groups in the villages. It suggested a regular social audit through a district stage agency as well as through committee of legislators to check whether funds allocated for these groups were actually spent on them. The committee treated rural development as a part of the urban-rural continuum and so argued for the provisions of urban amenities. Therefore the committee enunciated what it called a ‘new approach’ towards panchayati raj. This was ‘the formulation of structure, functions and the utilization of financial, administrative and human possessions of PRIs should be determined on the emerging functional necessity of management of rural development.’

Despite these efforts the state government have not been very equitable in their relationship with the PRIs. The financial relationship developed flanked by them have been meager and measly. Elections to these bodies have been repeatedly postponed. Suppression of local bodies has become a common phenomenon. The state governments have not so distant shown much enthusiasm for PRIs. Moreover the centre also has been reluctant to share the power with the local stages. To understand the present and future policy of government towards PRIs, it is essential that we are aware of the troubles in their functioning and the type of efforts needed to solve them but first we will throw light on the structure and functions of PRIs.

**Structure And Functions Of Panchayati Raj Institutions**

The Panchayati Raj system in India was initiated in India to give opportunities for the emergence of democratic leadership and growth of democratic decentralization, to realize the values of participatory democracy, to serve as an instrument for rural development and modernization and to bring the decision-creation authorities nearer to people. To achieve these objectives, as we have already discussed, the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee recommended a three-tier structure of Panchayati Raj, while in 1977 the Ashoka Mehta Committee came up with the suggestion of establishing a two-tier structure of PRIs. Since Independence, we discover that there has not been
any uniformity in the structure and functions of PRIs taking into account the need for local adjustments. The tally of three and two-tier system is as follows:

- Three-tier: Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.
- Two-tier: Assam, Haryana, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa

In some states Zila Parishad is very strong and overshadows the panchayat samiti, in some states zila parishad has only advisory functions. The broad structure of PRIs could be a three-tier structure with zila parishad at the district stage, panchayat samiti at the block stage and gram panchayat or the village panchayat at the village stage. In some states, nyaya panchayats or judicial panchayats exist to give quick and independent justice to villagers with regard to small and less intense crimes, their term and jurisdiction varies from state to state. Some states have gram sabha; it can be a statutory or non-statutory body.

As distant as the functions of PRIs are concerned, they vary from state to state depending on the nature of structure adopted and local variations and necessities. A broad list of functions can still be given. The Gram sabha comprises the votes of the village; it considers the annual report and budget of the gram panchayat and programme of work for the ensuing year. The gram panchayat looks into activities relating to sanitation, water supply, construction, maintenance of roads, bridges, drains, establishment and maintenance of hospitals, promotion of agriculture, cottage industries, provision of schools, libraries, preparation of village plans etc. The panchayat samiti deals with planning and execution of development programmes concerning agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, education, health, sanitation, inter-village communication and social welfare. It also performs the functions assigned through the zila parishad and state government. It coordinates and supervises the functioning of gram panchayats. The zila parishad in states where it has only advisory functions, advise government on
development scheme, classify markets, roads etc., advises, supervises and coordinates functions of samitis, approve samiti budgets, advises government on development activities and performs such other functions as government may entrust. In some states it deals with sharing of grants in the middle of samiti. In states where it is more powerful and is entrusted with executive functions, it deals with activities related to maintenance of schools, provision of grants, sharing of fertilizers, preparation of district plans, construction of roads, maintenance and management of hospitals, water supply, rural broadcasting, rural housing, upliftment of backward classes etc.

Therefore we see that there is lot of overlapping in functions of the institutions at local stage. This has worsened due to the inception of several anti-poverty programmes which have created new hierarchies at these stages. This is just one of the lists of rising troubles of PRIs; we will now focus our attention on them.

**Government’s Policy Towards Panchayati Raj**

**Troubles in the Functioning of PRIs**

There are a number of troubles faced through the Panchayati Raj Institutions. We will now discuss them briefly.

**Conceptual Confusion**

It is said that basically there is lack of clarity concerning the concept of Panchayati Raj and in relation to the objectives for which the institutions have been recognized. In excess of the years the concept has undergone some changes. Let us analyze the problem in some detail. In the first instance, the concept of Panchayati Raj is very narrow as it was not viewed as an institutional framework which could play a significant role in the overall development of rural masses. The present concept does not envisage even a single unit of PRIs as an instrument of planning as well as implementation agency of dissimilar rural development programmes. There are several
agencies in the rural scene that are occupied in development activities; there is no clarity in relation to the role that PRIs should play. PRIs are still dominated through the people belonging to higher castes. That is why the benefits do not reach the needy ones. Finally there is no clear trend emerging in regard to the concept of power. There is a strong feeling that decentralization of power and authority exists at the district stage and down the lines. But at the same time, a number of central schemes and agencies, both in number and size have been emerging. These agencies are independent of PRIs leading to rising disagreement in their working. This trend has to be checked.

Structures

While establishing PRIs, no uniform pattern is adopted for creating units and identifying the unit of planning and development. This may not be a cause for failure but structures that have been adopted through several state governments are just not capable of performing the role that is expected of them. The sharing of functions and power a) in the middle of the PRIs b) flanked by PRIs and state government and c) flanked by PRIs and Central government have not been made on the basis of any sound principle. There is a great deal of confusion, overlapping and sometimes duplication in the function. The expertise accessible to the PRIs very limited particularly in the field of planning, implementation or monitoring of several developmental schemes. Planning at the grass root stage remnants on paper while there is a strong tendency towards centralization in the country.

Financial Possessions

The most significant problem faced through the PRIs is concerning finances. It is needless to mention that the excellence and diversity of activities which the PRIs are expected to perform will depend mostly on the possessions at their command. The resource base depend on the local economy and partly upon the allocations made through the state and central governments. As things stand today, the local economy is very weak. It means the PRIs have a very limited scope to improve their jurisdiction. In India, there
is centralization of revenue possessions which is a bone of contention flanked by the centre and states. Likewise the financial system in state is also of the same nature.

The PRIs have to look towards the higher authorities for necessary grant. There is therefore a real danger of imbalance flanked by possessions and responsibilities, more and more functions are being transferred to the PRIs. The centre or the states are not coming forward with the same vigor for transferring possessions proportionately. Therefore most of these bodies have to function in an atmosphere of lack of possessions. The states have an agency through which they get their statutory share in revenues which they get as a matter of right. The PRIs on the other hand, do not get any share from the state shares, whatever amounts they receive from the state are largely discretionary in nature.

**Socio-economic and Political Circumstances**

The existing socio-economic structure of the Indian society is a major factor which is responsible for the limited success of PRIs. It is proved beyond doubt that the elected members at all the stages of PRIs and the office bearers are normally from the rich dominant sections of the rural society. They have vested interests in preserving the existing system and would not do anything that would strengthen the position of the downtrodden in their areas. Therefore the leadership of the PRIs does not let the benefits flow to the weaker sections of rural areas. Although reservations of seats at the dissimilar stages have been made in some states but the reservation concept has not been effectively adopted. It means there is no possibility of mass participation of the poor in the developmental process in our hierarchically stratified society where the weaker sections are approximately totally unorganized. The concept of participation of people in the process of democratic decentralization is highly hard under such circumstances. The instances of the poor participating in developmental activities are very few.
**Position of Civil Service**

An efficient, adequate, responsive and committed administration is the essential condition of success of Panchayati Raj. The functions of these bodies are too several and too intricate. There is a need for expert technical personnel, proper orientation and commitment in the civil service. The aspirations of the citizens in the rural areas are getting stirred. There is a demand for improvement in the services. We discover a dissimilar and a hard situation as distant as civil services in India is concerned. The bureaucracy is getting alienated. Many programmes have been introduced without involving PRIs in them. These programmes have become close preserves of bureaucracy, undermining and frustrating the PRIs as units of representative bodies and local self-government. As we know the head of the district council is an officer from All India Service i.e., IAS, who is assisted through other officers belonging to the state cadre. A number of studies have pointed out the strained relationship flanked by the bureaucracy and the elected members of PRIs. It is seen that there is an atmosphere of mutual suspicion instead of mutual faith. The bureaucracy feels that the grassroots political executives try to strengthen their vested interests through breaking rules and regulations, while the members of the PRIs dislike the superior status of the civil servants. It is also pointed out that the officials are always loyal to their respective state departments and do not cooperate with elected members. In the first instance, the ambiguity in relation to the place of administration creates the official and staff Panchayati Raj (Rural Development) feel that they are primarily responsible to the state government and not to the local elected members. Secondly, the plans and programmes implemented through the administration come from above. The intervention of PRIs is not taken very kindly through the civil servants.

**Lack of Political Support**

The elite and the so called higher stages usually do not give political support to strengthen the democratic process at the grassroots stages. The members of parliament and state legislatures live in constant fear of
Panchayati Raj domination, they are apprehensive in relation to the emergence of Panchayati Raj leadership. So, every effort is made through the state and central leadership to weaken the powers and functions of the grassroots leaders.

**State Control and Supervision**

Since the Panchayati Raj Institutions fall under the state subject and are created through the state there exists a superior-inferior relationship flanked by the state and PRIs. The state governments always tend to exhibit a high degree of paternalism. There is on the one hand a commitment for decentralization of power and on the other; there is suspicion and fear that such power would be misused through local bodies. As a result, a number of checks have been envisaged through the states in the statutes themselves. The control exercised through the state in excess of PRIs is of a comprehensive character. There is practically no subject relating to PRIs in excess of which the state cannot exercise powers of control. With the result, many states discovered a number of troubles, real or imaginary, like structural weaknesses, organizational shortcomings, functional deficiencies, inept performance, lack of adequate possessions etc. As an ad hoc measure the PRIs have been either suspended or superseded and quite often elections were deferred after the expiry of the term. On a number of occasions, an inconvenient office bearer is either suspended or dismissed through the state government under some pretext or the other. Therefore many shortcomings have been highlighted and listed out through the states. It has become a regular characteristic in all the states and it needs corrective measure.

**Absence of Statutory Provision**

The success or failure of an institution depends mostly on the status, on the basics of which an organization is recognized. According to Article 40 of the Constitution, “The state shall take steps to organize village panchayats....” Since it is incorporated in the Directive Principles of State Policy (Chapter IV) it is not mandatory. It means the states may or may not constitute the PRIs.
Likewise, in a number of states, elections have not been held regularly. The superseded bodies have not been revived and they were kept under the charge of special officers drawn from the civil service. Therefore, the PRIs have been undermined with many constraints, particularly the constitutional constraints.

A lot needs to be done to tackle these troubles. Our policy relating to PRIs should focus on identifying and rectifying these troubles. Some efforts are being made and more need to be made to correct the lapses, let us have a look at them.

**Efforts to Revitalize PRIs**

It would be wrong to conclude that the PRIs have failed totally and that they have no future. It is a well recognized fact that there is no substitute for democratic decentralization. As a matter of fact the PRIs have not been given a chance to serve as a vanguard of development in the rural areas of our country. With necessary corrective, the basic objectives could be achieved without much of a difficulty. Lot of steps have already been taken to revitalize PRIs. We will now discuss the events that would be or have been adopted to strengthen the PRIs.

**Conceptual Clarity**

The first significant aspect that needs immediate attention is that of evolving a comprehensive concept of Pachayati Raj. Its goals and functions have to be clearly defined. Firstly, the PRIs should be treated as the basic units of self-government. It implies that there is a need for decentralization of administrative and political power. This would encourage self governance and mass participation in its working. Secondly, the PRIs have to contribute towards strengthening of the planning process at the micro stage as well as overall development. Finally the members of the weaker sections should be given a chance to reach the highest stage of decision-creation bodies.
**Protection of the Poor**

In addition to conceptual clarity, it is necessary to strengthen the condition of the poor to protect them from the rural rich and their dominance of the benefits of the PRIs have to reach the poor and if the poor are to be associated with the PRIs, it is necessary to strengthen their position through adopting certain events. It is necessary to identify the areas of dependence of the poor and discover measure to stop exploitation, streamlining the public sharing system, social security events, employment guarantee schemes, organization of the rural poor are some of the events which could be mentioned in this context. In addition, redistribution of assets in favour of the poor through implementing land reform laws and creation of assets for the poor could be another set of events which would go a long method in preventing dependency of the poor on the rural rich.

**Awareness in the middle of Panchayati Raj Functionaries**

It is usually realized that the Panchayati Raj functionaries do not have enough knowledge in relation to their new role. They are ignorant of many characteristics of Panchayati Raj system. It is, so, necessary to give an opportunity to them to know in relation to the Panchayati Raj Acts, the objectives and role of PRIs, the rural situation, possible areas of growth and minimum spills of planning for overall development of their respective areas. It is necessary to train them so that they could perform their functions effectively. This would also help them to minimize the citizen’s apathy towards the PRIs activities.

**Financial Support**

There is a need for sound financial base for PRIs. The establishment of a Panchayati Raj Finance Corporation could be the first step. Enlarged tax jurisdiction, sharing of revenues from selected state taxes and grants are the other possible alternatives to achieve the long-term objective. Though, there is a rising demand for an institutional arrangement through which the sharing of the finances in the middle of the PRIs have to be made without further delay.
A rational redistribution is necessary.

As per the 1985 Act, the state government in Karnataka has to organize a state finance commission to work out the sharing of finances flanked by the state and the PRIs. This step would go a long method in solving the financial troubles of the PRIs. Beside with this, the PRIs should also keep tapping its own resource base.

**Integrated Administrative Structures**

There is need for remodeling the administrative organization of PRIs. It is necessary that all the officials whose functions have been shifted to PRIs have to be placed under the respective institutions. It calls for a separate service called Panchayati Raj Service. The PRIs should be provided with necessary administrative help which has a primary loyalty towards them. The concept of specialization should be introduced so that the technical needs of PRIs could be met without any problem. Appropriate events should be taken to protect the civil servants from undesirable political pulls and pressures. An integrated administrative structures, therefore becomes very essential.

** Provision for Constitutional Status**

It is observed that the states are not very keen to organize PRIs as they are not prepared to share power with so called lower local bodies. In fact, some critics pointed out that some state governments have grabbed the power back from PRIs slowly. Many committees and commission, appointed through the state governments from time to time highlighted the deficiencies in the functioning of PRIs. It is also felt that the PRIs in the coming years should be well equipped to manage democratic setup under the changing circumstances in all spheres of rural life. Realizing the need to restructure and revitalize these bodies the government came forward with a proposal to amend the constitution. We will study in relation to this bill in our after that section.
Recent Developments

These days more and more emphasis is being laid on the need for democratic. The 64th Amendment Bill is a positive step in this direction. The Bill proposes, inter alia to:

- Create it obligatory for all states to establish a three-tier system of panchayats at the village, intermediate panchayats and district stages; though, states having a population of less than 20 lakhs would not be obliged to establish panchayat at the intermediate stage;
- Give for all seats in panchayats at all stages to be filled through direct election; though the state legislatures may give for the representation in panchayats without voting rights of members of the house of people and the legislative assembly, and chairpersons of panchayats vote the immediately lower stage;
- Give for reservation to ensure the due representation in the panchayats of the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes and women;
- Ensure a fixed tenure of five years for the panchayats. Though, if a panchayat is dissolved before the expiry of its term provision is made for the conduct of elections within a period of six months of the dissolution to reconstitute the panchayat for the remainder of the term;
- Give for dissolution through the state legislature of powers and responsibilities upon the panchayats with respect to the preparation of plans for economic development and social justice and for the implementation of development schemes;
- Give for the sound finance of the panchayats through securing authorization from state legislature for grant-in-aid to the panchayats from the consolidated fund of the state as also assignment to or appropriation through the panchayats of the revenues of designated taxes, duties, tolls and fees;
- Give for the constitution of finance commissions in the states every five years to review the finances of panchayats and recommend principles on the basis of which state legislature may determine the
taxes to be appropriated through, or assigned to the panchayats, as also grants-in-aid to the panchayats from the consolidated fund of the state.

- Vest in election commission the superintendence, direction and control of elections to the panchayats at all the three stages; and
- Empower the comptroller and auditor general of India to cause the accounts of the panchayats audited in such a manner as he may deem fit.

Therefore this bill proposed to ensure adequate powers and possessions to panchayats, and streamline the three-tier structure, the election procedure, tenure fixation, audit system and participation of PRIs in development schemes. The then ruling party hailed the bill as a revolutionary act to enshrine ‘democracy at the grassroots in the constitution to strengthen the foundation of Indian democracy, and to provide power to the people and therefore free grassroots democracy of the vice-like grip of the power brokers, the middlemen and the vested interests. The bill raised a lot of controversy, to several observers; the bill was nothing but an election gimmick. The so-called constitutional protection of PRIs came to be revived as a subterfuge for establishing an authoritarian system. It was pointed out that the slogan of “all power to the people” would be meaningless unless there is an appropriate sharing of powers at several stages. Unless there is adequate devolution of power to the states and political stability at the state stage, the instability syndrome will get transmitted to the PRIs as well. It has also been argued that the proposed measure would do further damage to the already damaged Indian federal policy through the virtual central take in excess of panchayati raj. The Bill has taken Panchayati Raj out of the state list and put it in the concurrent list so as to allow the union government to pass legislation in this area. The provision of holding panchayat elections under the supervision of the chief election commissioner, and not under state government, once again provides more powers to the Union government.

The provision of providing finances to panchayats through the finance
commission and not through state government also reduces the power of the states. The power of Policy Interventions: Case Studies dismissing panchayats will not vest with the governors, which also would augment central control in excess of panchayat bodies. Finally, the provisions like 30 per cent representations to SC/ST, women, etc., which are decided at the centre without consulting state governments is another encroachment on the powers of state governments. Therefore the bill to a great extent empowers most powers to the centre.

Besides this, there have been other developments. Karnataka ushered in a new era of democratic decentralization with the establishment of Zilla Parishads (ZPs) and Mandal Panchayats (MPs) in 1987. These institutions came into subsistence as per the Karnataka Zila Parishad, Taluk Panchayat Samiti and Mandal Panchayat, and Nyaya Panchayat Act of 1983. The official machinery is headed through the Chief Secretary who is an officer drawn from IAS cadre, and invariably senior in the rank to the Deputy Commissioner of the district. The ZP has a planning cell headed through Chief Planning Officer. The ZP maintains a cadre for manning the ZP and MPs. It formulates district plan, frames and approves its budget and approves the budget of MPs. The government gives grant to ZP which will be shared in the middle of the ZP and MPs. This grant is planned to enable these institutions to take up development activities of their choice. The Act gives for constitution of a Finance Commission once in five years to determine the principles on which the possessions are to be shared flanked by state government and PRIs. Likewise, Kerala initiated a scheme of decentralization in administration and planning in 1990 under the Kerala State District Administration Act, 1989. District Council, an elected body with membership ranging from 20 to 40 at the rate of one member for every 50,000 population, was recognized for each of the Districts. The members of the Council elect a President and Vice-President amongst them. Government have endowed these Councils with substantial powers through transferring many functions of the state government. The District Collector is the ex-officio Secretary of the Council. A Finance Commission has been appointed to go into the problem of income
and expenditure in respect of Councils and create recommendations to the
government concerning the pattern of assistance to District Council and the
principles which should govern the grant-in-aid.

A notable development in 1991 was the introduction of two Constitution
Amendment Bills (Seventy second and Seventy third) in Lok Sabha on 16th
September, 1991. These bills are aimed at revitalizing the PRIs and urban
local bodies in the country. The Seventy Second Amendment Bill proposed to
add a new part relating to panchayat in the Constitution to give for in the
middle of other things, gram sabha for a village or group of villages,
constitution of panchayat samiti at intermediate stage, direct election to all
seats in the panchayat and reservation of seats for SCs and STs. Certain salient
characteristics of the Bill are:

- A fixed tenure of five years for panchayats and holding elections
  within six months in the event of super session of any panchayat;
- Disqualifications for membership of panchayats;
- Devolution through the state legislature of powers and responsibilities
  upon the panchayats with respect to the preparation of plans, for
  economic development and social justice and for the implementation
  of development schemes;
- Sound finance of the panchayats through securing authorization from
  state legislatures for grant-in-aid to the panchayats from the
  consolidated fund of the state, as also assignment to or appropriation
  through the panchayats of the revenues of designated taxes, duties,
  tolls and fees;
- Setting up of finance commission within one year of the proposed
  amendment and thereafter every five years to review the financial
  position of panchayats;
- Auditing the accounts of panchayats;
- State legislatures to create provision with respect to elections to
  panchayats under the superintendence, direction and control to the
  chief electoral officer of the state; and
• Continuance of the existing laws and panchayats until one year from the commencement of the proposed amendment and barring interference through courts in electoral matters relating to panchayats.

Besides these, in 1985, the G.V.K. Rao Committee was set up to suggest methods for revamping local government. The L.M. Singhvi Committee recommended a constitutional status to the PRIs in 1986. Though, the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State Relations (1988) has not forwarded it. Therefore, though a lot of attempts have been made in the direction of democratic decentralization, the results have not been very satisfactory. Actually, it has to be kept in mind that all these efforts will remain on paper if adequate steps to implement them are not made. A review of experience of decentralization in developing countries made through the World Bank reveals four main factors which affect the success or failure of decentralization policies. These are:

• The degree to which central political leaders and bureaucracies support decentralization and the organization to which responsibilities are transferred.

• The degree to which the dominant behavior, attitude and culture are conducive to decentralized decision creation and administration.

• The degree to which policies and programmes are appropriately intended and organised to promote decentralized decision creation and management.

• The degree to which adequate financial, human and physical possessions are made accessible to the organization to which responsibilities are transferred.

In India, we have noticed that lack of proper leadership, people’s participation, finances, adequate rules, skilled personnel, degree of decentralization have marred the success of PRIs and sincere efforts need to be put into if positive results have to be achieved.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY
Industrial Growth Strategy: Historical Perspective

Nature of Indian Economy in Pre-Independence Era

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

National income through industrial origin and occupational sharing of the labor force illustrate that India was predominantly a primary producing country with primary producing sectors (agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, etc.) contributing in relation to the 58% of the net domestic product and accounting for in relation to the 72% of the workforce in 1951. Manufacturing accounted for only in relation to the 11% of the net domestic product and 9% of the workforce. This character of the Indian economy was reflected in the predominance of manufacture in India’s imports and of primary products in its exports before 1947.

The rate of saving and investment prevalent was also characteristically that of underdeveloped countries. It was approximately 5%. This meant a general stagnancy of the economy since with an overall capital-output ratio of in relation to the 5.5%, the rate of growth of the national product would be less than 2% (rate of growth of national product equals rate of investment divided through the capital-output ratio). Since the rate of growth of population flanked by 1921 and 1951 was approximately 1.2%, which meant a close to stagnancy in the growth of per capita national product (less than 1%) as well.

Low stages of saving and investment also meant stagnancy in techniques of production in large areas of the economy. The agriculture techniques and
inputs remained stagnant in excellences a result of which productivity per hectare was not only very low but also declining. The general lack of irrigation meant that Indian agriculture remained a gamble in the rains: in 1950-51 only in relation to the19% of the net cropped area was irrigated. Low productivity characterized Indian industry due to low capital per worker and outdated techniques of production and equipment.

Indian agriculture was usually described as a method of life rather than as a business of life, commercialization of agriculture was confined to cash crops. The plantation industries like for instance, jute, cotton, sugarcane, groundnuts, tea, coffee, etc., which were encouraged through the British for export purposes did not benefit the Indian masses. The period also witnessed the deindustrialization of the countryside due to decline of the handicraft as a consequence of British rule in India. Modern industries like for instance, cotton textiles, sugar, paper, matches, iron and steel came up only in big cities. The proportion of consumer goods (at in relation to the65% of total industrial output) distant exceeded that of producer goods, with capital goods being very low.

A contributory factor was the fact that Indian enterprise was more inclined to invest in productive avenues of earning like trading and money-lending where returns were immediate and easy to create. Moreover, Indian industrialists also suffered from lack of adequate capital. British capital was more important in India’s industrialization. Their dominance was further consolidated through the Managing Agency System which concentrated control of many enterprises in diverse fields in a few hands. A poor money and capital market, non-subsistence of financial institutions and inadequate development of banking (also dominated through foreign banks) meant even fewer avenues of investment. This led people to save in gold and silver—further aggravating the scarcity of Indian capital for industry.

The domination of British capital and of foreign banks and foreign trade resulted in the dual economic structure of the Indian economy. This meant that
modern industries were concentrated in a few metropolitan areas (separately from some places like Gujarat) with the vast hinterland being increasingly realized. The effects of industrialization were minimal and confined to a few areas since the benefits flowed to the British metropolitan economy.

Finally, due to the dominance of British capital, practically no heavy and basic capital goods industries could be developed in the country. The infrastructural facilities created like the railways were mainly to facilitate the exploitation of the Indian economy through the British (through transportation of primary products for exports and of manufactures to the hinterland markets).

**Evolution of Industrial Policy**

British policy towards Indian industrialization reinforced the stagnation of the Indian economy and Indian industry. The Indian artisan was exploited in the 18th century through mediators of the East India Company who used to force the manufacturers of cotton and silk fabrics to sell their products at exploitative rates which were intern sold at much higher prices in foreign markets where demand for them was very high. Therefore, despite increased exports, the artisan was worse off than before.

After the growth of the cotton textiles industry in England (particularly Manchester) Indian exports to Britain (of manufactures) were prohibited while the Indian market was captured through the cheaper machine-made British textiles. Later, under pressure from Indian public opinion, Indian industries were provided with selective protection through what is recognized as discriminating protection policy. In practice this meant that only those Indian industries were given protection which did not face competition from British industry—e.g., match industry (main competition Switzerland), sugar industry, jute industry, etc. British industry was given preferential treatment through modifying the discriminating protection policy through the system of Imperial Preference. This policy meant lower import duties oh imports from Britain.
This also meant eliminating competition from other foreign producers in the Indian market.

While trade was the early form of exploitation, exploitation through direct British investment in India came to acquire rising importance, rising from Rs. 365 million in 1911 to in relation to the1, 000 million in 1933. Another source of British investment in India was the sterling loans to India to finance investment in infrastructural industries like railways, ports, electrical undertakings and other public utilities. Separately from these, British investment was mainly in consumer goods (cotton, jute, sugar, tobacco, etc.) and primary goods (tea, coffee, rubber). Basic and heavy industries were avoided. Besides, the ownership and management of the industries were also in British hands. British merchants consolidated their position as industrialists in the country through the Managing Agency System. The managing agency firms were in effect partnership companies for, in the middle of other things, the purchase of inputs and sale of outputs, floating of new companies, etc. Since their main function was to give finance they could be described as finance-capitalists.

The net result of these policies was the rising realization of the Indian economy, with pockets of modern industries in the metropolitan areas dominated through British capital, stagnant techniques of production, lack of heavy and basic capital goods, lack of incentives for using surpluses for industrial production, lack of indigenous industrial entrepreneurial class with adequate possessions and consequently a stagnant standard of living and widespread poverty and huge unemployment of the workforce. It was in this economic environment that the government sought to develop the economy.

**Need For Industrial Growth In India**

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

Huge unemployment, low stages of productivity in agriculture and a rapidly rising population cause insufficiency of food supplies and widespread poverty. While institutional reforms (like land reforms, cooperative farming etc.) are also necessary, agricultural development is crucially dependent on modern inputs from industry—inorganic fertilizers, thresher, tractors, etc., irrigation, electricity, diesel, etc. and on water drainage and other land reclamation events. These will augment both productivity per hectare and acreage under farming. But for all this, industrial development is a must.

The huge numbers of openly and disguisedly unemployed in agriculture cannot be absorbed in agriculture alone. Further, increased productivity in agriculture would aggravate the unemployment of the agricultural workforce. There is need to give alternative sources of employment. This would mean increasingly siphoning off of Labor from agricultural activities to non-agricultural activities. Non-agricultural activities contain manufacturing activities, construction activities, and tertiary activities (trade, finance, transportation, administration, etc.) But expansion of these activities also depend on inputs from the manufacturing sector. Hence, the growth of the manufacturing sector becomes crucial for the growth of the other sectors.

The expansion of the industrial sector is also needed to reduce the proportion of primary products in our exports and to augment exports in general so as to meet the foreign exchange necessities to finance imports of
crucial inputs for the development of the economy. It has been the experience of most underdeveloped countries that not only is foreign demand for primary products wildly fluctuating but that the conditions of international trade flanked by primary products and manufactures has been continuously adverse to primary products. Hence, there is a need to diversify exports in order to industrialize.

The rate of growth of the economy is directly dependent on the rate of growth of heavy and basic capital goods in the country. Therefore, growth requires rising production of iron and steel, cement, chemicals, rail and road transport equipment, machinery and other equipment, etc. The greater the production of machine industries the greater would be the rate of growth of the other industries (consumer goods and capital goods industries) and the other sectors of the economy. This will facilitate both capital-widening (providing capital to more and more workers) and capital-deepening (providing more capital per worker) and help raise productivity in the country.

The growth of industrial production depends not only on the growth of the machine tools and heavy and basic industries but also on the growth of infrastructural facilities (social and economic overheads), water and electricity, petrol and gas, irrigation, skilled manpower, scientific personnel, etc. Their paucity prevents the growth of entrepreneurship in the country and hampers economic growth. Hence, it is imperative for development that these be provided on a rising basis. This once again emphasizes the importance of industrialization in the country. Finally, industrial development through rising productivity stage and hence income stages in the country will augment the stages of demand and, so, the size of the market. Adam Smith had stated that the extent of division of Labor depends on the size of the market.

Therefore, industrial development is necessary to break both the supply-side bottlenecks and demand-side bottlenecks to development. The vicious circles of poverty on the supply-side and the demand-side can be transformed into circles of growth and expansion through industrial development.
Industrial Growth Strategies And Industrial Policy Resolutions

Industrial Growth Strategies

The question of importance for a developing country, so, is not whether or not to industrialize but how to industrialize. In other words, which industrial strategy to adopt. The major objectives of any industrialization programme is the elimination of unemployment and poverty besides ensuring rapid and self-sustaining growth of the economy. The extent and speed of attaining these objectives will depend, in the middle of other things, on the growth strategy followed.

Industrial growth strategy refers to:

- The pattern of industrial goods to be produced in excess of time (which determines the relative proportions of capital goods and consumer goods and hence the rate of investment in the economy),
- The choice flanked by export-oriented or import-substitution industrialization,
- The choice flanked by public sector and private sector investment,
- The choice flanked by large-level and small-level industries;
- The choice flanked by capital rigorous or Labor rigorous methods of production, and
- The choice flanked by balanced regional development and unbalanced regional development.

The choice flanked by strategies accessible to India was flanked by the capitalist or traditional path and the socialist or Marxian path and, within the former, flanked by the British free trade and the American/German protectionist paths. Briefly, the capitalist path of growth is the gradual path of industrial evolution. In this, the emphasis is initially on agro based industries, then on consumer goods manufacturing industries, capital goods, and heavy, and basic and machine-tools industries.
This traditional path would favour industrialization through the private sector. The size of the firm would grow from the small level to the large level as the proportion of capital goods in the total output of industrial goods increases. So also would the technique of production shift from Labor-rigorous to capital-rigorous techniques. This path would also favour balanced growth both in conditions of products and regions. Further, the pattern of output would follow the growth and diversification of demand. As demand increases the proportion and stage of expenditure on consumer durables would augment, necessitating augment in production of capital goods for use in the consumer goods industries. Later there would be a need for machine-tools to produce these capital goods, and so on.

In England this path was accompanied through free international trade and advocacy of an unfettered law of comparative advantage. But countries like the USA and Germany were late entrants to capitalism. Industrialists in these countries demanded and secured protection from foreign competition on the ground that their industries were in their infancy and needed protection from the adult industries in England and elsewhere. This protection was needed for infant-industries till such time as these industries grow into a position to compete with foreign firms. Therefore, industrialization was based on import-substitution. The home market was reserved for the indigenous industrialists—protection enabled home demand to be switched from foreign produced products to domestically-produced products. Import-substitution therefore involved demand switching.

The Marxist or Russian strategy of industrialization reversed the capitalist path to emphasize the capital goods sector. The industries were divided into two groups, namely, capital goods industries and consumer and wage goods industries. The greater the size of capital goods industries relative to consumer goods industries the faster would be the rate of growth of the economy. This Marxist model was the basis of Feldman Model which underlay the Soviet planning strategy. Through following this strategy the Soviet Union was able
to industrialize in the short period of 40 years.

This Marxist model, though, meant a reversal of every aspect of the economy. It meant an emphasis on the public sector, on large-level and capital-rigorous industry, on unbalanced growth and on a disregard for consumers sovereignty. It meant supplanting the market mechanism through administrative planning, supplanting consumer preferences through State-determined preferences.

India adopted neither strategy wholly. It did adopt the Marxist model but significantly customized it to conform it to the socio-political system and objectives it had opted for. India was neither for capitalism nor socialism as such but opted for a mixed capitalist enterprise system. This mixed economy was chosen so as to avoid the defects of capitalism and socialism. Consequently, it whispered in the coexistence of the private sector and the public sector, with each having reserved categories of industries. Industrialization was to be based on import-substitution and demand switching, that, through protection of Indian industries from foreign competition.

The overall industrialization strategy was based on the Mahalanobis model. This model retained the basic Feldman (Marxist) model inasmuch as capital goods industries were to be emphasized and promoted through the public sector. But the Feldman model was customized to incorporate the employment objective in the consumer goods industries. Consequently, while capital industries would be capital-intensive, the consumer industries were to emphasize Labor-rigorous techniques/methods of production and small level industries. Though consumer industries were in the private sector, these were subject to comprehensive controls and rules and regulations.

This model underlay plan strategy from the Second Five Year Plan to the Sixth Five Year Plan. Subsequently, after several years of tinkering, the model was given up in the 1980s in favour of the capitalist path of growth, therefore
totally reversing industrial policy. Consequently, industrial policy in India can be divided into two broad stages, the Sixth Five Year Plan broadly being the dividing line.

**Industrial Policy Resolutions**


In 1948, immediately after Independence, Government introduced the Industrial Policy Resolution. The aspirations of the indigenous enterprise and the unfavorable economic environment created through British rule in the country led the Government to opt for a mixed economy. The 1948 Industrial Policy Resolution outlined the approach to industrial growth and development. It emphasized the importance of securing a continuous augment in production to the economy and ensuring its equitable sharing. Industries which constituted the commanding heights of the economy were reserved for the public sector. These incorporated the infrastructural industries, social and economic overheads, and heavy and basic capital goods industries. In any case, the private sector had neither the inclination nor the capability to invest in these sectors. The remainder of the industrial field, consisting primarily of the consumer goods industries was let open to private enterprise. Foreign capital and technology was to be encouraged but with the proviso that effective control necessity remain in Indian hands and that Indian personnel necessity be trained so that foreign concerns could be progressively Indianised.

The successful tackling of the adverse economic and social Consequences of the partition of the country and of the refugee problem and with the success of the First Five Year Plan in the sphere of agriculture (and self-sufficiency in
food granules), the stage was set for a detailed spelling out of Industrial Policy. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 was consequently followed up through the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 which had as its objective the acceleration of the rate of economic growth and the speeding up of industrialization as a means of achieving a socialist pattern of society. In 1956, capital was scarce and the base of entrepreneurship not strong enough (the First Five Year Plan) being primarily an agricultural plan. The Mahalanobis Model was adopted as the basis for the Second Five Year Plan and future plans. In consonance with the implications of this model for industrial growth strategy, the 1956 Industrial Policy Resolution gave primacy to the role of the State to assume a predominant and direct responsibility for industrial development.

In a new classification of industries, the 1956 Industrial Policy categorized industries into Schedule A exclusively reserved for the State, Schedule B a concurrent list where both public and private sector would coexist but the industries within which were to be progressively State-owned and Schedule C which consisted of the remaining industries and reserved exclusively for the private sector. But the private sector was subject to control in conditions of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, including a licensing policy which sought to bring in relation to the balanced regional development and preservation of a special sphere for the cottage and small-level industries. The encouragement to the small level sector was in pursuance of the objective of employment maximization: this constituted the modification made through Mahalanobis model to the Felman model. The attitude to foreign capital remained more or less the same as in 1948.

The Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act (1971) sought to impose further regulations on large business houses. Though, this Act has, more often than not, remained on paper. The Industrial Policy statement of 1973, in the middle of other things, recognized high-priority industries where investment from large industrial houses and foreign companies would be permitted. The 1956 Industrial Policy corresponded to the imperatives to the
pre-Independence economic scene. It, so, emphasized the role of the state in the Deptt. I industries. It was also accompanied through a foreign trade and exchange policy which sought to protect Indian industry. Industrialization was so, to be based on State-provided infrastructure and heavy and basic goods and on import substitution. Though, the scope for further industrialization through demand-switching progressively narrowed down after the mid-sixties. There was need now to expand the demand base in the country so as to bring in relation to an augment in the stage of domestic demand.

The Industrial Policy Statement of 1977 laid emphasis on decentralization and on the role of small-level, tiny and cottage industries. The number of items reserved for this sector increased from 180 to 807 through 1978. The industries where the large-level sector was to control were to be the basic and capital goods industries, high-technology industries and those not reserved for the small level sectors. Funds of public financial institutions were to be diverted from large business houses to the small units, with the large business houses being exhorted to depend on internally generated funds. The attitude to foreign companies and multinational corporations sustained to be, more or less the same. Though, the beginnings of a change in attitude was laid in as much as it was visualized that exceptions in relation to the majority Indian interest could be made in highly export-oriented and /or sophisticated technology areas. Again, the need for an existing policy for sick industries was explicitly recognized.

The return of the Congress (I) Government saw in 1980 a sharper expression to the changes indicated in the 1977 statement. The discriminations against the large-level sector through the creation of ‘artificial divisions’ flanked by small and large-level industry in 1977 was given up. But demand creation was to be encouraged through promoting agro based industries, technological up gradation and modernization so as to promote competitiveness in the domestic market and in the foreign markets, promotion of industries in the rural areas, etc. Further, encouragement was given to relaxations in the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act and Monopolies and
Restrictive Trade Practices Act and foreign investment in high technology areas. The overall emphasis was to be on productivity and a firmer stand was to be taken towards industrial sickness. In 1991 the Government whispered that as a result of the industrial policies a climate for rapid industrial growth in the country had been created. A broad-based infrastructure had been built up. Basic industries had been recognized. A high degree of self-reliance in a large number of items had been achieved. New growth centres of industrial activity had appeared, as had a new generation of private entrepreneurs. A large number of engineers, technicians and skilled workers had also been trained.

The Government incorporated these beliefs in its Statement on Industrial Policy of July 24, 1991. Though the 1991 Industrial Policy Statement routinely reiterated concern for balanced regional development, small level sector, social and economic justice, it totally reversed the orientation of its industrial policy. This is summed up in its redefinition of the concept of self-reliance ‘building up our skill to pay for imports through our own foreign exchange earnings’. This in effect meant export-oriented rather than import-substituting industrialization. The 1991 emphasis on the pursuit of a sound policy framework encompassing ‘encouragement of entrepreneurship’ meant a shift from public sector investment to private sector investment. So also did its aim to dismantle the regulatory system. And, it sought to encourage the inflow of private foreign investment and free trade in its reversal of protectionism. All these were reflected in several changes in many areas of industrial policy.

Therefore, industrial licensing which is governed through the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act was to be abolished for all industries irrespective of stages of investment, except for reorganization of over urbanized areas and for 18 industries where licensing controls were to be sustained with. Therefore, the concept of balanced regional development was given up. Protection to small-level sector (unless sheltered in the 18 industries) was also given up. Capitalist enterprise was to be with no real constraints so that they could become internationally competitive.
Foreign private investment and foreign technology and capital goods were to be actively encouraged through relaxing FERA, allowing 51% equity to foreign capital (in some cases even 100% through a later modification) and facilitating outflow of profits. All this was on the argument that Indian industry was no longer infant and would benefit with modernization and increased international competitiveness. In another major reversal, except for 8-core areas relating to strategic and essential infrastructure, public sector units were to be privatized. Even in the core areas private sector could be allowed selective entry. Further, the exit policy, which meant allowing sick industries to close down, became official policy. Though, a social security mechanism was to be created to protect the interests of workers likely to be affected through the exit policy or through events taken to rehabilitate the sick units (through the Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction).

In keeping with the tenor of the 1991 Industrial Policy Statement the MRTP Act was to be amended so that it no longer limits the size of business houses but only seeks to control monopolistic, restrictive and unfair trade practices. In a nutshell, the basic premises and policy implications of the Mahalonobis model was given up and so also was the policy of industrial and agricultural self-reliance. Instead, the capitalist path and integration into the global capitalist economy became the basis of planning, starting with the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90). This basic shift is sought to be consolidated in the Eighth Five Year Plan. The above has been a brief sketch of the several Industrial Policy Statements. This sketch serves to illustrate how changing circumstances in the economy and in socio-political values get reflected in industrial policy and consequently in the industrial growth strategy.

**Industrial Growth Strategy: A Critique**

**Achievements and Failures**

Industrial growth in India since the process of industrialization that was launched as a conscious and deliberate policy under the Industrial Policy
Resolution of 1956 has been marked through both successes and failures. Industrial production went up through more than five times creation India the tenth most industrial country of the world. Industrial production has been widely diversified to cover broadly the whole range of consumer, intermediate and capital goods. The importance of manufactures in imports has been going down while it has been going up in exports. Self-sufficiency has been attained in most of the consumer goods. The structure of Indian industry has changed in favour of basic and capital goods sector: their share rose flanked by 1959 and 1970 from 5Q% of productive capital to in relation to the79%, from 25% of industrial employment to 43%, from 37% of industrial value added to 56%.

Besides heavy and basic goods, there has been substantial growth in the infrastructure necessary for industrial growth—fuel, irrigation, railways, highways, telecommunications, banking, capital market, etc. Basic goods like mining and metallurgy, chemical and petrochemical, fertilizer, etc. and heavy capital goods like steel mills, fertilizer plants, chemical plants, etc. and the construction industries, all saw considerable progress. Further, there has been a corresponding growth in technological and managerial skills, R and D capability, consulting and design engineering, project management services, etc. India now ranks third in respect of scientific and technological talent and manpower. In short, India has now the skill to sustain future growth of the economy without several imports or much foreign aid. The Mahalonobis model had been implemented with some success.

Though, while the rate of growth of industrial production was fairly satisfactory in the initial periods, later it began to fluctuate approximately a downward trend. It had a steady growth of in relation to the8% throughout the initial period of 14 years (1951 to 1965). Thereafter, the growth rate fluctuated approximately an annual average of 5.5% in the sixties and in relation to the4% in the seventies. It rose to in relation to the5.5% throughout 1980-85 only to progressively decline in the subsequent years. Not only did industrial growth slow down after 1965 but the slow down was worse for wage-goods industries, luxuries faring relatively better. Industries producing nondurable
consumer goods (sugar, tea, cotton, cloth, matches, etc) grew at a much lower rate than industries producing durables. This was in fact reflective of a structure of demand in favour of the upper income groups.

Further, capability utilization remained low because of inadequate power, coal and transport and because of worsening industrial relations. This and the rising importance of heavy and basic goods industries led to the incremental capital-output ratio rising from in relation to the 5.5 per cent in the First Plan to 11.45% in the Fourth Plan and 8.73% in the Fifth Plan. This meant a lower value added per unit of investment. In qualitative conditions, there is little to commend the achievements of the industrial growth strategy. The achievements have all been in mere quantitative conditions. The fact that India is tenth in industrial production and third in scientific and technical manpower is only because of its vast geographical and population size. In proportionate conditions, India remains an underdeveloped country. Therefore, the share of industry in national income which was 17% in 1948-49 was only approximately 18% in 1984-85. Further, even in 1956 factory employment absorbed only in relation to the 2% of the Labor force. (This grew at in relation to the 6% throughout 1960-65 but 1.3% throughout 1965-70.) The share of the secondary sector in total workforce increased from 10.7% in 1951 to only 13.5% in 1981.

Another failure, reflecting on the objectives of balanced regional development and equity, was the fact of concentration of industrial development in metropolitan areas, in selected states and in the middle of the top capitalists. In relation to the 7.5% of the factories employed in relation to the 89% of total capital (in all factories) and contributed almost 80% of net value added. This also meant that a medium-level sector (so necessary for industrial vibrancy) did not emerge in the country.

**Critique of Industrial Policy**

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

Therefore, on the basis of the Mahalonobis model, the public sector was used to develop the infrastructure and the capital base of the economy. Once the Government felt that reasonable success had been achieved in this direction, the process of liberalization had begun, culminating in the Industrial Policy Statement of 1991. Beside with this, while the first stage of industrial growth strategy was based on import-substitution and demand switching so as to nurture India’s ‘infant’ industries, the subsequent stage was to be based on demand-creation, international competitiveness and export-orientation. The association of demand-creation with export-oriented growth was primarily due to the worsening inequalities in income and wealth sharing leading to a lopsided demand structure in favour of luxuries and, so, to a narrowing domestic demand base. The rising concentration of wealth in fewer and fewer large business houses is, though, likely to worsen in the context of encouragement to multinational capital in an environment of a liberal economic system.

Consequently, the immediate post-Independence period saw an effort to enlarge indigenous enterprise while the latter years have seen the reverse trend. A widespread entrepreneurial class has not appeared in the country. Instead, the existent indigenous entrepreneurs have grown so large as to take in excess of from the public sector the areas hitherto reserved for the latter. From a socialist path of growth the country has reverted to a capitalist path.
But while capitalism in the early capitalist countries was progressive in as much as spread effects dominated, capitalism in a country which begins at the monopoly capitalism stage is likely to lead to the dominance of the backwash effects unless the State continues to play an active interventionist role. State intervention necessity continue to emphasize the growth of the market economy.

**Current Troubles**

The troubles that faced industrial growth in the immediate post-Independence period arose because of the circumstances that characterized the Indian economy on the eve of Independence. The 8% rate of growth of industrial production till 1965 signified that the industrial growth strategy based on the Mahalonobis model had a degree of success. The slow down of the rate of industrial growth in the post-1965 period and the continuance of this sluggishness has been because while the immediate bottlenecks to growth were ameliorated and circumstances for sustained rapid growth were not created. The major current troubles that plague industrial growth in the country contain the following.

The slow down of the rate of growth of agriculture after the early successes despite the Green Revolution meant on the one hand insufficient supply of wage-goods leading to inflationary circumstances and on the other, insufficient generation of domestic demand leading to stagnancy in the stage of economic activity (including industrial activity). Hence, the demand base narrowed. This slow/down in public investment also led to the stagnation of private investment. This was because on the supply side infrastructural facilities did not grow fast enough (in fact slowed down). And so did the rate of growth of heavy and basic capital goods, fuels, transportation, power etc. On the other hand, demand also fell since the public sector was a major source of demand for the private sector.

Low capability utilization and consequently high capital output ratios
meant that rate of growth of industrial output was low despite a high stage of investment. The policy of protection to Indian industries in the first stage led to low productivity and inefficient production methods. Little attention was given to modernization and technology. Labor-capital ratios were much higher than that warranted through efficiency thoughts as evidenced through a comparison with similar industries in other countries. Mixed economy which was supposed to incorporate the best characteristics of capitalism and socialism instead incorporated their worst characteristics. The public sector did not evolve any socialist features. Instead it was used to give subsidized inputs to the private sector which was one cause, in the middle of others, for the losses of public sector units. The private sector was subject to so several rules and regulations under the Industries Development and Regulation Act (IDR), FERA, MRTP, etc. that they had no freedom to respond to market forces. The worst characteristics of bureaucratization appeared with the result that widespread corruption, red-tapist and inordinate delay in decisions became fetters to industrial enterprise and progress.
Policy interventions: Case studies The consequent emergence and growth of the black economy led to the diversion of invertible funds to non-productive avenues like speculation, hoarding, smuggling, residential construction and the like. A negative market economy flourished. The Government hopes these several troubles currently facing industrial development would be overcome through its new policy package encompassing industry, trade, public finance, monetary and financial markets, Labor and industrial relations and foreign exchange, foreign capital and foreign technology.

ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMMES

Poverty In India: Meaning And Causes

Meaning of poverty: The concept of poverty is hard to describe. Dissimilar people view poverty in dissimilar methods. Some talk of lack of income while defining poverty and some have taken calories, proteins, life expectancy, stage of living, lack of skills and education to analyze poverty. It is very hard to arrive at one common definition of poverty. A person may be regarded as poor through one definition and not through the other; moreover the concept of poverty varies from state to state, nation to nation and also within the state and nation depending on the existing circumstances. According to Dandekar and Rath, “Problem of poverty in India is a problem of low national income and its unequal sharing of slow pace of development.” Poverty is a product of the total system of a country—economic, technological, social, educational, cultural, political and moral. It is a product of social in excellence and exploitation on the one hand and under-development on the other. It results from unequal growth, slow growth as well as absence of growth.

Poverty reflects itself in several shapes like malnutrition, overcrowding, slum, housing circumstances, high infant mortality, illiteracy, etc., of these malnutrition is the worst Policy Interventions: Case Studies form of poverty, so, attempts to measure absolute poverty in India have been made in conditions of calories. The usual method is to fix a poverty stage on the basis
of minimum stage of per capita expenditure required for normal calorie intake, the extent of poverty is measured through estimating the number of people whose overall per capita consumption falls below this stage called ‘the poverty line’.

**Causes of Poverty**

Just as the meaning of poverty varies from person to person, the causes of poverty differ from society to society. Poverty can stem from several causes. It can stem from low productivity, low income, high indebtedness, nonexistent savings, and lack of resource base, lack of skills, unemployment, and under-employment, lack of food, clothing and shelter. Overpopulation is another cause of poverty. It is no coincidence that countries which are undergoing population explosion are also the poor countries of the world. To augment the family income poor augment the family size, as a result per capita income of the family falls.

Political causes of poverty could emerge from bilateral agreements with multinational corporations and pressures exerted through international organizations. These limit the autonomy of governments in their planning efforts to develop at a faster rate; these pressures create hard for the government to take concrete decisions relating to resource mobilization, population control, agrarian reforms, etc. This gets worse due to the subsistence of in excess of-centralized decision creation system, rigid bureaucracy, and lack of people’s participation in government programmes. All these factors individually or jointly make poverty. In Indian context, poverty assumes the form of rural poverty. Seventy per cent of our population lives in rural areas and suffers from acute poverty. Therefore, solving rural poverty should be our main aim, if the problem has to be tackled effectively. Urban poverty in India is an overflow of rural poverty. Non-subsistence of proper infrastructure for rural development force the rural people to migrate to urban areas. Therefore it is rural development that we should aim at.
The government, so, has formulated several policies to tackle the problem of rural development and poverty removal. Our Five Year Plans have given adequate attention to develop the infrastructural facilities in rural areas, give employment opportunities to rural poor and create ample provision for basic amenities like health and water supply etc. Several centrally sponsored schemes to alleviate poverty have been launched. We will now turn to these events to ascertain their impact on the rural troubles.

**Poverty Eradication In Five Year Plans**

The developmental strategies in independent India have had always an anti-poverty thrust. The Government, plan after plan, laid emphasis on removal of poverty. Throughout the First Five Year Plan the Community Development Programme (CDP) was launched with the belief that the overall development of rural India could be brought in relation to only with the participation and initiative of the people backed through technical and other services necessary for securing the best from such initiative and self-help. Throughout the period of the Second Five Year Plan an effort was made to decentralize the power to the representatives of the people at the district, block and village stages with an objective to mobilize people’s support to the rural development programmes. The Second Five Year Plan also recognized that benefits of economic development necessity accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of the society. The Third Five Year Plan also emphasized the need for a sizable augment in national income and wealth. This led, in the early sixties, to the formulation of a number of programmes such as Rigorous Agricultural Development Programme, High Yielding Diversity Programme, etc., which were intended to accelerate agricultural production in selected regions that were naturally endowed with good soil and irrigation facilities. These programmes could not improve the lot of rural people and the problem sustained to evade solution. On the other hand, unemployment and inequalities in wealth and income have continuously increased despite phenomenal augment in agricultural production.
In all the above plans and programmes the accent was on overall growth, and not on the removal of poverty. The attempts were too generalized and the benefits were cornered off through the better off sections and better endowed areas. Throughout the Fourth Five Year Plan the policy makers realized that unless a direct attack on poverty is launched through identification of the members of the target group and providing assistance to them in conditions of credit, inputs, subsidy and facilities for marketing, etc., the developmental efforts are likely to bypass the poor. As a result, many poverty alleviation programmes and new institutions were brought into subsistence to safeguard the needs of the rural poor. They incorporated Small Farmer Development Agency (SFDA), Marginal Farmer and Agricultural Development Agency (MFA & DA), and Land Ceiling Acts, etc.

Throughout Fifth Plan period priority was given not only to the target group oriented programmes but also to the area based programmes, such as Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP), Command Area Development Programme (CADP), Hill Area Development Programme (HADP), Minimum Needs Programme (MNP), 20 Point Economic Programme, etc. Throughout the sixth and seventh plan periods, asset and wage oriented programmes received top priority. Most significant of them are Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Food for Work Programme (FFWP), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP), and Jawahar Rojgar Yojana (JRY). The approach to the Eighth plan proposes a widening and sharpening of these programmes. In the after that section, we will discuss the objectives underlying some of the above mentioned programmes plan wise.

Major Anti-Poverty Programmes

Poverty alleviation has shaped a significant part of rural development strategy ever since Independence. A major step in the direction of bringing in relation to the rural development was the launching of the Community Development Programme. The Programme was started in 1952 under the First
Five Year Plan. It aimed at transforming socio-economic life of the villages for the better. It sought to bring forward a systematic integrated rural development in the villages. The objectives of the programme were to create people self-reliant through inculcating in the middle of them a feeling of cooperation through better utilization of human possessions and science and technology. It aimed at changing the outlook of the villagers, train village youth in citizen responsibilities, and augment employment opportunities in villages.

Under the Second Five Year Plan the government focused its attention mainly on agriculture. Therefore Minimum Package Programme (MPP) and Rigorous Agricultural Development Programme (IA-DP) were started in the 1960s. The objective of the programmes was to provide a boost to agricultural production. The IADP aimed at rapid augment in the stage of agricultural output through better access to financial, technical and administrative possessions. In the Third Five Year Plan government sustained its stress on agriculture and introduced High Yielding Diversity Programme (HYVP) in 1960. The programme aimed at applying scientific techniques and knowledge of agricultural production at all stages. High yielding diversities were introduced as, the key input in a new package to create accessible the required types and qualities of inputs. The programme also aimed at providing adequate credit to farmers and laid emphasis on agricultural research and development of new technology.

The Rural Works Programme (RWP) came up in 1967, the main aim was to give employment throughout lean agricultural seasons. It also aimed at providing sustenance to unemployed and underemployed workers in rural areas. As we know, the real thrust on poverty removal came with the fourth five year plan. Throughout this period several target group oriented and area development oriented programmes were started. In 1969, Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA) came up. This programme aimed at ensuring institutional credit to the small and marginal farmers.
It aimed at providing assistance to these target groups for development of agriculture, animal husbandry, poultry and dairy programme. The Drought-Prone Area Development Programme (DPAP) was started in 1971 with the aim of maintaining ecological balance, and development of agriculture and allied sector in drought-prone areas. It aimed at providing the optimum utilization of land, water and livestock possessions, stabilization of income of the poor, minimization of impact of drought, dairy development, restructuring of cropping pattern, etc. Tribal Area Development Programme (TADP) was launched in 1972 to provide a boost to economic development in tribal areas. The programme aimed at rising agricultural production, development of animal husbandry, horticulture, road construction, and land development, control of shifting farming, abolition of bonded Labor, cattle development and soil conservation. Then there was Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (CSRE) which was also started in the fourth plan period. The objectives of the scheme were generation of employment through the implementation of Labor rigorous projects.

Minimum Needs Programme (MNP) also came up throughout the fourth plan period. It aimed at meeting the basic needs of the poor people in order to improve their standard of living. The programme comprised elementary education, rural health, rural water supply, rural roads, rural electrification, and assistance to the landless for rural housing, and nutrition and improvement of urban slums. Throughout the fifth plan period, Hill Area Development Programme (HADP) was started, the aims were to maximize agricultural production and remediing the disparities existing flanked by dissimilar sectors of the community. It aimed at improving agriculture in hilly areas with emphasis on pesticides, improved seeds, new technology and fertilizers.

The Food For Work Programme (FFWP) was also launched in the Fifth Five Year plan period. Its objective was to generate additional employment through development of rural infrastructure. Wages were paid in form of food granules systematic irrigation, social forestry, road construction etc., were the major components of the programme. It was reconstructed as National Rural
Employment Programme (NREP) in 1980. Desert, Development Programme (DDP) was another Programme which came up in 1977-78 as a centrally sponsored programme to control desertification through afforestation, grassland, development, water management and soil conservation. The most significant programmes of the government like the Integrated Rural Development Programme, Training Rural Youth for Self Employment, National Rural Employment Programme, and Jawahar Rojgar Yojana are the ongoing programmes and we would now focus our attention on them. In order to understand the objective and functioning of these programmes, we would study them in some detail.

**Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)**

IRDP introduced in 1979 is government’s major anti-poverty programme today. IRDP aims to enable the selected families to cross the poverty line through a strategy of productive assets creation in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. It produces ten per cent assistance to beneficiaries through subsidy and credit. The programme gives for selection of six hundred beneficiaries per year per block. The extent of subsidy is 25 per cent for small farmers, 33.5 per cent for marginal farmers, agricultural laborers, and artisans, and 50 per cent for tribal families.

Thirty per cent of assisted families should belong to scheduled caste and scheduled tribes. The programme is being implemented through District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs) headed through district officer, assisted through block development officers and village stage workers. The aim of IRDP throughout the sixth plan was to benefit 15 million families through selecting 3,000 families in each block and the total outlay for the block was Rs. 35 lakh. In view of the interstate variations and disparities in the incidence of poverty, the financial allocation and fixation of targets for assisting the families in the Seventh Plan were related to the incidence of poverty in the states. The ultimate emphasis of IRDP is not on providing just some type of assistance and achieving the target of an impressive number of beneficiaries
but on providing substantial assistance or productive assets to the recognized participants which should augment their incomes to an important extent so that they cross, once and for all, the poverty line.

**Training Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM)**

TRYSEM was introduced as an allied programme of IRDP in 1979 itself. The objective of TRYSEM is to give technical skills to rural youth from families below the poverty line to enable them to take up self employment in agriculture and allied activities, industries, services and business activities. The group comprises rural youth flanked by 18 to 35 of years from families below the poverty line. A minimum of 30 per cent of trained youth should belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and a minimum of 33.5 per cent of youth trained should be women.

**National Rural Employment Programme (NREP)**

The rationale behind rural employment programmes such as NREP or Jawahar Rojgar Yojana (JRY) is:

- To spread the employment effect widely and more evenly than in the past;
- To promote Labor rigorous technology in preference to capital rigorous technology;
- To make durable assets and give an infrastructure for rural development;
- To utilize the surplus food granules for the creation of community assets;
- To make gainful employment for the unemployed and under-employed who reside in the rural areas;
- To provide a guarantee of employment to the poor;
- To augment the consumption stages and nutritional intake of the poor; and
To bring social change in the village community in conditions of meeting social obligations, social mobility etc.

In the implementation process of rural employment policies particularly the Food For Work Programme, defects and shortcomings were noticed through the Government.

It was so, suitably customized, restructured and renamed as NREP in 1980. The programme became a part of Sixth and Seventh Five Year Plans with a view to generate additional employment, to make durable community assets and improve nutritional status and living circumstances of the poor implementation of the programme. At the district stage the DRDA/Zila Parishad is responsible for execution of the programme. At the village stage, the Gram Panchayat is the basic institution for planning and executing the programme. Under the programme, works can be taken up throughout any part of the year but emphasis should be on Labor-rigorous schemes and creation of durable assets in the rural areas. The field administration is free to prepare and undertake any number of schemes taking into account the local needs. In respect of individual works, the wage and non-wage component is fixed at 50:50. The success and failure of the programme, to a large extent, depends on the field stage administration.

**Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP)**

RLEGP was introduced in 1983 more or less on the same lines as NREP. Its objective is to improve and expand employment opportunities with a view to give guarantee of employment to at least one member of every rural landless Labor household up to hundred days a year. It is hundred per cent government funded programme. In allocation of funds, fifty per cent weight age is now given to the number of agricultural workers, marginal farmers and 50 per cent weight age is given to the incidence of rural poverty.

Through all these programmes, the government has been trying to
eliminate poverty and bring in relation to the rural development. Strategy underlying all the government policies has been to accelerate economic growth, augment rural public works, agricultural growth, land reforms, rural industrialization, provision of common services and population control.

**Jawahar Rojgar Yojana**

The government of India launched another major employment programme called JRY in 1989. The primary objective of this programme is to generate additional gainful employment for the unemployed and underemployed persons, both men and women in the rural areas. While creating employment opportunities under this programme, such assets are created which can improve the overall excellence of life in the rural areas and give benefits to the poverty groups? The works can be taken up and executed throughout any part of the year whenever the need for generating employment is felt. The people below the poverty line, who are willing to work, will be the target group of the programme. Preference is given under the programme to SC & ST and freed bonded laborers. Out of the total employment generated under the programme, 30 per cent share of employment should go to the women.

As the JRY is centrally sponsored scheme, the Government of India gives 80 per cent of the total earmarked funds. The state governments have to give 20 per cent of the funds as a matching grant. The state government allocates the JRY funds to the District Rural Development Agencies/Zila Parishads. The DRDAs/ZPs in turn allocate the possessions to the village panchayats on the basis of total population in general and SC & ST population in scrupulous. The village panchayat is free to choose any item of works which is recognized through it in consultation with the village assembly. As distant as possible, preference should be given to such items of works as land development, social forestry, construction of houses, million wells, solid and water conservation works, construction of village tanks, construction of rural link roads, and construction of panchayat ghars etc. which make economically productive assets. The village committee, which is appointed through the village
panchayat, is to supervise and monitor the programme.

**Troubles And Future Strategy**

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

Usually no preliminary survey is mannered to determine the infrastructural facilities accessible in the district for the programmes. Programmes are being uniformly implemented on most of the districts. Beneficiaries are usually unaware of the procedures of obtaining loans, etc. People are ignorant of the ongoing programmes and their benefits; this has provided ample scope for middlemen to exploit the situation and several corrupt practices have crept in. The programmes also suffer from lack of skilled and efficient personnel, more time is spent on assessing the quantitative impact of the programmes, a lot of effort goes into maintaining figures, number of individuals sheltered, amount of assets distributed, number that crossed the poverty line, etc.

The programmes do not suffer from lack of finance and other possessions but from misuse of these possessions. Programmes are just imposed in the districts, their viability is not ascertained. No follow up process takes place to monitor whether the assets distributed have been fruitfully utilized, and whether the employed people continue to remain in that employment and so on. People do not trust the officers in charge of the programmes implementation. Too several programmes with approximately similar objectives are going on in the districts. The district planning cells need to be reactivated for proper preparation of block plans.

Several criteria to determine the poor below the poverty line are in
operation, hence the statistics never reveal a true picture of achievements or failure. Still it is clear that people have not been able to benefit from the programmes in the manner it was expected. To tackle this sorry state of affairs, the people have to be made aware of the programme, their objectives, their targets, the implementation machinery and the evaluating agencies. Media can perform a very crucial role in this area. The involvement of Panchayati Raj Institutions need to be encouraged and the role of voluntary agencies and cooperatives has to be strengthened.

LAND REFORMS

Post-Independence Agrarian Policy: Early Attempts

Immediately after Independence, the land problem was recognized as one of the basic issues of the state for prompt attention. It is observed through several that the credit for the need to take up reforms on social and legal front through the Congress party goes to the protracted Armed Revolt of the peasants in the Telangana region. The thinking in the Congress Party, which dominated the national scene, shaped the basis for serious reformative effort. In fact, flanked by 1947-50, several committees were appointed through the Congress Party to go into the problem of land reforms. The debate that took place within the Congress Party on agrarian problem both throughout the freedom movement and the recommendations made through dissimilar committees of the party after Independence constituted the base for the initial stage of land reform policy evolved through the Government of India.

As a consequence of all these developments, a number of events were adopted in approximately all the states through which the vestiges of colonial rule which manifested in the form of Jagirs, etc. were abolished. Though, abolition of Jagirs did not touch the basic problem of tenants. It only changed the ownership pattern. Not only that several states allowed zamindars and Jagirdars to retain numerous categories of land namely orchards, home steeds and land for personal farming. As such abolition of intermediaries was not a radical programme. The problem of conferring ownership rights on the actual
tillers of the land—the tenants, the subtenants, share croppers was left unsolved.

**Land Reforms**

*First Stage*

Broadly, the post-Independence India has witnessed two rounds of land reforms programme: the first stage throughout 1950-65 and the second stage throughout 1970-83. The subject land being part of the state list, the Government of India provided general policy guidelines while the state governments takes up the responsibility of enacting necessary laws and implementing them. It is necessary to mention here that land reforms being the state subject, it was hardly possible to arrive at any standard and uniform reformative measure since each state adopted its own method depending on the political, administrative and other thoughts.

The objectives of land reforms were officially formulated for the first time in the First Five Year Plan. The main objectives were removal of impediments to agricultural production and make circumstances for evolving an agrarian economy with high stages of efficiency and productivity. The policy makers at the helm of affairs, therefore, were not fully influenced of the economic rationale of land reforms. The planners were in favour of a change in the farm technology, provision of incentives to the investors in modern inputs and focusing attention on areas having assured water supply. The Planning Commission, was, though, in favour of a ceiling on future acquisition of lands but subsequently customized its stand. Finally, the land reform policy was defined as a ‘Cooperative Village Management’ a Gandhian ideal, which never came true. This policy of having a nominal ceiling on land holdings and giving top priority to the cooperative farming was supported and accepted through the Congress Party, the Lok Sabha and the Central Cabinet.

The basic weakness of the First Five Year Plan approach on agrarian structure was an under-estimate to the necessary structural changes. But the
Panel on Land Reforms set up through the Planning Commission to work out the policy to be recommended in the Second Five Year Plan took a dissimilar stand on this issue. It suggested land ceilings not in the ‘general interest’ but on the basis of economic rationale behind it, such as satisfying the rising land hunger, reducing the economic inequalities and providing more employment, etc. The members of the Planning Commission, specially, Mahalanobis was the main architect of this approach. But he too did not succeed in incorporating it in the document. Consequently, the Second Five Year Plan could do no more than merely endorse the broad policy of the First Five Year Plan and left the details of the legislation to the states since agriculture happens to be a state subject. Some general suggestions were, though, made in respect of ceiling limits and exemptions.

Ceiling legislations were passed in approximately all the states through the end of Second Five Year Plan. Though, there was no uniformity in respect of ceiling stage, unit of application, method of compensation, sharing of surplus land and so on. It is appropriate to cite a few examples. The ceiling stage ranged from 6 acres in Kerala to 40 acres in Uttar Pradesh in the case of wet lands while from 17.3 acres in West Bengal to 336 acres in Rajasthan in case of dry lands. Further, in a few states such as Gujarat, Kerala, Tamilnadu, Rajasthan and erstwhile Mysore, ceiling was imposed with the family as a unit, whereas in some other states such as Madhya Pradesh and Bihar the ceiling was based on the individual as a unit. A multiple of gross revenue was the principle in some states while it was a multiple of net rent in some other states. In some states it was a multiple of gross income of the surrendered land. Likewise, there were wide divergences in the case of sharing of surplus land.

As a result of the land reform policy of the first stage, out of a total cultivated area of in relation to the 400 million acres a mere 2.3 million acres was declared surplus. Out of it only 1.5 million acres which constituted a mere 0.31% of the cultivated area was distributed. A careful analysis of the first stage land reforms policy of the government throughout the first three Five
Year Plans reveals that government did never have a firm conviction of the utility of the land reform. It was not influenced of the economic rationale. The government tried to defend its policy in general and in vague terminology such as ‘public interest’ and ‘sentimental gain’, etc. Secondly, as a consequence, the government could not formulate a fool-proof and uniform policy applicable to all the states. Several gaps, therefore, were left to be filled through the states in accordance with the local circumstances. Thirdly, no time frame was recommended for the completion of the reforms. The implementation process took its own course and uncertain cases it took several decades and that too in vain. The principles of imposing ceilings on land holdings was first announced in 1953, detailed recommendations for legislation were not made until 1956, and most states did not actually pass legislation until 1961. The land owners, so, had a period of almost one decade to arrange partitions and transfers of holdings to escape the impact of the new laws. Finally, the responsibility was not fixed at any stage for the successful implementation and consequently in many cases the reforms were side tracked and watered down. Therefore, to great extent these weaknesses in the policy formulation were instrumental for the failure of the first round of land ceilings programme in the country.

Second Stage

In the second stage, flanked by 1970-83, the land reform policy had been based mainly on the Study Team Report of Union Home Ministry on Agrarian Unrest (1966-69) the militant peasant movements of Naxalbari and Srikakulam, the opinions expressed through the State Chief Ministers at several Conferences after the review of the land reforms of the earlier period, and the recommendations and guidelines provided through the Central Land Reforms Commission in 1970. In the second stage, there has been a greater emphasis on ceilings on land holdings. Likewise, there was a shift in favour of the landless while distributing government waste lands and surplus land recognized through the government through land reforms.
Therefore through the time the Fourth Five Year Plan was being finalized there was a sudden shift in the government policy. The Planning Commission was directed to formulate policies on land ceilings to ensure greater access to land for the landless. It seems the government might have realized the intricate nature of the land reforms and its connection with the overall agricultural production. The Planning Commission came to the conclusion that “there were several deficiencies in the law and delays in the enactment and implementation resulting in large level evasion. The main object of land policy, that is to distribute the land to the landless, has been defeated”. So, the plan document emphasized the' need to review the existing ceiling laws, check the clandestine, land transfers and to implement revised reforms seriously.

The causes for this sudden shift in the government’s policy are not very hard to identify. There has been an extra ordinary change in the political-economic sphere of the country. In the first-half of this decade, the country had to face two major wars which led to a strain on the economy. There was industrial stagnation and the agriculture sector experienced unprecedented drought circumstances. Rising population flooded the Labor market which led to mass unemployment. There was unrest in all the sectors. The situation was canalized through the left parties into peasant movements. The land-grab struggles took place not only in Kerala and West Bengal but also in other states. This had caused alarm in the government.

At the same time Pandit Nehru passed absent but Mrs. Indira Gandhi did not yet emerge as a strong leader. In 1967, the Congress Party received its major shock in the elections. In addition, the Congress Party was split vertically in 1969. Mrs. Gandhi had to seek the support of the left parties for her sustenance in power. Through then the Naxalbari movement was spreading like wild fire and posing a serious problem to the government. The Report on the Current Agrarian Tension released through the Union Home Ministry emphasized the need to understand the existing disturbances not as a mere law and order problem but to tackle the situation on political grounds. Throughout this time certain other radical reforms such as Bank
Nationalization and Abolition of Privy Purses mainly to catch the eye of the urban middle class and radical land ceilings proposals to pacify the rural masses and landless had become very essential. Therefore through late sixties land reforms became a pressing issue for the stability and survival of the political system.

It is necessary to mention a few developments which took place in the ruling party a juncture. A few in the Congress Party styled as ‘Young Turks’ with a socialist bent of mind wanted to do something substantial for the downtrodden. They advocated radical land reforms. At the other end the party bosses at the state stage on behalf of the interests of the land owning classes resisted the move since they thought it as a simple law and order problem. In flanked by these two extreme viewpoints there stood Mrs. Gandhi. Finally, Mrs. Gandhi decided to go ahead with radical land reforms so that she could safely depend on her vote bank and wean absent rural poor from the leftist forces.

Systematically, these proposals were put crossways in dissimilar places and platforms— Parliament, public meetings, political conferences, news media, and election campaigns, etc. But the thought could not easily convince the state party bosses and Chief Ministers At one time Mrs. Gandhi had to warn the Chief Ministers in September 1970 that the existing disturbing situation in rural India would lead to a threat to the political power structure and they were unable to grasp the magnitude of the problem.

In spite of this, many Chief Ministers did not accept the proposal of the Prime Minister. On the other hand the Prime Minister had to moderate the Young Turks not to precipitate the issue. It took almost two years for the Prime Minister to warn, and coerce the die-hard Chief Ministers on one hand and the Young Turks on the other so that an amicable solution could be worked out. Finally, a Central Land Reforms Committee (CLRC) was set up to work out the detail of the programme acceptable to all sections of the party.
The report of the Committee was discussed at all the stages and finally the Congress Party arrived at a consensus in relation to the broad policy. The major characteristics are given below:

- The ceiling is to be on the total land held through a family of five members.
- The ceiling limit is to be flanked by 10 to 54 acres depending upon fertility and irrigation facilities of the land.
- All major children were to be treated as separate family unit.
- The cut off date with respect of land transfers was 24.1.71, the day on which the Congress Party Manifesto was released for the Mid-Term poll.
- All the unreasonable exemptions given previously were to be done absent with.
- Compensation would be in the multiples of land revenue.
- Special administrative machinery is to be set up for the speedy implementation of the measure.
- The responsibility for the implementation should rest with the state government and the legislation were to be completed through December 1972 and implemented immediately.

The state governments did not follow the time frame strictly. Although some states passed the legislation in 1972, the measure came into force only in 1975. Soon after the Indian political scene underwent a total change. The General Elections were held in which the ruling party was defeated. Janata experiment was short existed. Subsequently, the Congress Party captured power. In all these changes the policy on land reforms did not draw any serious attention of the government either at the central stage or in the states. It was treated as a routine administrative matter. Even today it is being implemented but at a low pace. There is a talk of land reforms even at this hour as there is rural unrest in approximately all parts of India mostly through the landless rural poor. It is an unfinished public policy.
Implementation Of Land Reforms: Some Troubles

In a liberal democratic polity such as India, any legislative reform presupposes certain basic events with the help of which the changes could be introduced, implemented and results obtained. Some of the issues which are common to approximately all the states are recognized here. It is not an exhaustive list but only representative. There may be variations depending on local circumstances. Some of the troubles which were witnessed in the implementation of the land reforms are as follows.

Land Records

Successful implementation of land reform depends mostly on the correct and up-to-date records. In most of the states land records were never maintained properly. In many cases, there is no practice of registering land transfers. Documentation has been on ordinary and unstamped white papers. Sometimes it becomes impossible to distinguish flanked by genuine and fabricated papers. If government rejects all such papers it may lead to untold misery to several a genuine purchaser. If they are accepted, it provides an opportunity to the landlords to manipulate the documents in their favour. In fact, the Supreme Court in one of its judgments opened the flood gates and gave wide latitude to the land owners to protect their lands.

Time Frame

It is observed that there has been enough time for the unscrupulous land owners to manage their landholdings, since in many states, enough warning signals were sounded in excess of a period of time. For instance, in Andhra Pradesh, the Government introduced land reforms bill in 1958 but could enact it fully in June 1961. Therefore the Government took almost three years to complete the enactment of the law. In the second round of land reforms, right from 1967 there were loud announcements in relation to the impending radical reforms. The policy formulation commenced from 1969, Bill was introduced in 1973 and implementation began in 1975 and even today there is a talk of
implementation of land reforms. Therefore, the time gap flanked by announcement, enactment, and implementation is so wide that the land owners took enough events to escape from the ceiling provisions.

**Procedural Troubles**

For the speedy and efficient implementation of land reforms, in some states, special administrative tribunals recognized as Land Ceiling Tribunals were set up. The Tribunals were to function as quasi-judicial bodies and have all the powers of a Civil Court under the Civil Procedure Code of 1908. This has given a new turn since it involves many procedures like submission of declarations, verifications and judgments. Lawyers had a field day. The judiciary had a hard role to play while implementing the land reform events. In the name of upholding justice many provisions have been diluted since there have been a few in-built lacunae in the legislative events. In most cases that came before the courts, the judgments went invariably in favour of the land owning classes. Fictitious partitions, adoptions, and divorces were liberally allowed. This has done enough harm to the cause of the reforms. In fact, the Supreme Court had even questioned the very presumption of provisions that land owners were likely to enter into fictitious transactions to circumvent the law.

The revenue bureaucracy is entrusted with the job of implementation of land reforms. Though, it is not totally oriented in this task. The bureaucracy was asked to remain ‘neutral’ and special tribunals were set up for the purpose of speedy implementation. The personnel of these tribunals were drawn from the revenue departments. The Tribunals became a replica of the parent department—recognized for its own style of functioning and value orientation.

**Political Culture**

Separately from the issues recognized above, the most basic and fundamental problem is the prevailing political culture in the country. The Congress Party which initiated the land reforms has never been a monolithic
entity to any scrupulous ideology. In it one discovers people belonging to all
types. It is a platform for multicastrs alliance having some type of
political understanding. It accommodates members belonging to conflicting
classes and interests. It means that the party would have to try to champion the
cause of the poor and at the same time try to protect the interests of the rich.
This policy of accommodation’ is seen at the time of policy formulation of
land reforms. Therefore the ‘Congress Culture’ is very vibrant in the reforms.
Lack of firm political will and absence of commitment in the Congress Party
is reflected in the land reforms policy, legislative events and scores of
amendments that were made in due course in most of the states.

It is to be noted that unfortunately the rural poor in India are illiterate,
ignorant and tradition-bound. They are not assertive and articulate. They are
mostly unorganized. The political parties in many states did not bother to
educate and mobilize the masses. It appears as though the job of the parties
was in excess of after the enactment of the law.

**Impact Of Land Reforms**

It would, though, be unrealistic to state that land reforms have not been
successful and did not yield any results. There is a strong impact of these
events. To start with, insecurity of tenure of the tenants to a large extent was
eliminated. It is estimated that in excess of seven million tenants became
owners of the land they cultivated as a result of land reforms involving an area
of more than eight million hectors. Secondly, the land owners, mostly absentee
land lords had to spend lot of money, seek the help of legal community and
bureaucracy and undergo untold mental tension in order to circumvent the
ceiling laws. So they thought fit enough to dispose of the landed properties
and invest the proceeds in urban assets. Thirdly, in view of the continuous
rural unrest in many parts of the country there is a gradual latitudinal change.
Sentimental attachment to the landed property is slowly giving method to the
urban life style. Therefore, there is a land deconcentration in dissimilar shapes
in rural areas.
REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Discuss the government's policy towards Panchayati Raj Institutions, (PRIs).
- Explain the need for revitalizing PRIs and rising democratic decentralization.
- Explain the meaning of industrial policy and industrial growth strategy.
- Discuss the attempts made to remove poverty through planned strategies.
- Describe the post-Independence agrarian policy.
CHAPTER 7
POLICY IMPACT AND EVALUATION

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Policy impact and evaluation
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the meaning, importance and major dimensions of policy impact.
- Understand the shapes to review or assess the impact of the policies
- Explain the concept of policy evaluation
- Describe several approaches, techniques, dilemmas and troubles of policy evaluation.

POLICY IMPACT AND EVALUATION

Policy Impact

Meaning, Importance and Major Dimensions

Any policy is formulated to attain some goals and objectives. The outputs of a policy creation process are the results which come through in the form of one policy or the other. Efforts to augment the stage of literacy, health for all, better roads, effective delivery system, etc. are the outputs of some of the policies. The outcome of these outputs in the form of policies is the impact of the policies. How the outputs have been able to usher in changes in a given existing system? What has been the cost involved in the same? How several in the middle of the dissimilar sections of the society could get the benefit? Have the basic objectives of the policy been fulfilled through its execution? etc., are some of the issues which tell us in relation to the impact of the policy. Unless and until the impact and policy is recognized, it would be hard for the policy
makers to be clear in relation to the benefits being accorded to the society through the policy. Furthermore, only through the impact of the policy, it could be ascertained whether the policy is being implemented properly or not and what drawbacks or loopholes are there which need to be reconsidered or taken extra care of or required changes to be brought in the policy statement or implementation. The importance of policy impact is enormous and qualitative. It is a means to adopt future policies in the light of the outcome of the past policies. It is an admitted fact that there is always scope for improvements in the system and its policies because we are in a dynamic state and are not static. The policy outcome could only bring to fore the utility or no utility of the policy output. The responsibility of the government does not come to an end merely through formulating and implementing the policy. It is all the more obligatory on the government to create sure the policy outputs have positive policy outcome. Besides, whatever has been achieved through a policy could be made the starting point for further additions to the policy. What has been achieved could be ascertained through the impact of the policy. It is a fact that there is no concrete list of methods or comprehensive methodology to be adhered to for ascertaining the impact of the policy, yet depending upon the environment, system and policy, dissimilar methods could be made use to know the impact.

In order to know the concept of policy impact in a clearer manner, it is worth analyzing its several dimensions. These contain:

- **Direct Impact:** It is in such a type of situation where the policy statement almost brings to focus the target group or situation for which the policy has been formulated and the types of benefits of certain other advantages, the policy aims at granting to the target group. Supposing the policy is with regard to subsidies to be given to industrial sectors and the policy document has emphasized the type of units and entrepreneurs to be accorded benefit. The policy impact is meant to know what has been the outcome of the policy, how several people of the target group could get benefit, what odds have been encountered through the beneficiaries, how effective has been the
implementation, what changes could be ushered in because of the policy, etc’ They reveal the direct impact of the policy on the target group and the defects or weak points noticed throughout the process of measuring the impact seen can one think of for further reconsideration and improvements.

- Indirect Impact: There are policies which do not have direct but indirect impact on the society. It is hard to measure the impact of these policies, yet it cannot be denied that even policy which has been formulated for a specific group would have its indirect impact on a number of other sections of the society. An illustration to this effect could be the policy of the government to provide financial assistance to unemployed educated youth for starting business activities, may it be transport, industries, agriculture, petrol pumps, etc. Would it mean that only the educated unemployed youth are to have the benefits of this policy? Certainly not, because it would help the total family of the person who is given benefit through the policy. Not only positive but also negative impact of the policy in an indirect manner is witnessed. Policy of removing fertilizers subsidy or industrial subsidy affects not only the farmers and the industrialists but also the price-index and manufacturing which causes troubles and troubles to sizeable number of people who are otherwise not affected through the policy. The policy to augment the railway freight on the goods transported through rail affects the producer or the buyer agency alone but also a number of consumers. Therefore, the policy has an indirect impact also which at times is more than the direct impact.

- Immediate Impact: There are policies which give immediate relief to some sections of the society. One could measure the amount of impact through comparing the prevailing circumstances with the immediate past circumstances when the policy had not come into being. Policies to augment the income-tax limit and curb anti-national activities could have immediate impact.

- Futuristic Impact: At times policies are made in the light of long-term objectives of the government concerning a scrupulous aspect. It is hard
to measure the impact of these policies immediately. The policy of the government to involve more and more multi-nationals for the industrial growth and development or the liberalization policy of the government would illustrate its result after a good amount of time. Furthermore, it would be having both direct and indirect impact in positive as well as negative conditions. There are policies which have both immediate as well as futuristic impact. The immunization of children could be one illustration and the curbing of anti-national activities be another which have both immediate and futuristic impact.

- Impact vis-à-vis Possessions: Every policy has the involvement of possessions deployed for the same. The possessions are in the form of financial, physical that is infrastructural, and human. The impact of the policy has to be determined and ascertained vis-à-vis the cost involved and the benefits obtained. In other words, it has to be seen in the light of cost benefit relationship. The policy which would have minimum cost and maximum benefits is obviously to be preferred than the policy which has more cost and less benefits. Both the direct as well as the indirect possessions used are to be taken into consideration for measuring the impact of the policy. The direct costs are easy to be reviewed vis-à-vis the outcomes and benefits in comparison to the indirect costs. The amount of possessions earmarked for agriculture or for industries could be made a base for knowing the benefits in the areas of agriculture and industries. The indirect benefits which the family of the unemployed youth gets from the financial assistance given to him for starting an independent venture are hard to ascertain in quantitative conditions. Of course, qualitatively their impact could be seen.

It may be mentioned here that policy impact comprises both the symbolic and tangible effect of the policy. “Individuals, groups and whole societies regularly judge public policy in conditions of good intentions rather than its tangible accomplishments. The general popularity and public appraisal of a programme may be unrelated to the real impact of a programme in conditions
of desired results. The implication is that popular programmes may have little positive impact and vice-versa. The policies of government may tell us more in relation to the aspirations of society and its leadership than in relation to the actual circumstances. They also help hold men jointly and maintain an orderly state. There was a time when politics was described as ‘who got what, when and how’. Now, it seems that politics centres approximately ‘who feels what, when and how’. Systematic policy analysis concentrates on what government’s do, why they do it, and what variation does it create.” The policy has typical and representative impact beside with real and actual impact. The impact of the policy needs to be ascertained in conditions of tangible and intangible results.

**Resource Use**

The policy involves possessions used for its formulation and implementation. In the words of Dror, “Optimal public policy creation necessity specify and evaluate its possessions just as it does its troubles, but in conditions of both these troubles and other possessions consuming activity, and in conditions of their potential uses for creation and executing policies and for other activities. Optimal meta policy creation must

- Systematically and periodically scan present and future possessions and troubles;
- Estimate the potential pay off of possessions through using both knowledge and intuition;
- Explicitly evaluate the supply of and demand for each resource; and
- Specify needs for additional possessions and further the development of new possessions.”

The possessions used for any policy whether in conditions of money, manpower or infrastructural or formulation facilities should be quantified in conditions of money. The benefit to come out of the possessions should in any case be not less than the possessions put to use. If it is so then definitely the policy does not have a positive impact. While attempting to know the impact
of the policy vis-à-vis the possessions used, efforts ought to be made to
discover out which, where and how a scrupulous given resource used has not
provided desired results or was used more than required. Such information
would give enough feedback to have a check in future and to rectify the error.

Assessing Impact and Suggestions for Improvements

Government always seeks to know the outcome and impact of its policies mainly through the
permanent executive. The assessment of impact serves purposes like,
providing feedback to the party in power responsible for creation up of a
policy for necessary improvements, if any, to be made in the policy;
qualitative impact of the policy is taken as a Credit-Card to propagate in
relation to thin the coming elections; and bringing in improvements through
control as well as through providing more possessions, if required for ensuring
smooth execution of the policy. Normally, the assessment of impact through
the government is made through the following events:

- Implementer’s Report: Every head of the subunit of the government
  that has been assigned the task of implementation is supposed to
  submit the annual statement concerning the work done through his
  agency. From this report the impact of the policy is assessed. There is
every possibility that the report submitted is not objective and effort is
made through the concerned implementer to highlight some
insignificant facts and hide some important information which goes
against his work performance. Viewing from a positive side, such a
report could be made a base for ascertaining more information and data
for assessing the impact of the policy.

- Output Target Centered Data: The implementing agency has the duty
to submit to the concerned higher authorities report concerning the
targets achieved in a given amount of time. Such information is on the
basis of the outputs of the policy. For instance, the primary schools
opened, the bus services introduced, the irrigation network spreading,
the electricity connections given etc. Of course; such information
enables one to assess the outputs of the policy and not the outcomes,
that is, the excellence of the impact of the targets achieved. But
certainly while assessing the impact both quantitative as well as qualitative characteristics are to be taken stock of. Through output targets achieved, at least the quantitative impact is assessed. Further efforts to know the qualitative impact could be made to complete the output and outcome targets centered impact.

- Impact Assessment through Grievances and Complaints: The policies which are oriented for the welfare and benefit of the citizens could be qualitatively assessed on the basis of grievances and complaints of the citizens. When the citizens do not get their due, as propagated through the government in accordance with the policy, the citizens approach the implementing agency and also the headquarters for seeking justice. There are certainly a number of factors involved in the grievances and complaints made through the citizens, which stand in the method of assessing the policy impact. For instance, not several complain to the authorities. It may be because of their lack of awareness, lack of credit skill of administration in their eyes, and inefficient working of the administration, etc. Those who represent are the ones, in majority of the case, who are politically instigated to do so. Besides, a number of complaints received are not based on facts. There is no proper record of complaints received and action taken nor do they inform the complainants. All these factors combined do not create the assessment of the qualitative impact objective and meaningful. The citizens also approach the political leaders who voice their issues at dissimilar platforms which also shows the amount of impact of the policy. Of course, these moves bring to fore the negative impact of the policy. Proper maintenance of records and prompt action taken as well as conveyed to the complainant through the implementing agency can help a lot in assessing the impact of the policy. Let us suppose that a policy has benefits to be accorded to 100 persons at a place and out of these ten have complained and their complaints are found genuine and sorted out accordingly. It means that the policy has a good and positive impact. The implementing agency, the political leaders, the social organizations, and the citizens can join hands jointly in creation the
implementation a success. Not only it would amount to effective execution but it would also pave the method to assess the impact of the policy.

- Pre-Post Implementation Comparison: A policy statement becomes effective from the citizens point of view only after it is implemented. The comparison of the situation, at a scrupulous place or with regard to a specific section for which a given policy has been made, before and after the implementation brings to focus the impact of the policy. What changes in conditions of quantity and excellence have been brought in could be taken into consideration for assessing the impact.

- Use of Control and Experimental Groups: Another method of assessing the impact is to have a close view of two groups which are under strict observation. These two groups could be: control and experimental. Control group is the one which is not subjected to experimental treatment whereas experimental group is subjected to that. The comparison flanked by the two groups is made to know the effect and impact of the stimuli, which is a policy in this case, provided to the experimental group. It could further be explained in the sense that a scrupulous policy is implemented in an experimental situation or on an experimental group and its impact is noted and observed cautiously in comparison with the control group or situation where the policy has not been executed. This could bring to light the impact of the policy. One precaution is required for assessing the impact on this basis in that the situation and members of the control group should have parallel with the members of the experimental group. Though it seems to be quite meaningful and positive method of assessing the impact, yet it is hard to demarcate the society or sub-sections of it in two separate groups for purposes of assessing the policy impact.

It is a fact that governmental agencies effort to assess and measure the impact of the policies made through them on the society as Well as the polity but unfortunately the governmental agencies are unable to create much headway in this regard because of the following causes:
• The governmental agencies do not have possessions to take up the task of policy impact.
• The agency which is implementing the task is assigned the responsibility of assessing the impact.
• The citizens do not cooperate much with the government in telling their frank opinions in relation to the policy.
• The non-governmental agencies are not encouraged to help in assessing the impact.
• The work load of the government through a number of policies is rising so much that it is not possible to cope up with the task of impact assessment.
• The universities and research institutions are not taking up research in such a method which could facilitate the impact measurement task.
• The Press is not bringing to write what actually has happened. Press has a substantial role in molding the public opinion. Often the wrong deeds of the government are highlighted which affects the thinking of the public at large.

The impact of the policies could be measured and assessed in a better method if:
• The policy implementers are very clear in relation to the objective of the policy in order to measure the outcomes through the outputs.
• The implementers are told in the clearest conditions that for which scrupulous group or situation a given policy has been made.
• The governmental agencies assigned the responsibility of assessing the impact work in effective and efficient method. Proper maintenance of records concerning complaints and grievances necessity be made.
• The officials concerned keep their ears and eyes open and encourage the public to give them objective feedback. It would help them in measuring the impact.
• The government encourages the non-governmental agencies to assess the impact and submit their objective report to the government.
The Press plays its role positively through highlighting both the positive as well as negative impact of the policies.

The research institutions take up studies based on the primary data composed objectively and genuinely to bring forth the policy impact.

Policy Evaluation

Meaning, Importance and Purpose

For a modern democratic Polity and society there is no problem which is more momentous than developing rational, responsive and goal-oriented policy. Once the policy is formulated, with the contribution of both the governmental and nongovernmental agencies, it is put to execution. At the stage of policy implementation also, several channels and agencies involved in it work for achieving the stated objectives of the policy. The outputs of the policy bring to light certain outcomes, which in other words could be said as the impact of the policy. Policy impact is of crucial importance in the overall policy creation process. The impact of the policy whether direct or indirect, immediate or futuristic, symbolic or tangible is ascertained and measured through the process of policy evaluation. Policy evaluation as a process is as old as policy creation itself. It is a means of getting the policy makers the relevant information and knowledge concerning a policy problem, in relation to the relative purposefulness and effectiveness of past and prevailing strategies for addressing, reducing or eliminating the problem, and concerning the observed effectiveness of specific policies. Because of such knowledge and information, uncertainty and risk in policy creation is reduced, administrative accountability in a tangible manner is enhanced, and administrative control in excess of the policy is appropriately increased.

Policies are goal-oriented and aim at the betterment of society. Policy evaluation plays its role not only after the formulation and implementation of the policy but it starts right from the identification of several issues for creation policies and putting these on policy agenda after viewing the several alternatives from dissimilar angles and therefore selecting the ones best
required in accordance with the need of time and society. Daniel Lerner has talked of the following three types of evaluation:

- **Process Evaluation**: Primarily while evaluating a policy, there are two questions with which one is concerned with. Firstly, whether a specific policy has been implemented in accordance with the policy guidelines issued at the time of policy creation or not. Such an evaluation is recognized as Process Evaluation. It centres on two points: whether or not the policy has been aimed and directed at the appropriate and specified target group or target area; and whether or not the dissimilar practices and intervention efforts based on strategies have been taken up as specified in the policy design or taken from the principles explicated in such design. Process evaluation is quite significant because in the absence of specific knowledge and information concerning the policy goals, objectives, target groups, and target areas, it is hard to evaluate the outcomes of the policy outputs. Secondly, the required intervention strategies for the implementation of the policy are essential to be taken stock of while evaluating the outcome or impact of the policy. It is essential to evaluate the policy in the light of guidelines, if any, issued for implementation of the policy.

- **Impact Evaluation**: The first question one is confronted with is concerning the stated guidelines and the second is the evaluation of the impact. In it the efforts are to evaluate the changes, both positive and negative, in conditions of goals attained or not of the policy. The circumstances prevailing before the implementation of the policy and after that are reviewed in order to bring to fore the impact of the policy. “In conditions of impact evaluation, a design is required that allows the investigator, in a persuasive method, to demonstrate that the changes that occur are a function of the scrupulous programme intervention and treatment and not accountable for in other methods.”

- **Comprehensive Evaluation**: Comprehensive evaluation is the culmination of both the process and impact evaluation explained above. In fact, it is hard to create an objective evaluation without taking into consideration the process of evaluation and the impact
evaluation. Both combined with each other bring to light what actually is the outcome of how it has been made possible, what are the drawbacks, and how the improvements could be ushered in. It does not mean that exclusively process or impact evaluation does not have its utility. At times when these are strategic in policy planning and development and serve significant administrative functions, they are of enormous significance. Though, from the standpoint of public policy, it is comprehensive evaluation which is more useful.

There is no denying the fact that policy evaluation has appeared as a significant and important fact of policy creation process, yet its application, practicability, utility and advances are not always taken in rightful and objective method through public administrators. Though, there are certain well recognized to purposes of policy evaluation. Eleanor Chelimsky has talked of the purposes of policy evaluation. In his words, “Programme evaluators serve both general audience (such as the public or the media, often the ultimate user of several evaluations) and individual public decision makers who have scrupulous information needs. These decision makers may be in the executive or legislative branches of government, may work at the union, state, or local stage of government, may play management of policy roles with respect to public programmes and may need information for three very broad but separate types of purposes.” These three types contain — Policy formulation, implementation and accountability.

The purpose of policy evaluation is to create an objective assessment of justification of the necessity for a new policy to be framed or intended in an optimal manner keeping the historical perspective. The information required at the time of policy creation comprises: a) data on the issue, b) threat or problem to be referred to or addressed through the policy, magnitude, quantum, significance, frequency, and direction of the same, amount of challenges emerging out of it; d) information on the results of similar policies made and executed earlier, e) the practicability and feasibility of the same, f) the success or failure of such policies, and g) the difficulties encountered.
The information required to be garnered for this purpose through evaluation comprises: the operation part of the policy, its conventionality to the policies formulated, its cost on implementation, the benefits coming out of it, major difficulties faced throughout implementation, etc. The purpose of policy evaluation concerning accountability in public decision-creation is meant to ascertain the efficacy of an on-going policy and the need for its being in continuation, improvements/modifications, or suspension/termination. It requires dissimilar information such as: policy outcomes or impact of the policy implemented, the amount of variation ushered in because of the operationalization of the policy, changes brought to fore both positive as well as negative — because of the policy being implemented, and information concerning the expected and unexpected effects of the policy. The said three purposes of the policy evaluation create it clear that policy evaluation has a role right from the identification of an issue for creation policy up to the measurement of the outcomes or impact of the policy, may it be through process evaluation, impact evaluation or comprehensive evaluation.

Evaluation Approaches

Policy evaluation is a process in itself. Certainly it needs to be accepted out in a systematic method. For doing so the evaluators ought to create some approach or approaches as a base for accomplishing the evaluation task. Some of the routine approaches to policy evaluation have been recognized as follows:

Front-End Analysis

It means the type of work which is being undertaken before a decision is made to go ahead for framing policy on a scrupulous issue. The need and magnitude of the problem, type and number of persons or groups to be affected, amount of cost, cost benefit feasibility, etc., are some of the significant parameters which are taken care of at the pre-policy formulation stage. It enables the formulators to frame policy which could deliver
maximum goods with minimum inputs.

**Evaluability Assessment**

This approach is made use of for answering policy creation questions. A comparison of the policy’s assumptions is made with the stated goals and objectives of the policy and the points concerning rationality and utility of the assumptions are raised to ascertain whether those could match with the stated objectives of the policy: It is also made use of in responding to questions concerning implementation of the policy. In the words of Eleanor Chelimsky, “This approach serves to determine the feasibility and usefulness of performing later full-level evaluation of the programme’s effectiveness. If the determination is positive, this approach lays the groundwork for such an evaluation effort, which seeks to answer accountability questions”.

**Process Evaluation**

The purpose of this approach is to describe and create analysis of the processes of implemented policies, the strategies adopted, the cost incurred, the troubles faced, the interaction with the clients and other concerned organizations, etc. It is meant to discover out what is lacking where so distant as the process part is concerned and how and when the improvements could be made. This approach is always retrospective.

**Problem Monitoring**

In comparison with other approaches, this approach is dissimilar. It is not a single-shot process but is continuous. The major purpose of this approach is to inform on problem features or to track programme process (long-term or short-term) in many areas. It may address itself to either policy formulation or policy execution purposes.
Evaluation Synthesis Approach

It is a highly versatile approach. It has the capability of serving all three types of evaluation purposes, that is, formulation, implementation, and accountability. As per the main heading of the approach, it synthesizes or reanalyzes the results or findings from one or a number of evaluations for determining what has been recognized in relation to a policy. It has the capability to address several evaluative questions, of course, depending upon the availability of evaluations made and data composed. It could be both quantitative as well as qualitative.

The major aim of the government, reflected through several policies enacted and implemented from time to time, is to ensure the development and upliftment of the masses, and respectable, sound, and non-controversial policies at the international stage. The principles of equity, fair play, public interest, efficiency, responsiveness etc., ought to be ensured for prompt, efficient, and effective implementation of the policies. Policy evaluation process, if taken up objectively, can help and facilitate the formulators and implementers in carrying their task with utmost efficiency.

According to Chelimsky, the degree of relevance of the six evaluation approaches can be better understood if the public administration activities that generate evaluative information are consolidated into five basic functions: Planning and rationalizing a policy and its evaluation; implementing and administering policy; justifying the effectiveness of a policy implementation and administration; demonstrating the effectiveness of a policy; and measuring ongoing problem or policy progress. Through linking these five functions with the six evaluation approaches discussed above the policy evaluators can go ahead in evaluating the policies.

Dilemmas, Troubles and Suggestions for Improvements

In the words of Heraclitus, the ancient Greek Philosopher, “it is not possible to step into the same river twice; other and yet other waters are
flowing on.” The present world and the dissimilar societies and systems are changing very fast. What used to be the situations and targets forty to fifty years ago appear to have undergone complete transformation now. Even after a small duration of time the focus of the system being reflected through its policies keep on changing in order to create room for more and more improvements oriented towards welfare and betterment of the people and stability and overall development of the system concerned. Consequently, the policy creation process and especially its policy evaluation facet is becoming more intricate. According to Stuart Nagel, “Faced with increasingly intricate and normative impregnated troubles and constantly evolving public programmes, evaluations emerge as temporal approximation of the trajectories of moving targets.”

Policy evaluation as a process has a number of troubles and challenges confronting it. As a result, the evaluation is not as it ought to be and therefore it is unable to positively attain the purpose and objective of conducting evaluations of the policies or policy issues and alternatives before taking those on policy agenda. Ethics have a place of prominence in the policy evaluation process as well. With regard to it, ‘ethics’ refer to a set of normative standards for resolving dilemmas which often policy evaluators face while performing their assigned job roles in the overall interest of societal desirability. Stuart Nagel in his book, Modern Public Policy Analysis, has mentioned in relation to the ethical dilemmas in policy evaluation.

*The Optimizing Dilemma*

Any evaluation report one lays hands on would reveal the findings of the evaluation in such a method that the relationship flanked by policy and its objectives and goals is talked of. Such findings create people help decide what type of policy needs to be adopted. The reports are mostly predictive. The need is to name more of prescriptive necessities of the society than to have predictive findings and relationship flanked by the policies and goals. What is significant is to have focus on any policy troubles being translated into policy
and its goals and objectives. In the words of Stuart Nagel, “This dilemma involves whether we should be concerned solely with prediction and causation or also with prescription and perhaps policy optimization”. Policy optimization means having such policy which would optimize or maximize the said policy goals under dissimilar circumstances, constraints and challenges rather than emphasizing exclusively on prediction. What is needed through the society, which type of policy could get maximum benefits concerning the troubles at hand, which method is to be adopted in the interest of society etc., are some of the significant characteristics to be taken care of?

The Partisan Dilemma

At times the government tends to create or has made policies which are dealing with a specific problem or issue of a specific target group. The policy evaluators are assigned the task of assessing the issue or policy and submit the report. Now, what is true of a given subsection of the society vis-à-vis a problem may be true of a number of other subsections. Or in other words, a scrupulous goal or objective vis-à-vis the clientele could be looked upon through the evaluators depending upon their own knowledge, information gathering methodology or the design adopted for evaluating. The policy evaluator should, in the interest of social desirability, not fall prey to what the political masters are aiming at. The reports even if dealing with partisan goals should have the broad and objective spectrum of looking at the things and findings made accordingly. The element of objectivity, societal interest, and resisting political and other pressures ought to be made base for the same. The evaluator has to take stock of the diminishing returns of concentrating on a given policy, the possibility of bringing out an alternative policy which was not part of original analysis, and the interactive relations in the middle of policies.

The Unforeseen Consequences Dilemma

It is a fact that every person who is assigned a job has some inclinations and biases of his own concerning the problem posed before him. Even if the
evaluator is starting with a clean slate the very first few impressions he gathers or is being told have an everlasting imprint on his mind. Let us suppose that neither of the two propositions stated above hold truth in some of the cases. Still throughout evaluation the evaluators come through number of such consequences which they had never thought of.

Suddenly some unforeseen consequences could emerge on the scene. Normally, while dealing with such unforeseen consequences the evaluators go through the data and methodology they have adopted concerning recognized consequences. This could affect the evaluation report and findings adversely to a considerable extent. In order to face such situations, the policy evaluators have to develop detailed contingency models in order to deal with an unforeseen event. While developing the models, the optimization of the policy, and the social desirability coupled with objectivity have to be emphasized upon so that the evaluation of even unforeseen consequences is made in the interest of all concerned.

**The Equity Dilemma**

This dilemma is the frequent disagreement in policy evaluation flanked by policy goals of equity and efficiency. It can have enough scope for subjective analysis and evaluation. Perfect standards have to be made on the basis of which the equity and efficiency of policy goals and issues vis-à-vis the cost/benefit relationship etc. could be determined.

A scrupulous policy or issue which maximizes benefits minus cost or which will give the highest benefit/cost ratio would mean “efficiency.” On the other end, equity means excellence of benefits as per needs of the clientele. It is measured to be in practice when there is excellence per capita crossways all groups or places concerning either benefits or paying costs. What is equitable and what is efficient are two significant questions the interpretation of which basically depends on the methodology adopted and thinking coupled with inclination and pressures on the evaluators. Commenting upon it, Stuart Nagel
has said that, “the significant point is not the technical aspect of the approach taken to equity of benefits, equity of costs, and efficiency but rather the conscious consideration of these criteria. Policy evaluators may not have an obligation to reach a solution that is both efficient and equitable; it may indeed be impossible to do so. They should, though, be obligated to discuss these issues explicitly in their policy evaluation.”

The optimizing, partisan, unforeseen consequences, and equity dilemmas referred to above are all characteristics which deal with the “ethics” of the evaluators. The governments are seldom in a position to establish a fool-proof ethical code of conduct for the policy evaluators. More so the standards and norms required for measuring or ascertaining the subjectivity/objectivity element, the socially desirable/undesirable aspect have to be perfect and in absolute order for doing so. This does not happen in most cases. The lack of such standards and inapplicability in practice of the ethical code for evaluation, wherever existing, stands in the method of creation evaluation timely, objective, and helpful.

Besides the ethical dilemmas, there are a number of other troubles in the process of policy evaluation.

Troubles Concerning Data

Evaluation of a policy is basically dependent on the data which is obtained. Our aim is to see the feasibility of an issue to ascertain the outcome of the outputs, and also to bring to light the principles of efficiency and equity. The reactions of the clientele, the changes in the situation in pre- and post-policy implementation stages are also determined through data. Each and every evaluation needs specific and dissimilar types of data, the design for the collection of which may vary from one policy to the other. The basic question is what data is required and how it can be composed? Data collection is a very time-consuming job and the investigator necessity possess requisite techniques for gathering the information. At times people, for one cause or the other, may
not be willing to tell the truth, some interested quarters may feed wrong information, etc. All these factors, if not taken up in a serious and thoughtful manner, could affect the evaluation report. The requirement is to have accurate, complete, and comparable data. Lack of proper record, financial implications, lack of appropriate infrastructure are some of the significant factors which stand in the method of valid data collection and the lack of which poses a serious problem in evaluating the policy.

Data composed does not create much sense unless and until the data is made part of a design for its translation into useful and purposeful components. Performance indicators which link the policy outputs with measurable policy outcomes need to be developed. For this it is essential to develop quantifiable events with necessary information to operationally an effectiveness model and/or an efficient model. A number of variables, dependent as well as independent need to be taken into consideration on the basis of data composed, their correlation with each other and how one variable with quantifying data positively or negatively affects or is being affected through other/others has to be brought to light for drawing major inferences. Firstly, the data composed is so much variant and secondly its tabulation and correlations for seeking the results is momentous task and even one mistake could affect the overall report.

Troubles Concerning Modus-operandi

Mostly, the policies in developing countries like, India are evaluated through the governmental agencies. More interestingly the task is often assigned to the implementing agency itself. An agency which has been passed on the responsibility of implementing a policy would never create evaluation objective whereby its own weaknesses are highlighted. Such type of Endeavour of the government to pass on evaluation task to executing agency affects the process of evaluation. Furthermore, there are no fixed standards or criteria made recognized to the evaluators on the basis of which the evaluation is to be made. Lack of interest, element of subjectivity, and absence of fixed
norms and standards hamper the evaluation process. The basic modus operandi adopted through the government for banking more and more on bureaucratic structure and no fixation of standard norms affects the process of evaluation.

Lack of Resource

Every task, if to be performed effectively, needs possessions — human, financial, and infrastructural. It stands true of the policy evaluation task as well. The proliferation of government into innumerable areas therefore overloading the governmental agencies, lack of faith in non-governmental agencies for evaluation of policies, poor research standards of universities and institutions with regard to evaluation, etc., all speak of the resource bankruptcy of the government with regard to policy evaluation. Trained and well-equipped evaluators are a necessity for undertaking this task. Shortage of funds coupled with lack of trained manpower further adds to the poor standards of evaluation. Specialized evaluation agencies are not in subsistence for undertaking this work.

Ambiguous Policy Statements

The policy statements issued through the government are not clearly worded. The objectives, goals, time duration, target groups, target situation and place, contradictions within the policy, contradictions with other policies, etc., are some of the points which do not let the evaluator have a clear vision of what he is to do; which changes he is to take stock of; who are the concerned implementers, etc. All this creates him chase a wild goose without having any major impact on the evaluation being made through him.

Seriousness of the Report

The evaluation report submitted through an agency, if negative and affecting the stand taken through the government is seldom taken seriously through the government. Instead of creation improvements in its work
mechanism as pointed out in the report, the efforts are made to point out the wrongs done through the evaluators. If such type of attitude is to be adopted through the government then almost certainly there is no need to go in for evaluation at all.

In the preceding test, we have attempted to focus on some of the ethical dilemmas and troubles being encountered in policy evaluation. Keeping in view the significance of the process of evaluation in the overall context of policy creation and implementation, it is necessary to discuss some of the suggestions for improving the policy evaluation process. These contain:

- Government should encourage non-governmental agencies, universities, and research institutions for taking up the task of policy evaluation. It would be better, if on the basis of some of the developed countries, the developing countries also establish specific Policy Evaluation Institutions.
- Adequate possessions should be made accessible to the evaluating agency.
- Standardized format, criterion, and methodology to be used for evaluation should be made so that the work is done accordingly.
- Emphasis should be laid on training personnel to be involved in process of evaluation so that they could perform their task appropriately.
- Mobility assignments should be encouraged. Inter-governmental and intra-agency exchanges of skilled personnel should be adhered to for creation maximum use of scarce personnel possessions.
- The implementing agencies should be instructed to submit objective impact and evaluation report substantiated with relevant facts and figures in creation final evaluation reports.
- Efforts should be made to disseminate and coordinate information on evaluation.

Above stated are some of the suggestions which, if incorporated, could do absent with the troubles of policy evaluation. Besides, these can help bring
improvements in the process which are much needed for and can play a substantial role in facilitating the policy creation and executing process.

**REVIEW QUESTIONS**

- Highlight the several shapes of assessing the Policy Impact.
- Mention the routine approaches to Policy Evaluation.
- Discuss five major suggestions for bringing improvements in policy evaluation process.
CHAPTER 8
MODELS OF POLICY MAKING

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Policy analysis: an overview
- Policy making approaches and models to policy analysis
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading the Unit, you will be able to:

- Understand dissimilar shapes of policy analysis;
- Understand propositional assumptions of policy analysis;

POLICY ANALYSIS: AN OVERVIEW

Introduction

Ever since human beings started pondering in excess of the nature of polity, the study of politics has fluctuated flanked by two poles. At one end the behavior of the state and intentions of the king were regarded as the most important aspect. The emphasis was on political institutions as they were measured as key agencies of social control and change. At the other end, the major stress was to learn in relation to the excellence and quantity of those political factors or circumstances which affect the political events and institutions. A political system, (wherein the public policies are made and implemented) is the persisting pattern of human relationships through which authoritative decisions are made and accepted out, A political system is distinguished from other social systems through four features, viz.:

- It is universal in its reach, extending to all members of a society;
- It claims ultimate control in excess of the use of force
- Its right to create decisions is accepted as legitimate; and
Its decisions carry weight bearing the force of law and can enforce obedience as well as submission.

Efforts are made through the rulers in the political system, for maintenance and development purposes, through several public policies formulated and executed from time to time. Understanding of the environment to decide intelligently the best alternatives out of the accessible choices for making policies is done through policy analysis. Policies play an important role in shaping and re-shaping the lives of people in a given political system, it is, so, significant to know in relation to the policy analysis because, through it, efforts can be made to (1) have sound and desirable policies and (2) bring required changes in the policies already in the offing.

Policy Analysis: Dissimilar Shapes

In the words of Howard Freeman and Ilene Bernstein, “The boundaries of the public policy analysis are elusive, and the outlooks and styles of individuals and groups involved in policy studies vary markedly. There is virtual agreement though, that an integral part of the policy analysis activity is the evaluation of the conduct, efficacy, and efficiency of human resource programs. It is significant to assess both the several on-going public and quasi-public programs in health, education, welfare, public safety, and environmental arenas and the numerous innovative and experimental efforts to better the human condition”. To create sure that policies actually serve the purpose for which they have been formulated, sound analysis of these policies is essential. Three significant shapes of policy analysis are:

Descriptive

The descriptive and prescriptive are two major trends which can be recognized within policy studies. The descriptive trend is concerned with highlighting such issues:
• Significant factors leading to the initiation of the processes of policy making,
• The part played through dissimilar governmental and non-governmental agencies and actors in reaching at policy decisions,
• The techniques made use of through the policy decision makers, and the policy impact.

Analysis of some policies emphasize on scrupulous policy decisions and others on the general process of policy formulation with an Endeavour to specify such elements which have place of significance in all such processes, or most of them. Commenting upon it, Martin P. Golding said that, “while both types of study of necessity employ one or the other type of model and conceptual framework, it is distant from clear that the researchers in the field can claim to have discovered any (descriptive) uniformities that hold within the policy domain”. The descriptive analysis, through and large, emphasizes upon the virtual happening and role played through dissimilar agencies in the policy making. Such a type of policy analysis is quite important because unless the policy analysts are clear in relation to the background of any policy, the role of ruling as well as opposing elites, ‘the part played through the institutions, the excellences well as the utility of the techniques used, and the evaluation of the impact, etc., they would not be in position to be prescriptive and suggestive for ushering in required improvements in the policies.

**Prescriptive**

It deals with the betterment and improvement of the process of policy formulation. In the words of Golding, “This Endeavour clearly presupposes the identification of values or interests (instrumental, mediate or ultimate) which policies ought to promote, or — if such normative inquiry appears too formidable or “unscientific” — at least criteria and standards (e.g., efficiency) through which one may evaluate alternative policy proposals for the accomplishment of any given end: Policy researchers, have, for these purposes, borrowed from other disciplines, for instance, economics and
operations research”. It is a fact that prescriptive analysis can add much required excellence to the policy process and in turn the policies being formulated in the overall interest of — society, polity, and citizens. The prescription necessity succeed description or explanation. It is a general agreement that description is a prerequisite to prescription. Through explanation which is attained through method of systematic analysis rather than rhetoric or polemics or introspection or dialectic, the prescription also becomes more meaningful. The principle that explanation necessity precede prescription amounts, in the words of Thomas R. Dye, “to search rigorously for the causes and consequences of public policy, to utilize scientific standards of inference in this search, and to Endeavour to develop and test general propositions in relation to the public policy, that provides the policy analysis movement whatever intellectual coherence that it possesses”.

**Comparative**

There are a number of issues which the policy formulators have before them for translating the most significant out of those into public policies. Furthermore, numerous policies are in subsistence with regard to a single aspect and each policy is touching upon some area or areas of that facet. Besides, dissimilar types of subcultures, traditions, ethos, and priorities exist in dissimilar parts of a vast country. In order to create the policies suiting the interest of majority it becomes essential to garner data from dissimilar quarters concerning all possible facets of the policy. Instead of making accessible dissimilar provisos for dissimilar parts or groups of society it is better to have a comparative analysis of the data and decide such course of action through method of policy which satisfies the maximum. Of course, this is a very cumbersome exercise but it has its utility to considerable extent. In the words of Michael Barkun, “a largely untapped body of data and low-stage propositions exists, which, if cautiously and critically applied, can add increased depth to political science research”.

Policy analysis seeks to explain the nature and functioning of intricate,
goal-seeking policies. It is a broad designation encompassing the study of governmental structure or design, policy-making processes, group and individual behavior within and outside government, role dynamics, group dynamics, political behavior, and administrative behavior. It is concerned mainly with the method governments seek goals and adapt to their environment, as well as with individual behavior occurring within governmental organizations. As a mode, policy analysis is used to gain an understanding of the method a political system functions through observing and analyzing its policy processes. Policy making involves a sequence of activities through political factors: Perception of the problem, marshalling facts and information, considering alternatives, and choosing a course of action calculated to maximize goal achievement. The policy analysts try to discover answers to such questions as what was the policy, who made it, how was it made, what impact did the environmental situations have, how was it implemented, and what were the net results after the execution, etc. These characteristics bring to light the functioning of the political system that produced the policy. The prescriptive and comparative analysis further suggests what should be added or changed in the policy for optimal attainment of goals.

**Policy Analysis: Major Dimensions**

As mentioned earlier, policy analysis is one of the most significant facets of policy making process. It enables conversion of best possible issues into policies and their implementation and monitoring. The weak points, are done absent with through method of suggestions coming to fore as a result of policy analysis. Policy analysis has number of dimensions. Each of it touches upon the desired task in an important method. The major dimensions of policy analysis are as follows:

**Purposes**

Every policy has some purposes or goals to attain. The area/areas and the
group/groups which are to get benefit through a given policy are clearly
categorized. Efforts are made that these specified areas and groups get benefits
in a given amount of time through the policy made and implemented. Through
keeping the policy purposes, goals, and objectives in view, the policy analysts
effort to analyze whether the same have been attained or achieved, and if so,
how much has been the cost and time required for the same. In case, the policy
purposes are not fulfilled, the analysts point out the causes for the same and
suggest events to do that. Besides, at the elementary stage after the policy
formulation is in excess of and the implementation has begun, or at the time of
determining of an issue to be converted into policy, the policy analysts try to
see the utility or non-utility of the purposes of policy which the policy makers
have in mind. A comparison with other policy goals, the existing
environmental situations, and the needs of the people are kept in view while
analyzing the purposes of the policy.

There are a number of determinants which have great bearing on the
policies formulated. In a political system the policies are made through
keeping in view the prevailing situations as well as internal and external
factors causing power upon policy makers. Each determinant, whether it is a
political party, interest group, voluntary organization, non-governmental
agency, mass media, social movement, international agency, etc., powers the
policy making mechanism and endeavors to have such policy or such clauses
in the policy which suit its own interests and ideological stance.

The policy analysts before as well as after the formulation of the policy
effort to analyze the policy draft and statement through keeping in view the
role of determinants. Or in some cases the analysts clearly bring to focus the
role attempted to be played or being played through concerned determinants.
Followed through it, the policy analysts highlight the relationship flanked by
the influencing factors and the purposes or goals of a policy fixed through the
policy makers. The influencing forces do not stop operating just with the
policy making alone but effort to impress upon the implementation process
also.
The analysts bring to light what effect the ‘influencing factors’ have on the policy implementation. The basic purpose of analyzing the role and extent of the power through the determinants on policy making and execution process is to see how much the majority sections of the society have been able to get benefits as a result of the policy. It also brings forth as to who have been the beneficiaries, how much is the cost, what is the cost benefit ratio, and how the said policy facilitates, contradicts, or hampers some other policies of the similar nature already in subsistence.

**Interventions**

This Course comprises policy intervention studies. This brings to light how the interventions help in improvements in the policy and through those in the society. It is the view point of some that excellence can be achieved in a best manner through method of economic growth indirectly rather than banking upon specified policies directly. Commenting on it, Martin Rein says, “It can also be shown that economic growth increases inequalities for some groups. This value assumption leads the analysts to inquire: who tends to be left behind throughout periods of growth and development?” In other words it could be stated as who have got the benefits as a result of certain policies interventions. Are those people benefited who deserve it or some one else has taken the larger share of the cake? An illustration to this effect could be the policy made through the government to give electricity to the farmers at relatively cheaper rates. The purpose of the policy was to come to the rescue of small and marginal farmers. But did it get the benefits to the small and marginal farmers alone? Certainly, all others — especially the big land owners, got benefit of it rather more in ratio than the small and marginal farmers.

The point could be contested on the count that the provision to give electricity at cheaper rates was to help the agriculturalists — both big and small for an augment in agricultural production. The other side of it is that the
big land owners who got benefit because of it could afford to pay higher charges for the electricity consumed. Likewise, the policy to sizeable decrease fertilizer subsidy does not affect the big land owners as much as it affects the small and marginal farmers. Therefore, the policy analysts Endeavour to see what is the outcome of the policy intervention and accordingly prescribes for the improvements in the policy document.

**Institutions Attached**

Institution is a recognized pattern of human behavior consisting of structured social interaction within a framework of relevant values. Political institutions on the local, state, and national stages range from Constitutions and other basic documents and customs to formal legislative, executive, administrative and judicial structures and processes. Of course, out of the two, the governmental institutions are having more prominent role. It is through institutional means through which broad values and specified needs, demands, and priorities are converted into policies. The role of the policy analyst is to highlight the role of specific institutions in policy making. How has it been played? What are the ‘deficiencies? How could the scrupulous institution be set right? Is some thing wrong in its working? These have to be examined through the analysts. Such detailed examination could bring to for at number of points which could be termed as desirable or otherwise for the policy, polity, and society at large.

**Political Feasibility**

Normally, in a political system, such policies are formulated which are politically feasible and do not go against the basic recognized spirit of Constitution, customs and traditions. There are judicial safeguards to keep the sanctity and spirit of Constitution intact and no such policy which is ultra-virus to the Constitution could stay in subsistence unless the Constitution, prior to the making of such policy is accordingly amended. The policy makers under normal circumstances do not formulate such policies which go against the recognized customs and tradition. But wherever it becomes a necessity the
policies required are made even if they go against such customs and traditions. The policy makers have to be vigilant in relation to the internal and external variables and environment while making policies. Furthermore, the political ideology, base, and basic objectives of party in power are also being adhered to through the government at the time of framing policies. The policy analysts therefore have to search for such solutions which are feasible from the political angles. Martin Rein says: “The commitment to feasibility is based on a desire to power the development of policies. Since political thoughts play a prominent if not the dominant, part in shaping policy, the analyst will form his analysis so that it takes account of these political factors. In saying this I do not wish to suggest that there is a crass sell-out of beliefs or a gross distortion of evidence in order to produce politically usable reports and recommendations. Nevertheless, in subtle but significant methods the wish to be relevant powers policy analysis. The most obvious method that this occurs is in failure to press the analysis to those root causes that, at present, are politically unresponsive to change”. Policy analysis not only facilitates a scrupulous policy to be improved upon but an objective report based on faithfully garnered data could augment the acceptability of the policy as well. This increases the chances of political feasibility with regard to any policy. Another method of doing so is through systematic assessment of public preferences and attitudes. The task of the policy analysts helps further improvements in policy.

**Analysts, Beliefs and Perceptions**

The beliefs and inclinations of an individual assigned the task are normally reflected in the job accomplished through him. The same stands true of the policy analysts as well. In social sciences and related applied areas it is widely accepted that beliefs and values perform a special role in defining research questions. In line with the basic human psyche, the analyst’s effort to establish that what they consider is essentially objective and correct. It does not mean that normally what the analysts feel is incorrect or wrong but there are instances when the facts or situations prevailing are contrary to what the
analysts feel as logical and objective, of course, on the basis of their beliefs.

In the words of Rein, “Despite the importance of understanding the professional political creed that guides the choice of research areas, the content of belief systems has been hard to disentangle, and consequently their concrete effects on the interpretation of research findings have not been systematically examined. We have been content to assert that values are significant and to substitute this assertion for an analysis of either the nature of the value complexes which inform research questions or the consequences of holding one or another set of beliefs” The policy analyst’s beliefs and values are therefore reflected in their reports. There necessity be recognized parameters passed on to the analysts for performing the job of analyzes and not leaving enough scope for their values and beliefs to negatively affect the report. As discussed in the preceding text, policy analysis is of crucial importance in the overall process of public policy making, implementation, and evaluation.

**Policy Analysis: An Overview**

We have been discussing in relation to the several important facets of the overall process of public policy. It comprises the basic meaning of public policy, how it is formulated, its implementation mechanism, and the method policy is evaluated. At each and every stage of the policy process, the policy analyst has most striking and significant part to play. In order to create a detailed and systematic examination of any policy, the analysts ought to be fairly clear in relation to the meaning and goals of the policy in consideration. It is the starting point of the analysis. It has been stated that public policies are the outcomes of government’s communal actions, or they are goal-oriented and are positive in the sense that they depict the concern of the government and involve its action to the specific troubles on which policies are made. Policy consists of many decisions that are taken to fulfill its aims. The policy analysis has to take stock of several features of the public policy. These contain: policy making is a intricate and dynamic process, has several
components, dissimilar contributions are made through policy structures, these are mainly formulated through the governmental agencies having some role of non-governmental agencies and factors also at some times. Dissimilar policies of the government could be categorized under separate major types each having a set target area and group to cover. The focus has been on several significant elements in the total process of policy making and implementation. A knowledge of the same as well as the significance of nature of the system of governance and contextual setting of policy making in India; brings home the significant points which the policy analysts can never afford to ignore while undertaking the assignment of analyzing the policies. The policy analyst cannot justify his role of examining policies unless he is thoroughly well aware of the State’s role in public policy process, public policy experience in India, mega and meta policies, etc.

Five basic questions have been raised through policy scientists in relation to the public policy. These are: what choices are made and why; what are the benefits and losses; what variation does money create; what is the impact of policy; and how the policies should be evaluated. The policy analysts take up their job through keenly observing and evaluating role of dissimilar structures and processes involved in the making of policies. There are number of vertical and horizontal linkages in the policy making process. Besides referring to it at length, the governmental structures like: legislature, Cabinet Planning Commission, Finance Commission, and Judiciary, etc. Political executive’s role in identifying policy issues, policy proposals. Correspondingly, the suggestive, informative. Gone are the days when policy making was measured to be the role responsibility of political executive and legislature. The policy analysts have to view the policies in the light of the significance of the role of political executive in policy formulation, role of ruling party, opposition parties, and legislative committees have to be examined through the policy analysts in order to bring forth how a policy virtually came into being. Nature and functions of the judicial system, importance of judiciary in policy making and the implications of judicial pronouncements have an important bearing on policy making and the policy analysis can’t be complete without addressing to
it. How, why and to what extent the political executive, bureaucracy, legislature, and judiciary have interacted concerning any policy has great amount of imprint on the policy made.

In order to understand the policy making process. The contents and analysis in these units bring to light the overall dynamics in policy making. Specific case study has been chosen to have proper understanding of the process of policy making. It is a fact that governmental agencies frame the policies, but the policy analysts have to view which are the compelling and impelling determinants causing power upon the policy makers. The analysis of the policy cannot be made to the point unless the role of major determinants in policy formulated is analyzed. This brings forth the impact and effect of policy on specific targets as impressed upon through the determinants and also the same on common public in direct as well as indirect method.

The policy analyst’s job does not come to an end through examining only the making part of the policy. It has to also analyze in relation to the implementation mechanism and the role played through governmental and non-governmental channels in the same. These have enabled us to know in relation to the analysis dimension of the policies more clearly. To ascertain the impact of the policies and to be conversant in relation to the major evaluating techniques being used through the policy analysts is another major aspect of the policy analysis. Besides, significant models of policy making have been discussed to know how the policy analysis is to be accepted out depending upon the model adhered to in a system at a given point of time.

In a nutshell, it could be said that right from the very beginning to the end of the policy process, all the several facets and dimensions in the policy process are to be taken care of through the policy analysis

POLICY MAKING APPROACHES AND MODELS TO POLICY ANALYSIS
Policy Analysis: Some Propositional Assumptions

Before taking up for discussion certain approaches and models of policy analysis, it would be in order to have some knowledge of policy analysis. Some policy analysts have broadened the term public policy to contain the effects that government actions have upon the masses being served. Some of these effects are explained through the conditions ‘outputs’, ‘outcomes’, or ‘impacts’ of policy. A distinction to this effect flanked by ‘output’, that is, what government does, and outcome, that is, what consequences follow from the outputs has been made through David Easton. Some others have defined the term policy to mean broadly interdicted decisions of the government. Whatever the case may be, public policy continues to be the focal point of both politics and administration in a political system. Both the governors and the governed invest their political possessions either to create changes in the policy or to maintain the status quo. The questions to ask in relation to the policy choices are: whether a given policy is good or bad and if so, in either case, how and in what method. How much would be the cost involved in the implementation of the policy? How several will get benefit of the same? And how several, indirectly or directly, would be at the losing end?

Charles O. Jones in his book, An introduction to the Study of Public Policy, has made certain observations concerning public policy in general. His observations give a good beginning point for consideration of policy analysis. He has termed these observations as “Propositional Assumptions”. Some of the significant ones are:

- Dissimilar people at dissimilar points of times interpret the events in the society in dissimilar methods. Self-interest is always prime for an individual and at every point of time he attempts to discover causes to support his interpretation; regardless whether others think it right or wrong. The “facts” are also interpreted through the persons in dissimilar methods to suit their own ends.
- Several “Troubles” may result from the same event: Problem of unemployment could be a good illustration of this assumption. As a
problem, it is only one but it has its affects on so several events. The life style of the education of children and other dependents, the frustration caused to the person concerned, his attitude towards the society and polity, chances of his becoming anti-social and anti-national, etc., could be a few effects of one scrupulous event or problem.

- People have varying degrees of access to the policy process in government: Affluent groups and organizations have more and rather easy access to the policy making as well as implementing process in the government. These groups do possess the strength to power the government machinery in one method or the other. Contrary to it, a large number of citizens do not have either organised groups or sources of power and strength with them to have an access to the policy process. How their genuine and deserving demands and needs are to reach the concerned formulators and executors of policies is a major problem.

- At the same time the government is always working to discover methods to reduce the power of overly powerful groups so that it could formulate the policies in the interest of all.

- Government does not act on all public troubles: John Dewey in his book, The Public and its Troubles, has said that any transaction flanked by private individuals that has perceived indirect consequences for others is a public problem. Whether or not it is acted upon through the government depends upon the desire and skill of those indirectly affected to obtain government action. In the words of Thomas R. Dye, “Public Policy is whatever the government chooses to do or not to do”. The question arises that how and through which means the government could ensure to have on its policy making agenda the troubles which are directly or indirectly being confronted especially through those large segments of the citizens who belong to the weaker sections and are not organised.

- Government acts on several private troubles: In case a person does not have money to buy petrol it is his personal problem. But if he has the
money and the government is unable to ensure adequate supply and availability of petrol for a longer period it becomes a public problem. Making policies because of the power of powerful and organised vested groups to suit their ends alone would mean that the government is formulating policy which would solve private problem rather than public troubles. Instances to this effect could be so several. For instance, rising the purchase price of sugarcane to help the concerned groups, delicensing a scrupulous item, etc., are the cases which, instead of solving, make troubles because such policies deal with sorting out private troubles.

- Most troubles are not solved through the government though several are acted on through it: There is no denying the fact that the present day governments are grappling with highly intricate troubles and invariably there are no fool-proof or permanent alternatives to solve these troubles. The governments have proliferated in innumerable areas for dealing with these troubles. For that it neither has the possessions nor the required trained. This leads to further adding to the unsuccessful or failure of policies having been enacted through the government:

- Policy makers are not faced with a given problem: Charles Lindblom in his book, The Policy Making Process, has said that the policy formulators do not have presented before them the problem in a defined manner. The result is that in the wake of solving a scrupulous problem a number of other troubles stem out or a scrupulous problem may be there because of some other direct or indirect causes and obviously the result won’t be effective unless the root causes are touched upon. For the purpose of illustration the problem of controlling the riots or disturbances in some parts of the country could be taken up. Simply through making the policy of how to check or curb the riots or terrorists activities would not go a long method unless the real issues which have posed this problem are dealt with. These could be: unemployment, poverty, rising inflation, high expectations and desires, etc.
Troubles and demands are constantly being defined and redefined in the policy process: Change is the law of nature. The troubles and demands which are before a group of individuals today may be changed after some time. More development, high expectations, more awareness on the part of the less influential today may compel the government to redefine its policies. It is a constant process. For a very long period of time the policies once framed and implemented could not produce required results. It is rather obligatory on the part of the policy makers to adjust their sights accordingly. The policies should never be made in haste. Each policy demand and public problem necessity be analyzed thoroughly for reaching at a scrupulous decision through the policy. To this an effect, policy makers should not describe troubles for the people who have not defined troubles for themselves; and

- Policy systems have a bias: Wherever the individuals would be involved their inclinations, biases, etc. are bound to be reflected. The policy systems are also run through the individuals. They are no super human beings. They all have their biases for and against something’s. These biases get reflected in the policies being enacted and the results are not as positive as ought to be. It could be checked upon in case there is objective policy analysis made through putting to use dissimilar methods and means for the purpose.

The “Propositional assumptions” made through Charles Jones enable us to understand the dynamism of policy making and policy analysis. These observations would help us a lot to understand dissimilar approaches and models of policy making discussed in the after that sections.

**Approaches To Policy Analysis**

We have discussed the meaning and importance of approaches in the earlier text. Before referring to several approaches to policy analysis, it would be in the fitness of the things to refer to certain elements which should be
standard characteristics of a policy formulating method. It would help us understand the dynamics of several policy making approaches and models discussed in the succeeding subsections. Yehezkel Dror has listed nine such elements in his book referred to earlier. These are:

- There should be some clarification of values, objectives, and criteria for decision making.
- The method should contain identifying the alternatives, with an effort to consider new alternatives (through surveying comparative literature, experience, and accessible theories) and to stimulate making of many alternatives.
- The method should contain preliminary estimating of expected payoffs from the several alternatives, and deciding whether a strategy of minimal risk or of innovation is preferable.
- If the first, the incremental-change model should be followed. If the latter, the after that step is establishing a cutoff horizon for considering the possible results of the alternative policies, and identifying the major expected results, relying on accessible knowledge and on intuition.
- Analysis of the alternatives should deal with both quantitative (“economic”) and qualitative (“political”) factors, in order to overcome the limitations of current systems analysis and advance toward policy analysis.
- The method should contain an effort to decide whether the issue is significant enough to create more comprehensive analysis worthwhile.
- Theory and experience, rationality and extra rationality, will all be relied upon; the composition of the mix necessity depend upon their several availabilities and on the nature of the problem.
- Explicit techniques, such as simulation and the Delphi method, should be used as distant as they are appropriate, and knowledge from several disciplines should be brought to bear on the issues involved.
- The method should contain explicit arrangements to improve the policy making through systematic learning from experience,
stimulating initiative and creativity, developing the staff, and encouraging intellectual effort.

For analyzing the policies in a better and systematic manner, the following approaches could go a long method. Martin Rein in the book, ‘Social Science and Public Policy’ has referred to the approaches to policy analysis. In order to understand the same in more clear conditions, let us discuss it in a dissimilar method through giving dissimilar headings to the approaches mentioned through him.

**Historical Approach**

Public policies are formulated and implemented in a system which has its own environment and culture. The formulators always create the policies which in one method or the other exhibit their keenness to resolve an issue and to satisfy the rising demands of the public to that effect. The examination of a policy in historical perspective definitely amounts to possible results or outcomes which the policy will have. Let us suppose that a policy was formulated twenty years ago and people had reacted to it very sharply. If similar policy is formulated or has been enacted, it is going to meet the same fate. An instance to this can be the family planning policy implemented through the Congress-I before January 1977 and after 1980, when the party came to power again after remaining out of it for three years.

Detailed knowledge in relation to the policy issues, questions, and troubles are not cumulative in a scientific sense, partly because the troubles are intractable and also because the environment changes and the old alternatives do not fit well in the new circumstances. It is a widely accepted fact that no single policy or programme could be a success in isolation from others as well as from the accepted norms and values prevalent in the society for a long period of time. The policy needs to be analyzed in historical perspective in order to create out clearly the possible impact and outcome of a given policy.
**Functional Approach**

On analyzing the purposes of legislation, we normally discover that the political and ideological objectives, and the goals of public policy, are open to several interpretations. Ambiguity seems to be essential for agreement. In Rein’s words, “When the purposes of policy are unclear and incompatible, each successive stage in the process of implementation gives a new context in which further clarification is sought”. One of the consequences of passing ambiguous and inconsistent legislation is to shift the arena of decision to a lower stage. The lack of consensus is resolved at the stage of everyday practice, through the concrete actions taken through administrators and practitioners. Hence an analysis of practice necessity be combined with the study of policy. Indeed, the goals of programmes can often be understood best not from formal statements of legislative intent but from everyday practice. So programmes that appear dissimilar may be similar, while programmes that are likewise structured or planned may actually differ in their consequences.

**Investigative-Substitutive Approach**

The study of public policy is basically concerned with the range of human needs and the political institutions created to meet them. Yet there is no agreed and adequate definition of need, and much confusion prevails in relation to the distinction flanked by need, preference and political troubles. Moreover, the institutional arrangements meeting these needs through policies seem infinitely varied and have rapid rate of growth. What is accepted in one decade as truth may be challenged in another. In analyzing a policy an effort has to be made to trace its uncertain objectives in a systematic manner. Public policy sometimes has multiple, conflicting and ambiguous objectives. The effort to clarify the aims of public policy and the method in which conflicting objectives are recognized through those who implement it is a useful method of formulating good questions in relation to the plans for the future. Further policy is after all partly a redefinition of either political objectives or the constraints which inhibit the implementation of objectives already held. Because this is so, it follows that it necessity be hard to discover what the
governmental institutions are trying to attain and whether its present arrangements facilitate the accomplishment of these evolving goals. The goals as given should not be accepted, it is necessary to scrutinize it in light of inputs, outputs and outcomes.

The thrust should always be on investigating the policy in the light of its goals, objectives and outcomes. Simply treating the question of the purpose as resolved would lead to a type of bias in favour of or against the policy. The purpose, therefore, should be treated as unresolved and efforts made to discover out the facts for substituting in the policy for ushering improvements required to that effect.

**Innovative Approach**

Political, administrative, and economic constraints coupled with changing social circumstances and conflicting objectives of the policy restrain its development. It is a fact that a policy gets formulated because of the compromise in the middle of contending interests, purposes, and goals to contain the contradictions and limitations and this gives it the political acceptability. Normally, it is witnessed that the policies are executed as per the recognized pattern and manners. Not only this, having the bases of the same, the policies are analyzed and evaluated too. Hardly one discovers the uniqueness in the system of analyzing the policies. Depending upon the variables, viz., functions, sectors, location, etc., involved, the policy analysis should be made. Careful, determined, and purposeful redesigning of the public policy formulating mechanism has to be made use of. As per Martin Rein, “when long-term treatment is the orthodox and accepted model, the importance of short-term services needs to be re-emphasized. When a good deal of attention is paid to diagnosis, one should balance this through stressing concrete services when community care and deinstitutionalization become the accepted ideology of the helping professions, the benefits of institutional care need to be reassessed”. The examples stated through Rein reveal what is being done presently for analyzing the policies and what needs to be done in an
innovative and unique manner whereby the best of the results could be achieved.

Whatsoever the case or strategy may be, one thing is very clear that for the purpose of analyzing a policy one has to adhere to a systematic method and adopt the best appropriate approach and method for doing it, of course, depending upon the situational, environmental structural, and functional variables.

Models Of Policy Making

Policy analysis encourages practitioners and scholars to critical policy issues with the tools of systematic inquiry. There is an implied assumption in policy analysis that developing scientific knowledge in relation to the forces shaping public policy and the consequences of the policy are socially relevant activities, and such analysis is a prerequisite to prescription, advocacy, and activism. Thomas Dye in his book, Understanding Public Policy, has stated that precisely policy analysis involves: a) A primary concern with explanation rather than prescription; b) A rigorous search for the causes and consequences or public policies; and c) An effort to develop and test general propositions in relation to the causes and consequences of public policy and to accumulate reliable research findings of general relevance. The policy scientists have created theories and models to help them understand and explain the policy making process. Although most of these models have been developed for the purpose of policy making, yet they can easily be depended upon for the purpose of policy analysis. Following the widely accepted conceptual scheme of Thomas Dye, Policy Models can be conveniently classified into the following types.

Group Theoretic Model

According to group theory, interaction and thrash about in the middle of dissimilar societal groups is the central facet of political life. Group is a
collectivity of individuals distinguished through some common attribute or shared relationship. Groups are categorized in several dissimilar methods. A formal or organized group, such as political party or interest group, has recognized goals and structures, affecting group interaction. Conversely, a group which is informal lacks such explicit goals and organizational structure.

Group theory is an approach which seeks to explain political behavior primarily through the study of the nature and interaction of social as well as political groups. It is often associated with process and equilibrium analysis that offer systemic approaches to the study of group objectives, the balancing of group interests, and the process of adjustment. As per this theory, public policy is the product of group thrash about. Individuals having common interests and demands join hands with each other as a formal or informal group to get the policies made through the governments as appropriate to their ends. David Truman in his book, The Governmental Process, has said that “An interest group is a shared-attitude group that creates certain claims upon other groups in the society and it becomes political when it creates a claim through or upon the institutions of government”.

On the basis of the equilibrium reached at in the thrash about of several groups prominently occupied in the policy process, the public policies are formulated. From the group theory point of view, the public policy has been termed as — what may be called public policy is the equilibrium reached in the group thrash about at any given moment, and it represents a balance which the contending factions or groups constantly strive to tip in their favour. The legislature referees the group thrash about, ratifies the victories of the successful coalitions, and records the conditions of surrenders, compromises and consequents in the form of statutes. Every statute tends to represent compromises because the process of accommodating conflicts of group interests is one of the deliberations and consent. According to Latham, “The legislative vote on any issue tends to represent the composition of strength, that is, the balance of power in the middle of agencies of the regulatory type and are recognized to carry out the conditions of treatise that the legislators have negotiated and ratified”.
Group theory aims at viewing all important political activity with regard to group thrash about. Policy formulators are termed as succumbing to pressures of groups through bargaining, negotiating and compromising. Another significant dimension of the group thrash about is the maintenance of equilibrium in the system. The competition in the middle of groups does not permit any group to become absolutely powerful in a system for all times. They keep on checking the activities of each other. As mentioned earlier, the groups are activities of individuals on the basis of shared attitudes and interests, who create claims on other societal groups. Public policy, in such a context, is some sort of equilibrium reached in the group thrash about at any given moment. The interests of dominant groups are usually reflected in public policy at any point of time. In the jostling for power, groups gain and lose power. In this ongoing process of group thrash about, public policy gets attention in favour of the interests of those gaining power against the interest of those losing power.

**Elite Theoretic Model**

Briefly stated, as per this model, public policy is the product of elites, reflecting their values and serving their ends. Essentially, what this model postulates is that the society is divided into the few who have power and the several who do not have it. Policy, in this social set-up, is not determined through the people or the masses. It is the ruling elite which decides public policy and which is then accepted out through the bureaucracy. Through implication, so, public policy tends to flow from the top, and usually does not move up from the bottom. Also, changes in public policy are often incremental rather than revolutionary.

As mentioned above, public policy, examined from the dimensions of Elite theory, can be termed as the linking’s and choices of a governing elite in a given politico- administrative system. Elite theory is a body of thought aimed at explaining the nature and role of those groups in the society in which
decision-making power is highly concentrated. Mosca, in his book, The Ruling Class, has said that in all societies — from the meagerly developed having barely attained the drawings of civilization to the most advanced and powerful societies — two classes of people appear — a class that rules and a class that is being ruled. The former class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the latter, the most numerous class is directed and controlled through the former, in a manner that is more or less legal, more or less arbitrary and violent and supplies the former, in appearance, at least, with material means of survival and with the instrumentalities that are essential to the validity of political organism. Every society has elite competing with each other for power which ultimately paves its method to formulate public policy.
Finer in his book, Theory and Practice of Modern Government has illustrated the elite position in a political system through the simile of an orange:

![Diagram of an orange with water line, governing elite, and counter elite]

The explanation of the above figure is that the orange with its skin on behalf of the elite of society, floats in water; that portion of the skin that is above the waterline represents the governing elite, and the segments which it cover represents those ' associations in society which have succeeded in competition to have their leadership participate or hold office in the government. All those segments under the water-line, though, represent those associations which have lost this competition, and whose policies are temporarily being subordinated to those of the victorious ones, and the portions of peel that cover them represent, for society as a whole, the counter-elite that seeks to displace the governing elite at any point of time.

Elite theory has been summarized through Thomas Dye and Harmon Zeigler in their book, ‘The Irony of Democracy’, as follows:

- Society is divided into the few who have power and the several who do not. Only a small number of persons allocate values for society; the masses do not decide policy.
- The few who govern are not typical of the masses that are governed. Elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper socio-economic strata of society.
The movement of non-elites to elite positions necessity be slow and continuous to maintain stability and avoid revolution. Only non-elites who have accepted the basic elite consensus can be admitted to governing circles.

- Elites share a consensus on the basic values of the social system and the preservation of the system.
- Public policy does not reflect demands of the masses but rather the prevailing values of the elite. Changes in public policy will be incremental rather than revolutionary. Incremental changes permit responses to events that threaten a social system with a minimum of alteration or dislocation of the system.
- Active elites are subject to relatively little direct power from apathetic masses. Elites power masses more than masses power elites.

It becomes clear from the elite theory that it is a competition flanked by the elites in power and the counter-elites, attempting to come to power, and the common masses, on whose demands the public policies are formulated, are nowhere in determining the public policies. The policies are formulated through ruling elite and the governmental officials and agencies carry those into effect.

**Incremental Model**

The incremental model is associated with the names of Charles Lindblom and David Braybrook. It draws attention to many real-life constraints on public administration like time, cost, information, and politics. As Lindblom points out, the prescribed functions and constraints of the public administrators "restrict their attention to relatively few values and relatively few alternative policies" Policy making, from this viewpoint, is conceived realistically as marginal and uncoordinated adjustments in situations of conflicting demands and interests and in the fear of unforeseen consequences that are likely to flow out of actual division.

Policy makers in the actual world of administration have to start with
already existing programmes and budgetary allocations. To let them try to do is to add to or modify what already exists. The incremental approach, therefore, presents a picture of successive limited comparisons in the background of historically evolved chain of past decisions which, under practical circumstances, cannot be thrown overboard. Past decisions are more often than not accepted as the basis of future choices.

The popularity of the incremental model is due to the fact that it usually fits well with what actually goes on in government and, so, conforms to real life administrative situations. In the words of Charles Lindblom, "Democracies change their policies approximately entirely through incremental adjustments. Policy does not move in leaps and bounds". It goes without saying that analysis of policy issue is also shaped through the analyst's search of solutions which have political feasibility. Behind the analysis of political feasibility, rests the belief system of the policy analyst concerning the process through which there is going to be change or swift in the policies. This has its power on the type of analysis pursued. Instrumentalism is the most dominant mode of thought on this subject. Martin Rein, in his book, Social Science and Public Policy, while, commenting upon political feasibility and change in policies has said that, The concept of political feasibility is often closely associated with a thought of incremental change. The theory of disjointed instrumentalism holds that, in the end, muddling and compromise are the only rational approaches to the management of conflicting multiple and ambiguous goals. The increment lists see resistance to change not as stupidity but as the muffled rationality which is the outcome of political bargaining". Lindblom has acknowledged that the chances are there when through instrumentalism the significant policy alternatives are being overlooked. In his words, “The individuals are free to combine to pursue approximately any possible common interest they may have”. It could lead to the point that the values having been put to neglect through a scrupulous set of policy framers have the possibility of being measured through another. He further states “without claiming that every interest has a sufficiently powerful watchdog, it can be argued that our system can assure a more comprehensive regard for the values of the whole than any
effort at intellectual comprehensiveness”.

The point is widely accepted that instrumentalism describes the reality, although public policies at times substantively do break with the past. Instrumentalism has been criticized on the count that the troubles being encountered through the governments are so crucial and critical in nature that the changes brought in the policies through instrumentalism are not enough to cope with the same. It is felt that what is required is innovation. To this effect, Yehezkel Dror, in this book, Public Policy Re-examined, has said, “A sudden transformation of the public policy making system is not possible; neither I am advocating one. Improving public policy making necessity be a continuing Endeavour, requiring sustained effort in excess of a long period. The most harmful effect of the incremental-change argument (which devices the possibility that important improvement could be made in public policy making through some innovative jumps) is that it paralyzes efforts, and therefore tends to be self-fulfilling prophecy.

Granted the difficulties exist, what we need is an even stronger effort to overcome them. The difficulties of the troubles faced through public policy making create improvements in it necessary, and the knowledge we are now developing creates such improvements possible; we necessity therefore mobilize energy needed to carry out these difficulties”

Institutional Model

Public policies are formulated and executed through institutions. Institution is a recognized pattern of human behavior consisting of structured interaction within a framework of relevant values. The institutions not only constitute a crucial and important juncture for policy making but also determine the formulation or adoption of policies, its possible content and directions, and the exact as well as the probable trends and contours that a body of similar or related policies acquire. In the words of Louis Koeing, in his book, An Introduction to Public Policy, “The attendance of an array of
potent interacting institutions, capable of checking each other elevates the need for compromise and test the political skills of their incumbents. Institutions with their greater and lesser positions of authority and power and their career ladders cause policy-makers to emphasize thoughts of personal advancement in both the executive and legislative branches in disposing of policy issues”.

An institution like the legislature or the judiciary can be conceptualized as a set of regularized patterns of human behavior persisting in excess of time. Political life usually revolves round the governmental institutions such as the political parties, the legislatures and so on. The institutionalism approach in political sciences lays emphasis on the formal or structural characteristics of institutions. The regularized patterns of behavior that are manifest in rules, regulations and structures affect governmental decision-making and public policy formulation.

What the institutionalism model does is that it draws our attention to the pivotal role of institutions in the shaping and making of public policy. Such institutional structures and procedures are found in practice to have an important impact on public policy; these should not be ignored in any exercise in public policy analysis. As mentioned above, the emphasis of the institutional model is approximately exclusively on the formal characteristics of government and politics. Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus in their book, The Development of American Political Science, have described it “as a routine description and pedestrian analysis of formal political structures and processes based on more readily accessible official sources and records”. Attention ranges from constitution and other basic documents on which government is supposed to rest through, the structure of parliament, cabinet or presidency and courts, to the rules through which political parties are run. In old times, the institutional model had the basis of the formal and legal ‘affairs of governmental bodies and concentrated on the formal organizations, legal powers and jurisdictions, rule of law, etc., of the governmental institutions. With the passage of time, The policy scientists started emphasizing on the
application of scientific methods and perspectives to the study of politics and governments. It focused on the actual behavior of individuals and groups rather than their formal roles in the institutions and structures within which they operate. In the 1960s an intellectual movement in political science was started and asserted the obligation of political scientists to become more relevant and concerned with the values and to use their special knowledge to improve society. The developments, from time to time, shifted the attention from studying the formal organizational structure of the governmental institutions to concentrate on the behavior of the actors involved in the game and on realism rather than formalism.

Institutionalism has a deep bearing on public policies because the policies are formulated and implemented through several institutions of the government. Institutionalism can be usefully put to use for policy analysis. There is a feeling that when the institutions and public policies have that great interrelationship then if the institutional structure changes would the public policies also change. We should not forget that the institutional structure and public policies are within a given environment having a culture, set of traditions and values of its own, so, as distant the environmental factors don’t change, the public policies won’t undergo any considerable change.

**Rational Model**

This model is distant more sophisticated than the earlier ones. It is an efficiency maximization model which postulates calculation of policy efficiency (hence rationality) on the basis of all social, economic and political values achieved and/or sacrificed through the adjudication of public policy. In framing a policy, all relevant values have, so, to be explicitly measured and sacrifices of some values necessity be more than compensated through the attainment of some other values. This looks like calculating the ‘costs and ‘benefits’ of division which the economists are used to in assessing the cost benefit analysis.
Herbert Simon, whose name is associated with the rational model, talks of there types of activities incorporated in the policy-making process: intelligence activity, design activity, and choice activity. To quote Simon from his book, The New Science of Management Decision, “The first stage of decision-making process — searching the environment for circumstances calling for decision — I shall call intelligence activity (borrowing the military meaning of intelligence). The second stage — inventing, developing, and analyzing possible courses of action — I shall call design activity. The third stage — selecting a scrupulous course of action from those accessible — I shall call choices activity”.

The Simonian model is clearly a process model indicating the discrete steps that are taken in the course of policy formulation. Critics of Simon have pointed out the practical difficulties facing an administrator in an actual decision-making situation. The constraints, as pointed out through Lindblom, in conditions of information, time and fund, are posed as real limitations on rationality. Hence, a common criticism against the rationalist model has been that it is unrealistic as it does not quite fit in with the actual goings-on in administration. Still, this model has proved attractive because of its neatness and amenability to quantitative representation. In the present computer age, the Simon model has inspired data and information based decision-making which is steadily gaining the popularity.

**Game Theoretic Model**

Gaming is a body of thought which deals with rational decision strategies in situations of disagreement and competition, where each participant or player seeks to maximize gains and minimize losses. In it the strategy and decisions of one actor depends on the strategy or decisions of the others in the competitive situations. This theory assumes rationality on the part of players in ranking their preferences, estimating probabilities and determining the expectations that each has in relation to the other choices. In their book, Theory of Games and Economic behavior, Von Neumann and Morgenstern
have introduced the game theory. Game situations may be described as “two persons zero sum”, in which one player’s gain equals the other’s loss; “two persons-nonzero sum” in which many players are involved and the losses necessity equal gains; and “n-person- non-zero sum” wherein losses and gains in the middle of many players may not be equal. Gaming relies heavily on the use of mathematical models of decision-making.

In the study of international relations, the game theoretic model of decision-making has been, quite popular in situations of regional and international conflicts and arms race. As Dye has pointed out, in his book, ‘Understanding Public Policy’, “game theory is an abstract and educative model of policy making. It does not describe how people actually create decisions, but rather how they would go in relation to the making decisions in competitive situations if they were totally rational. Therefore game theory is a form of rationalizing but it is applied in competitive situations in which the outcome depends on what two or more participants do”.

In a policy making situation, the applicability of this model is rather limited yet, it is helpful in a situation of competitive decision-making, as in a committee system. It is applicable to policy making where no independently ‘best’ choice exists and the ‘best’ outcomes depend on what others do.

**Systems Theoretic Model**

Scientific politics can develop only if the materials of politics are treated in conditions of systems of actions. According to Abraham Kaplan, from his book, American Ethics and Public Policy, “a system of action is a set of variables so related, in contradictions to its environment, that desirable behavioral regularities characterize the internal relationships of the set of individual variables to combinations of external variables”. The utility of systems theory in conditions of public policy formulation and analysis cannot be minimized because it helps us to know the process. Simultaneously, it cautions us to probe into certain relevant points to know the manner in which,
as per James Anderson, in his book, Public Policy Making, “environmental inputs affect the content of public policy and the nature of political system; public policy affects the environment and subsequently demands for action; forces or factors in the environment act to generate demands upon the political system; political system is able to convert demands into public policy and preserve itself overtime”. Systems theory treats politics as a set of interactions occurring within, but analytically separate from the larger social environment. The ‘Dynamic Response Model’ of David Easton, as shown in the figure creates the interaction flanked by dissimilar variables and also the significance of the feedback clear.

Fig. “Model of a Political System"
This model is associated with the name of David Easton. In his view, public policy is conceived as the response of a political system to demands coming out of the environment. According to Easton, the political system represents those identifiable and interrelated institutions and activities in a society that create decisions which are binding on society. Demands and supports from the environment flow into the political system as inputs. Demands are claims of individuals and groups on the political system for public action to satisfy their interests. Support is rendered when individuals and groups accept the decisions and actions of the political system that are made in response to demands. Environment, in this Eastonian scheme, stands for all those circumstances and events external to the boundaries of the political system.

In conditions of this model, the administrative allocation of values constitute public policy. There is a concept of feedback in this model which designates that public policies may later change the environment and the demands generated therein. Policy outputs are likely to generate fresh demands which will lead to further policy outputs. So, there is a never ending flow of public policy making.

This is highly generalised model of the political system which has been utilised through policy scientists for understanding the policy making processes. Though, it does not shed light on what goes on within the “black box” called the political system. In other words, it tells very little in relation to the how decisions are actually taken in
government.

Some well accepted models of policy making have been discussed in the preceding text. Policy science has always resorted to metaphors, to the device of proceeding from the recognized to the unknown. There has been criticism of models in general and also of each specific model. Those who criticise the use of models need to understand that they too necessity use them. The choice, in obvious conditions, is not flanked by models and no models, but flanked by a critical consciousness of their use and an uncritical acceptance.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Explain major dimensions of policy analysis.
- Explain the meaning and significance of policy analysis.
- Discuss dissimilar approaches to policy analysis.
- Describe several models of policy making.
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