

**Working Paper 221**

**Policy Processes:  
An Annotated Bibliography on Policy Processes,  
with Particular Emphasis on India**

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## Introduction

This bibliography is meant for people who are interested in policy processes. The focus is primarily on *public* policy processes. Although individuals, private associations, cooperatives etc. may also have policies, we concentrate on policy processes involving the state or the government. The bibliography contains 132 entries on policy processes generally, and another 64 on India. Almost two thirds of the 196 entries are annotated. All entries have keywords and there is an index of keywords at the end.

A first draft of this bibliography came out in November 2002. Subsequently, several people have made suggestions for books, articles and papers to be included. Some people have even sent us long bibliographies on related themes. We would like to thank them all very much. We could not accommodate all these suggestions, but there is no doubt they were helpful.

The process to select what to include and what not was sometimes difficult. It is obvious that it is impossible to be exhaustive in a bibliography like this one. The literature is simply too vast. Moreover, there are too many subjects bordering on the subject of policy processes and this complicates the selection procedure. There is a lot of literature, for instance, dealing with how to do policy analysis. We have included some of the more recent books on this subject. With regard to India, there is a lot of literature on political processes that is relevant for the study of policy processes but that does not deal with policy *per se*. That body of literature is not included, but we do include some entries dealing with Indian bureaucracy and corruption. We have imposed some limits on the number of entries per author. Generally, when authors have written several pieces dealing with the same dimensions of the same policy process, we included only one of these writings. Nevertheless, despite these sometimes arbitrary choices, we think the bibliography contains many of the important writings on the subject, and we hope it will be useful as a reference guide.

### The study of policy processes

The term ‘policy process’ is based on the notion that policies are formulated and implemented in particular social and historical contexts, and that these contexts matter – for which issues are put on the policy agenda, for the shape of policies and policy institutions, for budget allocations, for the implementation process and for the outcome of the policies. The idea of ‘policy process’ stands opposed to that of ‘policy as prescription’, which assumes that policies are the result of a rational process of problem identification by a benevolent agency (usually the state).<sup>1</sup> While the ‘policy as prescription’ approach is still important – both in much of the public administration literature as well as in the heads of many policy-makers – there is a fast expanding body of literature that analyses, explains or conceptualises the process dimensions of policy. This literature is a blend of political science, sociology and anthropology. It does not assume that policies are ‘natural phenomena’ or ‘automatic solutions’ resulting from particular social problems and it does not privilege the state as an actor fundamentally different from other social actors. The why, how and by whom questions are treated as empirical questions; it is only concrete empirical research that can generate the answers. It is this body of literature that is included in this bibliography.

The growth of this body of literature is relatively recent. There are several older studies which fall into this description (and therefore in between the disciplines of political science and public administration), but the wider interest in this subject matter and these kinds of questions is a

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<sup>1</sup> See Mackintosh (1992) about ‘policy as process’ and ‘policy as prescription’.

relatively recent phenomenon of, say, the last 15–20 years. It would be interesting to investigate the reasons behind the rise of this new sub-discipline. It is likely that it has to do with the changing ideas about the role of the state, and the declining faith in planning and in the malleability of society. In the wake of the neo-liberal upsurge came an increasing emphasis on (good) governance. After all, and quite ironically, the successful implementation of reform policies depends on a capable state – even though the ideology stresses a reduced role of the state. This could well have led to more studies on and interest in policies as processes. It is impossible, however, in the context of this introduction, to explore the rise of this literature further. But it is noteworthy that the study of policy processes in developing countries is partly stimulated by international donors and research institutions closely linked to development aid agencies and donors. In Britain, for instance, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS, Sussex) and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI, London) are producing interesting work on policy processes in developing countries – a lot of it funded by the Department for International Development. A recently initiated project is the ‘Bridging Research and Policy Project’, set up by the Global Development Network and meant to increase the use and usefulness of social science for (development) policy-making.<sup>2</sup> In India, three new research and training centres have been set up recently to stimulate work on policy processes, all with the help of international money.<sup>3</sup> There is no doubt that international donors are trying to stimulate work on governance and policy processes.

Generally, and notwithstanding the activities of development-focused institutes such as the IDS or ODI and the funds released by donors to stimulate more work in developing countries such as India, the more theoretical literature on policy processes is dominated by examples and scholars from the United States, rather than by examples and scholars from developing countries, or, indeed, any other country. An ordinary literature search for ‘policy process’ will yield many more studies on the US, or inspired by US policy examples, than on any other country.<sup>4</sup>

An important question is, hence, to what extent this literature is relevant for a study of policy processes in developing countries – including India. There appears to be only one article addressing this question specifically, a paper by Horowitz, from 1989. His view is that the process – ‘the constraints, the ripe moments that produce innovation, the tendency for policy to have unanticipated consequences and so on’ (p. 197) – has many similarities in developed and developing countries, but that there are also some important differences. These have to do with the basic characteristics of the environment in which policy is made. The legitimacy of many Third World regimes is problematic, and this means that, on top of their other objectives, policies are often also meant to enhance regime legitimacy. The main scope and concerns of policies differ between western and non-western countries, and the balance of powers between state and society is often more tilted towards the state in developing countries, even though the capacity to implement policies effectively is often less.

This idea that there are differences but also similarities is also the idea behind the present bibliography. Conceptualising policy as a process means an explicit acknowledgement of the importance of the social and historical context in which policy is shaped and implemented. The immediate implication is that policy processes are likely to vary from context to context, i.e. across countries, across political systems or across policy areas. Nevertheless, it may be that some of the more general literature that deals with how we should look at policy bargaining, policy networks, windows of opportunity, policy discourses, etc. is relevant across these different social and

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2 This project led to another annotated bibliography: Vibe et al (2002).

3 These centres are the Centre for Law and Governance (part of the Jawaharlal Nehru University), the Centre for Public Policy and Governance (related to the Delhi-based Institute of Applied Manpower Research) and the Centre for Public Policy (part of the Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore). The first two have received money from the Ford Foundation; the last one from UNDP.

4 When the search term is ‘reform process’, the result is a bit different, but there is no doubt that the bulk of studies on policy/reform processes focuses on the developed part of the world.

historical settings. It is particularly this body of literature that deals with general conceptualisations of policy processes that is included in this bibliography.

Within India, the study of policy processes is not very well-developed. This is so, despite the fact that many Indian social scientists are involved in policy relevant research and aim to contribute, through debate and research, to policy formulation and implementation. These debates are, however, almost entirely dominated by economists, and insights from other social sciences have hardly entered into them. There are very few political scientists, sociologists or anthropologists focusing on public policies. As a result, some aspects of policy studies are relatively well-developed (such as measuring policy effects), but others much less. The issues and questions, for instance, of why policies are formulated and designed in particular ways in the first place, and the political shaping of policies 'on the ground', do not receive much attention. There are exceptions, of course, to this generalisation, and this bibliography contains some of the literature on aspects of policy processes in India.

The purpose of this bibliography is particularly to stimulate more work on policy processes in India. It was one of the outcomes of the 'Comparative Studies of Public Policy Processes' project that was funded by the Ford Foundation and implemented by the Centre for Economic and Social Studies in Hyderabad. The idea behind this project and this bibliography is that policy processes deserve more serious attention than they get at present in India, and our objective is to stimulate the development of empirically-informed insights and theories regarding these processes. Such studies would not only enrich the political science discipline, but also the on-going policy debates. The study of policy processes can offer useful and strategic insights into why and how policies are formulated and implemented, and succeed or fail. They shed light on the multiple implementation problems, but also on the strategic choices and options, the necessity for support/coalition building, and how this could possibly be done. In other words, studies of policy processes highlight not only the constraints, but also the opportunities and incentives, which one needs to understand in order to make use of them.

## **The literature on policy processes**

The literature on policy processes is varied in several ways. First, there are studies meant primarily to enhance our understanding, and there are contributions meant primarily to improve policy-making processes (for instance, to make them more participatory or democratic, or to increase the possible role of knowledge). Second, some contributions aim to enhance our general (conceptual, theoretical) understanding of policy processes, while others analyse particular case studies. Third, there is variation regarding the phase within the policy process that is particularly studied. This could be the process of agenda-setting, budgeting, implementation, etc. Fourth, there are significant epistemological differences within the literature. Some contributions are based on positivist assumptions, but there is also an increasingly strong postpositivist (sometimes postmodernist) body of thought, emphasising the social construction of policy problems, the importance of meaning-giving practices and the crucial role of language and discourse in policy processes.

A few themes are particularly important in the literature. The first is the critique of the linear model of the policy process. The linear model assumes that the policy process consists of various subsequent stages: agenda-setting, policy formulation, implementation, evaluation, etc. This model has been dominant throughout the 1970s and the 1980s (deLeon, 1999:23). It often goes together with an idea that the policy *decision* is the key moment in the policy process. Once the decision is made, there is just execution or implementation. This implementation can be successful or not, but in case of (partial) failure, the blame is put on 'bottlenecks', 'political interference' or 'lack of political will', in any case external factors that have nothing to do with the 'policy proper', i.e. the

decision. This model has been criticised by a number of policy scholars, and alternatives have been developed which emphasise that policy is contested at all levels or stages.

A second theme is that actors interact and bargain with each other, and thereby produce a particular (albeit temporary) policy outcome. Actors can be individuals, pursuing their own material interest, or they can be collective (interest groups). There are various ways in which this interaction has been conceptualised: in terms of rational self-interested actors, or in terms of policy networks, pluralist interest groups or policy interfaces. All these approaches illustrate the fact that policy processes are inherently political, because they stress interactions between people, social mobilisation and pursuance of ideas and interests. People with more power (money, skills, networks, etc.) are more likely to get things done in their way than people with less power.

A third theme in the literature is that policy discourses are important. Discourses can be defined as:

‘ensemble[s] of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to phenomena. Discourses frame certain problems; that is to say, they distinguish some aspects of a situation rather than others’ (Hajer, 1993:45).

Discourses, thus, are thought and speech constructions that define the world in particular ways. They may be the product of individuals, but they are fundamentally social (and political) phenomena. There are important power questions related to discourses, such as: who has the power to define what, and what is the social basis of ideas? The literature focuses on sociological aspects (discourse coalitions) and also on the ‘techniques’ of policy discourses (the labels, metaphors and other stylistic devices, policy narratives, etc.) This body of literature is primarily western. In the Indian policy process literature there is very little attention to the role of language in policy-making.

A fourth theme – and this theme is especially important in the literature on India – is the role of politicians and political parties in policy processes. Electoral populism is often important in policy-making – and even when this is not the case, issues of regime/party legitimacy are often crucial in policy-making processes. Policy implementation is often shaped by party-building concerns.

This, obviously, is just a very brief sketch of the literature. We hope this bibliography will be useful, not only in helping people to find their way in this body of literature, but also to stimulate more work on various aspects of policy processes, in India or elsewhere.

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# 1 General Literature on Policy Processes

## 1.1 Books

### 1. Anderson, James E. (2000)

***Public Policy-making: An Introduction*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York**

*K: policy stages, USA*

In this book the policy process is conceptualised as a sequence of functional activities, starting with problem identification and agenda-setting and concluding with evaluation and termination, modification or continuation of policies. The book discusses all these stages, and also has a chapter on the environment in which policy is made. It has a wealth of examples – all from the USA – illustrating important issues and phenomena related to the various stages.

### 2. Apthorpe, Raymond and Des Gasper (eds) (1996)

***Arguing Development Policy: Frames and Discourses*, EADI, Geneva**

*K: Africa, Bhutan, development, discourse, environment, essentialism, governance, labelling, policy arguments, World Bank*

This is a collection of six articles, preceded by an introduction. The introduction gives a short and concise overview of some important approaches in policy discourse analysis. Three of the papers are methodological. They focus on framing, naming, numbering and coding; argument structures and argument assessment; and essentialism. There are three case studies focusing on geography and environmental terms; economic growth and the World Bank discourse on growth; and American discourse on governance and democracy (in Africa).

### 3. Bardach, Eugene (2000)

***A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving*, Chatham House Publishers, New York and London**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, policy arguments, policy formulation, policy stages*

This book, meant for people involved in policy-making, is based on the idea that policy-making is a process, and that this process is socially constructed and can be manipulated. The eightfold path consists of eight steps, all part of policy formulation. It starts with defining the problem, and ends with telling the story (of what needs to be done). The book has a lot of tips and warnings, many about how to construct persuasive arguments.

### 4. Birkland, Thomas A. (2001)

***An Introduction to the Policy Process*, M E Sharpe Inc., New York and London**

*K: actors, agenda-setting, approaches to policy analysis, implementation, policy models, policy stages*

The book is meant for students and gives an overview of the main models of the policy process. It focuses on the external environment of policy-making, the various actors and their roles in the policy process and the various stages of the policy process. The approach of the book is sociological; there is not much on language and discourses. The examples come from America. It has a glossary that explains many important theoretical terms, and an Appendix about the use of the Web for further work on policy processes.

**5. Chambers, Robert (1997)**

***Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last*, Intermediate Technology Publications, London**

*K: participation, participatory research, politics of development, poverty*

**6. Clay, E. and B. Schaffer (eds) (1984)**

***Room for Manoeuvre: An Exploration of Public Policy in Agriculture and Rural Development*, Heinemann, London**

*K: agriculture, developing countries, development, discourse, labelling, policy stages, politics of policy, power, rationality in the policy process, rural development*

**7. Dye, Thomas R. (2001)**

***Top Down Policymaking*, Chatham House Publishers, New York and London**

*K: democracy, interest groups, media, policy élites, politics of policy, power, USA*

This book criticises the myth that in a democracy public policy is a response to the demands of the people. In reality, according to the author, policy is made from the top down. The author develops a top-down policy-making model, in which he distinguishes four different processes, namely the policy formulation process (dominated by think tanks, commissions and task forces), the interest group process (dominated by organised interest groups and lawyers, lobbyists and consultants operating on their behalf), the political candidate selection process (driven by money coming from firms, media conglomerates, insurance companies, etc.), and the opinion-making process (dominated by national mass media élites). The book investigates how these four processes operate in the USA.

**8. Evans, Peter B., Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol (eds) (1985)**

***Bringing the State Back In*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge**

*K: developmental state, history, international relations, social conflict, social mobilisation, state theory*

This is an edited volume with eleven papers. The contributions are comparative and often also historical in nature. The first part contains three papers on state strategies to promote economic and social development in some newly developing countries. The second part is on states and transnational relations, both in early modern Europe, and in the post-World War Two economy. The third part is on the way in which states influence social conflicts and collective action. The underlying idea of the collection, as explained in the introduction, is that states play a prominent role in social change, politics and policy-making, a) because they are organisations through which collectivities of officials may be able to pursue their goals, and b) because their organisational configurations affect political culture, allow some (and not other) groups to come up, and make possible the rise of some political issues (and not others).

**9. Ferguson, James (1997)**

***The Anti-Politics Machine: Development, Depoliticisation and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis**

*K: Africa, aid, development, discourse, politics of development*

**10. Fischer, Frank and John Forester (eds) (1993)**

***The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, Duke University Press, Durham and London**

*K: democracy, discourse, environment, policy arguments, politics of policy, positivism-postpositivism*

The main starting point of the argumentative approach to policy analysis is that policy is made of language. This means that the practice of policy analysis is primarily concerned with constructing accounts of problems and possible solutions. This book is a collection of essays, illustrating the many practical and political implications of this insight. A common perspective of these articles is that the process of setting policy agendas, establishing public choice, or defining public concerns should be democratic.

Part one presents cases that show the ways in which policy argumentation can shape decision-making and political deliberation processes. For instance, policy argumentation can shorten the duration of, or narrow the representation of stakeholders in, the decision-making process. The articles in part two reveal how analysts' arguments construct and shape policy problems in subtle ways. Rhetorical devices and narrative forms are used by analysts to create a story, linking accounts of what 'is' and what 'ought' to be done, etc. Part three considers the epistemological ramifications of argumentative policy analysis. Four essays explore the methodological viability of argumentation as an alternative to the scientific, technocratic approach dominant in policy sciences.

**11. Gramberger, Marc (2001)**

***Citizens as Partners: OECD Handbook on Information, Consultation and Public Participation in Policy-making*, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris. Downloadable from OECD Website**

*K: civil society, participation, state (un)responsiveness*

This handbook is written primarily for government officials who try to design and implement measures to ensure access to information, opportunities for consultation and public participation in policy-making. Part one explores what government-citizen relations are, why they should be strengthened and what the costs are. Part two discusses tools and guiding principles for how government-citizen relationships could be strengthened. Part three has a number of concrete suggestions for action, and part four lists sources for further exploration of strengthening government-citizen relationships.

**12. Grindle, Merilee S. (1997)**

***Getting Good Government: Capacity-building in the Public Sectors of Developing Countries*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.**

*K: bureaucracy, developing countries, good government, institutions, public sector, state capacity*

This book is an edited collection with 15 papers on different countries. The basic idea is that markets and democracies need capable states (and not just minimal ones). Apart from an introduction and two more conceptual papers on capacity-building needs, there are twelve case studies, focusing on various strategies for state capacity enhancement, through developing human resources, strengthening organisations, reforming institutions and/or technical assistance. The case studies are from different parts of the developing world (but there is not much on south Asia).

**13. Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman (eds) (1992)**

***The Politics of Economic Adjustment. International Constraints, Distributive Conflicts and the State*, Princeton University Press, Princeton**

*K: developing countries, economic reforms, institutions, international relations, politics of reform, state capacity*

This edited collection, consisting of an introduction, and seven more thematic papers, aims to explore how international and domestic politics affect policy choices. The focus is on structural adjustment programmes. The introduction outlines the main incentives and constraints that set limits on the range of policy alternatives. The next two papers put particular stress on the international dimension: the importance of conditionality, the availability of external resources, and the linkages between domestic and international actors and networks. The second pair of papers focuses on the role of the state. Government officials play an important role as intermediary between international and domestic arenas. State actors have considerable power over the policy agenda. Furthermore, the structures of political institutions and of the state itself affect the capacity of the government and the extent to which various interests are taken into account. The third pair of case studies addresses issues of distributive politics. Structural adjustment programmes have distributional impacts and may lead to societal conflicts. How these societal conflicts will develop is difficult to predict in advance, as political organisation is not always an immediate reflection of economic interests alone. The book ends with a chapter on the relationship between adjustment and democracy: what is the effect of economic adjustment on the prospects for democracy?

**14. Ham, Christopher and Michael Hill (1984)**

***The Policy Process in the Modern Capitalist State*, St. Martin's Press, Inc., New York**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, bureaucracy, implementation, institutions, power, rationality in the policy process, state theory*

**15. Heineman, Robert A., William T. Bluhm, Steven A. Peterson and Edward N. Kearny (2002)**

***The World of the Policy Analyst: Rationality, Values and Politics*, Chatham House Publishers, New York**

*K: ethics, law, politics of policy, rationality in the policy process, role of policy analyst, USA*

This book is about the American policy process, and particularly about the role of the policy analyst. Although written for students of policy analysis, it is not a textbook, focusing on best practice in policy analysis. Rather, it stresses the ethical difficulties, political complexities and importance of values in the real world of the policy analyst, with the objective of making policy analysis a more self-conscious process.

**16. Holland, Jeremy and James Blackburn (eds) (1998)**

***Whose Voice? Participatory Research and Policy Change*, Intermediate Technology Publications, London**

*K: civil society, developing countries, empowerment, participation, participatory research*

This book is a collection of essays on participatory research approaches to analyse policy and contribute to policy change. Divided into three parts, it has papers describing case studies and discussing the theoretical implications of the participatory rural appraisal (PRA) and participatory poverty assessment (PPA) methodologies. The first part includes case studies that used PRA and PPA methodologies. The second part studies how well PPA fares as a methodological tool for bringing local poverty issues and stakeholders' knowledge ('voice') into the policy process. The

third part reviews participatory approaches and the problems in the methodology as raised during an Institute for Development Studies (IDS) workshop organised around this issue.

The aim of this collection is, on the one hand, to strengthen the methodological rigour of participatory research processes, and on the other, to see how participatory approaches can be integrated with the more traditional quantitative methods of policy analysis. Ultimately the book shows that increased stakeholder participation will not automatically lead to a change in policy formulation or implementation. Participatory approaches can serve to awaken a wider citizenry to policy issues, but a definitive causal relation between ‘voice’ and policy change is difficult to establish.

**17. Howlett, Michael and M. Ramesh (1995)**

***Studying Public Policy – Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems, Oxford University Press, Ontario***

*K: actors, agenda-setting, evaluation, formulation of policy, implementation, institutions, policy instruments, policy subsystems, rationality in the policy process*

**18. Kingdon, John W. (1995)**

***Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies, Longman, New York, etc.***

*K: agenda-setting, interest groups, policy formulation*

The main question addressed in this classic work is: why is it that some subjects acquire a place on the political agenda, while others do not. Three sets of issues are important to answer this question: problem, politics and visibility of participants. Whether or not government officials develop an interest in a particular situation (subsequently defined as a problem) depends on the way in which this situation is presented as a problem, whether there is a focusing event (e.g. a disaster), and the feedback mechanisms existing in the bureaucracy. Moreover, elections and other events in the political sphere are powerful agenda setters. Furthermore, policy agendas are more influenced by high profile participants; policy alternatives more by less visible actors. The author further discusses incrementalism in policy-making, policy windows and the importance of policy entrepreneurs.

**19. Leftwich, Adrian (ed.) (1996)**

***Democracy and Development: Theory and Practice, Polity Press, Cambridge***

*K: democracy, development, developmental state, politics of development*

**20. Leftwich, Adrian (2000)**

***States of Development: On the Primacy of Politics in Development, Polity Press, Cambridge***

*K: democracy, development, developmental state, good government, politics of development*

This book has three main themes, as the author explains in the first chapter. The first is the primacy of politics in development. The main determinant of success or failure of development in all societies is their politics, in the broad sense of the word. The second is the relationship between development and democracy. The author argues that in many developing societies, the long-term prospects for democracy are not very good. He also argues that democratic states are not necessarily better at ‘doing development’ than non-democratic states. Democracy comes in various shapes and sizes, and it basically depends on the institutional and political arrangements whether democracy is good for development or not. By making this argument, the author goes against the currently widespread belief that good democratic governance is a precondition for development. The third theme, or rather objective, is to give politics a central place in development studies.

**21. Lindblom, Charles E. (1980)*****The Policy-Making Process, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey****K: accountability, agenda-setting, democracy, politics of policy, role of policy analyst, USA***22. Lipsky, Michael (1980)*****Street-level Bureaucracy – Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services, Russell Sage Foundation, New York****K: accountability, actors, bureaucracy, implementation, public sector, work(ers) in government*

In this book, Lipsky analyses public service provision as it is practised in ‘street-level bureaucracies’. He proposes a theory of the policy process that considers street-level bureaucrats as policy-makers. It is argued that, at the implementation level, bureaucrats often have wide discretionary powers over how public services are provided, the selection of beneficiaries and the means of service distribution. Lipsky grounds his study in empirical observations of behaviour of people in public service organisations. A central concern of this book is the inherent tension between needs on the one hand and the bureaucracy’s capacity to meet these needs on the other. Lipsky suggests that in order to contribute to a better policy, research should concentrate on the intervening/discretionary roles of street-level bureaucrats when faced with popular discontent about the effectiveness and quality of service provision.

The book is divided into four parts. The first argues that citizens experience government through street-level bureaucrats and that the decisions of these bureaucrats effectively *become* the public policies of the government. Part two describes the conditions of work of street-level bureaucrats. Generally, these include inadequate resources and ambiguous, vague and conflicting goal expectations. These conditions shape the pattern of service delivery. In part three, Lipsky considers how street-level bureaucrats develop their own routines in response to these constraints. Part four concludes with a review of how fiscal crises impact on street-level bureaucratic functioning and performance, and ends with some recommendations for reform and increasing accountability.

**23. Little, Jo (1994)*****Gender, Planning and the Policy Process, Pergamon/Elsevier, Oxford, etc.****K: gender, UK***24. Long, Norman and Ann Long (eds) (1992)*****Battlefields of Knowledge: the Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Development, Routledge, London/New York****K: actors, discourse, interface approach, knowledge/science in the policy process, policy networks, power, rural development*

This book criticises the main modernist paradigms of development. As an alternative, Norman Long proposes the actor-oriented paradigm, which, according to the author in one of the introductory chapters, gives central importance to agency, knowledge and power. The approach owes much to the work of Anthony Giddens, who also conceptualised social actors as knowledgeable and capable, but the focus is much more on the analysis of rural development practices. The book includes eight case studies illustrating various concepts, methods and insights developed in actor-oriented research. Almost all case studies come from Latin America, and most of them are written by scholars affiliated to Wageningen Agricultural University, the main place of origin of the actor-oriented paradigm.

**25. Majone, Giandomenico (1989)**

***Evidence, Argument and Persuasion in the Policy Process*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London**

*K: accountability, democracy, discourse, evaluation, feasibility of policy, policy arguments*

The starting point of this book is that policy is not so much a matter of scientific enquiry or empirical observation but a product of language. Rather than trying to do a technical and objective assessment, the work of policy analysts is to present policy arguments that persuade and thereby influence public policy debates. Policy analysis, according to the author, should be viewed as the practice of critical inquiry into competing points of view and arguments. Good policy analysis provides standards of argumentation and an intellectual structure for public discourse. In order to stimulate public deliberation, it is necessary to improve the methods and conditions of critical debate significantly as well as their institutionalisation at all levels of the policy process. Apart from some general chapters on policy analysis, the book includes chapters on feasibility arguments, institutional constraints, policy instruments and evaluation and accountability.

**26. McCourt, Willy and Martin Minogue (2001)**

***The Internationalisation of Public Management: Reinventing the Third World State*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA**

*K: developing countries, new public management, privatisation, public sector*

The focus of this book is on the transfer and application of new public management (NPM) policies in developing and transition economies. A collection of eleven articles examines the ideological content and practical influence of the NPM model. The NPM claims and practices are examined and it is discussed whether the application of the model in developing countries is advisable or feasible.

First adopted by developed countries such as England and New Zealand, the model advocates the market as a more efficient service provider than the state and favours a differently organised and more dynamic and flexible state. The authors point out that developing economies often intertwine the objective of good governance with NPM reforms. Some essays deal with donor agencies incorporating the two concepts into a reform agenda and illustrate how aid is made contingent on adopting the agenda. This phenomenon suggests that aid packages are used to shape a particular model of state-society relations.

One of the conclusions is that the best practice for administrative reform is to select a combination of models that above all else should be adaptable to local circumstances. The success stories were all based on some form of experimentation with various, sometimes ideologically conflicting, administrative reform models. Unfortunately, however, NPM policies are too frequently transferred to developing economies irrespective of local conditions and socio-economic practices.

**27. Migdal, Joel S. (2001)**

***State in Society – Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge**

*K: politics of development, power, state theory*

**28. Minogue, Martin, Charles Polidano and David Hulme (1998)**

***Beyond the New Public Management: Changing Ideas and Practices in Governance*, Edward Elgar, Northampton, MA, USA**

*K: civil society, developing countries, governance, institutions, new public management, participation, partnership (of state and society)*

- 29. Mosse, David, John Farrington and Alan Rew (eds) (2001)**  
*Development as Process. Concepts and Methods for Working with Complexity*, Routledge, London, and India Research Press, New Delhi

*K: approaches to policy analysis, India, process documentation, research methods*

If development is a complex and unpredictable process, what then are the appropriate methods to study and document this process? This is the core question addressed in this edited volume. The first two papers, both by David Mosse, discuss the idea and implications of the process metaphor for development, and review and critically reflect upon process documentation research and process monitoring. The other papers are case studies, coming mainly from a south Asian context. The case studies provide insights on the particular development processes described and they also reflect on the process monitoring methods that were used.

- 30. Munger, Michael C. (2000)**  
*Analyzing Policy: Choices, Conflicts, and Practices*, W.W. Norton and Company, New York and London

*K: approaches to policy analysis, role of policy analyst, techniques of policy analysis*

This book is written primarily for students in public policy, public administration or political science. It aims to make students aware of the various roles that policy analysts play and familiarise them with the policy analysis language and tools. It also aims to introduce them to welfare economics and cost benefit analysis.

- 31. Nagel, Stuart S. (1999)**  
*The Policy Process*, Nova Science Publishers, New York

*K: decentralisation, interest groups, media, USA*

- 32. Norton, Andy and Diane Elson (2002)**  
*What's Behind the Budget? Politics, Rights and Accountability in the Budget Process*, Overseas Development Institute, London

*K: accountability, budgets, developing countries, rights-based approach*

- 33. Ostrom, Elinor (1990)**  
*Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

*K: collective action, institutional analysis, institutions*

- 34. Palumbo, Dennis and J. Donald Calista (eds) (1990)**  
*Implementation and the Policy Process: Opening up the Black Box*, Greenwood Press, New York

*K: implementation, institutions*

This is a collection of fourteen articles that review the stage of implementation in the policy process. For some time the importance of this stage was overlooked by policy observers: the assumption was that policy design was more important. In reaction to that, others have stressed the importance of implementation, even to the extent that they started to argue that policy outcomes were not only shaped but actually determined by the implementation process. The aim of the editors of this book is to give implementation its proper place: it is important, but it has to be placed in the broader policy-making process, and in relation to other phases of this process.

The book is divided into three sections. The first looks at how policy intentions relate to policy outcomes and the importance of policy design in this relationship. The second section investigates the political dimensions of implementation and how implementation adapts to the changing organisational structures, actors and ideological contexts in society. The last section reviews some epistemological issues and considers the potential to develop valid generalisations about implementation processes.

**35. Parsons, Wayne (1995)**

***Public Policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, implementation*

**36. Putnam, Robert D. (1993)**

***Making Democracy Work*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey**

*K: civil society, good government, Italy, social capital*

**37. Roe, Emery (1994)**

***Narrative Policy Analysis: Theory and Practice*, Duke University Press, Durham and London**

*K: budgets, discourse, irrigation, knowledge/science in the policy process, narratives, USA*

This book applies tools and insights from literary theory to the study of public policy issues. The result is, what the author calls, ‘narrative policy analysis’. The objectives are a) to underscore the important and necessary role that policy narratives have in public policy, and b) to show the usefulness of narrative policy approaches for understanding complicated policy problems.

Apart from an introduction (explaining what narrative policy analysis is) and a conclusion (discussing among other things some ethical questions), the book has seven substantive chapters, explaining the various steps and components of the approach, and illustrating these with numerous examples.

**38. Sabatier, Paul A. (1999)**

***Theories of the Policy Process*, Westview Press, Boulder**

*K: advocacy coalitions, approaches to policy analysis, ideas, institutions, policy networks, policy stages, rationality in the policy process*

The starting point of this book is a critique of the ‘stages heuristic’ as a tool to understand public policy processes. The stage heuristic, it is argued, is inadequate to both contain and explain the complexities and dynamics of policy change. In this book, several contemporary scholars of public policy offer alternative conceptualisations of how policy is made. The book presents seven frameworks or theories on the policy process (of which the stages heuristic is one), the selection of which was based, first, on having met the criteria of a scientific theory, and second, on a fair amount of empirical testing. These theories – internally cogent and externally viable – all seek to understand policy change from the perspective of how belief systems, conflicting values and interests, institutional arrangements and changing socio-economic circumstances influence the policy-making process. Most of the papers in this volume are written by the scholars who originally developed the respective frameworks. The frameworks are largely based upon (and applied to) processes in Europe and the United States. The seven frameworks are:

- The stages heuristic. Even though the editor of the book is critical of this approach, he has given room to review the usefulness of the stages heuristic to categorise actors, actions and interests in public policy.
- Institutional rational choice. This framework emphasises how institutional rules alter the behaviour of assumed rational individuals motivated by material self-interest.
- The multiple-streams framework. This model holds that the policy process is composed of three autonomous streams (related to problem, policy and politics). If they converge, a 'window of opportunity' is created that may enable policy change.
- The punctuated-equilibrium framework. This framework argues that policy-making is characterised by long periods of incremental change, punctuated by brief periods of dramatic change when policy entrepreneurs create new 'policy images'.
- The advocacy coalition framework. This understanding of the policy process emphasises competing advocacy coalitions, each with their characteristic belief system, that operate in particular policy subsystems. Policy change occurs with learning across coalitions or is externally induced.
- The policy diffusion framework. This framework argues that policy change is a product of specific political systems and a variety of diffusion processes.
- The funnel of causality framework and other frameworks in large-N comparative studies. This set of frameworks attempts to explain variations in policy outcomes across comparative and contrasting political systems and social structures.

### **39. Sabatier, Paul A. and Hank C. Jenkins-Smith (1993)**

*Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy Coalition Approach*, Westview Press, Boulder

*K: advocacy coalitions, ideas, knowledge/science in the policy process, policy networks*

This book starts by criticising the 'stages heuristic' model for its notable absence of causal mechanisms to help explain policy change. An alternative approach, the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), is introduced. The ACF's focus on coalition variation and stability and the necessary empirical analysis of policy movements over time can help to explain the causes of policy change. Methodologically, the AC approach makes use of 'content analysis' techniques to analyse public hearings, government documents, interest group publications etc. Such analysis reveals patterns in the beliefs, interests and policy positions of elite groupings in policy subsystems over extended periods. A fundamental proposition of the AC approach is that coalitions seek to alter the behaviour of government institutions in order to change the course of policy.

After an introduction, chapters two and three consider the theoretical implications of the AC approach. The remaining chapters are case studies, divided into two types. The first group of case studies are qualitative. They apply the ACF critically to various policy arenas, such as education, transport and natural resources policy. The second type of case study, based on quantitative techniques, further bolsters the methodological soundness of the ACF by systematically testing hypotheses on policy subsystem dynamics.

**40. Shore, Cris and Susan Wright (eds) (1997)**

***Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*, Routledge, London and New York**

*K: developing countries, discourse, governance, health, positivism-postpositivism, power*

This is an edited collection of papers. Most papers are case studies from the developing world. The introduction explains the general approach. Policy is usually seen as an instrument to regulate people from the top-down, through rewards and sanctions. The editors of the book state, however, that policy also influences how people perceive themselves. So, policies not only act on people, but they also act through the agency and subjectivity of individuals. In this way, policy has become an important tool in governance. It is, what the authors call, a political technology. The politics of policy is, however, masked by technical and neutral language.

**41. Smith, James Allen (1991)**

***The Idea Brokers. Think Tanks and the Rise of the New Policy Élite*, Free Press, New York**

*K: policy élites, think tanks, USA*

**42. Stone, Deborah A. (2002)**

***Policy Paradox. The Art of Political Decision Making*, W.W. Norton and Company, New York and London**

*K: democracy, ideas, policy arguments, politics of policy, rationality in the policy process, role of policy analyst*

The term policy paradox refers to the fact that in real political life, there are many ambiguities and paradoxes. Policies that seem absolutely clear and unambiguous, can be very ambiguous when considered from another perspective. Political life, according to the author, is full of such paradoxes. These paradoxes have to be understood, rather than wished away. The author criticises the rationality project that presents politics as messy and erratic. The rationality project has three pillars: a rational model of decision-making (rational choice), a model of society (the market), and a model of policy-making (policy process as an orderly sequence of stages). These pillars are dismissed, and in its place the author stresses the importance of persuasion in decision making, the community ('polis') as model of society, and the struggle over ideas as the core of the policy-making process. The book is full of examples, all coming from the USA context.

**43. Stone, Diane (ed.) (2000)**

***Banking on Knowledge: The Genesis of the Global Development Network*, Routledge, London and New York**

*K: development, globalisation, knowledge/science in the policy process, think tanks*

**44. Tandler, Judith (1997)**

***Good Government in the Tropics*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London**

*K: Brazil, bureaucracy, decentralisation, good government, public sector, state capacity, work(ers) in government*

In recent years, much has been written about poorly performing states, rent-seeking and bad governance, but under which conditions can 'good governance' develop? This book explores this question in the case of Ceará, a State in north east Brazil. This very poor State started to do surprisingly well in the 1980s. Despite a long tradition of clientilism and the existence of mediocre state agencies, it started to deliver better and more effective services in a number of areas. The book

explores why this could be the case. It analyses the accomplishments of a number of programmes (related to health, employment creation and other emergency relief measures, agricultural extension, and business extension and procurement from small firms). These cases illustrate under what conditions government workers start becoming dedicated to their work, what kind of new mechanisms and incentives were developed by the State government, how a greater autonomy and discretion of the government workers did not lead to rent-seeking mis-behaviour but rather to a voluntary increase of responsibilities and job tasks, and what the role of an activist State government can be when it collaborates with local governments and civil society.

**45. Theodoulou, Stella Z. and Matthew A. Cahn (1995)**

***Public Policy: The Essential Readings*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey**

*K: actors, agenda-setting, approaches to policy analysis, formulation of policy, implementation, institutions*

**46. Thomas Alan, Joanna Chataway and Marc Wuyts (eds) (1998)**

***Finding Out Fast. Investigate Skills for Policy and Development*, Sage Publications, London**

*K: developing countries, knowledge/science in the policy process, research methods*

**47. Turner, Mark and David Hulme (1997)**

***Governance, Administration and Development: Making the State Work*, MacMillan Press, Houndsmill, Basingstoke and London**

*K: bureaucracy, developing countries, institutions, new public management, performance, policy models, power*

This book is an introduction to how public policy and management operate in developing countries and transitional economies. Various models of public administration are reviewed. Institutional arrangements for ‘development’, when imported from Western models, are often inappropriate due to vastly different economic, social, administrative, cultural and political climates. The authors focus on recent attempts to introduce new public management (NPM) models in developing countries and discuss whether these are likely to improve government performance. The notion that ‘reinventing government’ implies reducing (or minimalising) the role and functions of the government is challenged. The authors stress that in several east Asian countries efficient public services and agencies contributed substantially to both economic growth and political stability. Furthermore, even in situations where vast and almost ‘hopeless’ bureaucracies exist, one can often still find some pockets of efficiency in public sector service delivery.

The authors state that there is no single uniform approach to improving public sector performance. Success relies primarily on the creativity and diversity of approaches. Both the ‘good governance’ agenda and the New Public Management approach are criticised, as they assume a one-size-fits-all approach and are not flexible enough to deal with contextual factors. The authors conclude that the type and speed of policy reform initiatives are mainly influenced by ‘configurations of power’. These configurations may lead to resistance, delay, manipulations, etc. The bureaucracy itself may act as a politically self-vested interest group.

**48. Weimer, David Leo and Aidan R. Vining (1999)**

***Policy Analysis. Concepts and Practice*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, research methods, techniques of policy analysis*

This book is a textbook meant for students of public policy. After the introduction, part two aims to provide a conceptual foundation of public policy: what is the rationale for public policy and what

are its limitations. Part three aims to give practical advice about how to do policy analysis. It discusses a number of techniques, such as benefit-cost analysis and goals/alternatives matrices. Part four demonstrates the application of these techniques in concrete settings. The book provides a rich selection of examples, all coming from the USA.

**49. Wildavsky, A. (1979)**

***The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis*, MacMillan Press, London**

*K: bureaucracy, implementation, politics of policy*

**50. Wilson, James Q. (1989)**

***Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It*, Basic Books**

*K: bureaucracy, USA*

**51. Wood, Geof (ed.) (1985)**

***Labelling in Development Policy: Essays in Honour of Bernard Schaffer*, Sage Publications and the Institute of Social Studies, London and the Hague**

*K: developing countries, development, discourse, labelling*

This is an edited collection, with case studies of labelling practices. Labels are ways in which people are grouped together under a common heading, such as ‘the poor’. Labels are socially constructed. They are ways in which meaning and structure is given to the social reality. The process of labelling is a relationship of power. One can always raise questions, such as: which labels are created; whose labels are these; under which circumstances are they created and what are the effects? The effects of labels are control (in a Foucauldian sense) but labels may also determine inclusion or exclusion from particular subsidies, policies or services. Labelling often leads to, what Wood calls, ‘de-linking’. For instance, conceptualising dispossessed people as ‘the poor’ means that the story or the history of why people have become poor is lost. Labels also often cluster people with quite diverse histories together. The study of labelling is one of the ways in which one can analyse the state and state power.

**52. Wuyts, Marc, Maureen Mackintosh and Tom Hewitt (eds) (1992)**

***Development and Public Action*, Oxford University Press, in association with the Open University, Oxford and Milton Keynes**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, civil society, developing countries, development, empowerment, politics of development*

**53. Yeatman, Anna (ed.) (1998)**

***Activism and the Policy Process*, Allen and Unwin, Australia**

*K: advocacy, Australia, civil society, collective action, politics of policy*

Policy activism is activism that is oriented to intervention in policy, as distinct from politics. Policy activists can be placed within or outside the government, and they can address issues at all stages of the policy process, as is set out in the introduction (by the editor). The various case studies, many written by policy activists themselves, describe examples of policy activism in a range of policy areas. All case studies come from Australia.

## 1.2 Articles and Papers

### 54. Albaek, Erik (1995)

**'Between Knowledge and Power: Utilization of Social Science in Public Policy-making', *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 28, No.1, pp. 79–100**

*K: discourse, knowledge/science in the policy process, politics of policy, power, rationality in the policy process*

### 55. Altman, John A. and E.D. Petkus (Jr.) (1994)

**'Toward a Stakeholder-based Policy Process: An Application of the Social Marketing Perspective to Environmental Policy Development', *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 37–51**

*K: actors, environment, interest groups, participation, policy stages*

This article advances an alternative to the linear policy model of environmental policy. The framework for a 'stakeholder-based public policy development process' uses principles of social marketing as a tool for improving the design, implementation and monitoring of public policy issues and processes. Incorporating several more stages (or feedback loops) than the linear model, the framework emphasises the pivotal role of stakeholders' divergent views and the impact of conflicting interests on the policy process. Stakeholders' involvement can be accommodated through a policy redesign stage and their opinion can be gathered, for instance, from public-hearing forums.

The social marketing approach essentially involves the application of business principles in non-business public arenas. For instance the authors argue that policy design can improve with a 'market segmentation' analysis that emphasises stakeholders' differentiated needs. The government, as service-provider, can better attend to clients' interests, needs, and expectations, if a policy is viewed as a product. The product, in this article environmental policy, will appeal to some stakeholders and not to others. The authors claim that, by incorporating stakeholder diversity with respect to expectations and interests, the social marketing perspective can enhance the likelihood of successful policy development and implementation.

### 56. Apthorpe, Raymond (1986)

**'Development Policy Discourse', *Public Administration and Development*, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 377–89**

*K: accountability, development, discourse, rationality in the policy process, World Bank*

This paper analyses the discourse of development policy, not just to deconstruct it, but to show that there are alternatives. Deconstruction is, hence, meant to be constructive. The aim, in Apthorpe's own words, is to recognise and challenge discourses for what they are worth, to add to and not to subtract from the task of development studies.

The discourse of development policy suggests professionalism and scientific rationality, even though it addresses issues that have clear political aspects and even though it emanates from, and is disseminated by, bodies with political constituencies and social and economic ideologies. The paper describes an example of the presentation of a particular World Bank development project. The presentation suggests that policy is about problems; that decisions will be taken on the basis of knowledge; that there are clear dichotomies in the social reality (e.g. cash economy versus subsistence economy); that policy can be compartmentalised in sectors (with sharp and precise boundaries); that policy is a rational, benevolent and therapeutic process; that there is a distinction between policy and implementation, etc.

The language of governments always suggests that policy is about delivery by a benevolent actor (donative discourse). It always hides things, and makes use of euphemisms (transfer of populations; rectification of frontiers, etc.) in order to justify and legitimise particular courses of action. It also creates 'escape hatches' that make it possible to escape responsibility, either by suggesting that policy is something other than implementation, or by blaming external factors for failures (interference, constraints, leakages).

**57. Arce, Alberto, Magdalena Villarreal and Pieter de Vries (1994)**

**'The Social Construction of Rural Development: Discourses, Practices and Power', in D. Booth (ed.) *Rethinking Social Development: Theory, Research and Practice*, Longman Scientific, Harlow**

*K: discourse, interface approach, policy networks, power, rural development*

This paper investigates the interplay of knowledge, human agency and power in the context of state-sponsored programmes for rural development in the third world. It critiques the prevailing view of the state and of state-sponsored institutions as sole effectors of rural change and development. The authors argue that, rather than a structural conception of state intervention, it is more useful to pursue a 'micro-sociology of rural development in a knowledge-interface framework'. The authors do not discount the role of the state in rural development and social change but this role should be investigated rather than assumed.

The authors present two epistemological concepts developed from three case studies. First, the concept of 'development interfaces', which provides insight into the strategic ways in which actors deploy development discourses to negotiate state authority and affect change. Second, the notion of 'room for manoeuvre', an interpretive 'opening' that arises in the interactions of, and as a result of the choices made by, state institutions and other actors participating in the development process. Both concepts highlight the socially constructed nature of rural development processes and how power relations can be transformed through agency at the local level.

**58. Barclay, Scott and Thomas Birkland (1998)**

**'Law, Policymaking, and the Policy Process: Closing the Gaps', *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 227–43**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, law*

This paper argues that scholars of public policy, unlike their public law counterparts, rarely consider courts of law as policy-makers in the policy process. The authors focus on three leading theories in the policy sciences – as developed by Kingdon, Sabatier, and Baumgartner and Jones – and examine the approach to the judiciary. There are no inherent limitations in these theories to considering courts as important actors in the policy process. Nevertheless, each theory views the judiciary as merely a passive participant in the policy-making process, reacting to policy decisions by issuing law. As such, public policy scholarship supports a narrow, traditional legal argument that views the courts as 1) the site of constitutional decision making, 2) a place of last resort for those who cannot obtain policy goals elsewhere in the policy process or, 3) an arena for resolving issues that already have a *de facto* status in other policy arenas.

The authors investigate why public policy research and public law research, though often considering the same policy areas, have failed to converge intellectually on the issue of courts as policy-makers. The origin of this failure, it turns out, has to do with their differing intellectual traditions. Public law is a product of the legal realist tradition, which begins with the premise that courts are political institutions (see Dahl, 1957). Public policy scholarship, on the other hand, remains a product of the Wilsonian (1913) perspective, which assumed a clear distinction between

law and politics. The authors suggest that an examination and comparison of the role of courts and bureaucracies is a useful starting point for interdisciplinary research, since public law and public policy studies each address these institutions from a separate rather than from a comparative framework.

**59. Brinkerhoff, Derick W. (1996)**

**‘Process Perspectives on Policy Change: Highlighting Implementation’, *World Development*, Vol. 24, No. 9, pp. 1395–1401**

*K: implementation*

This article introduces a collection of articles concerned with the challenges of reform policy implementation in developing and transitional economies. Implementation, according to the author, is at least as political as it is technical, and is complex and highly interactive. Moreover, it is generally poorly understood, and the theory and practice of managing policy implementation is incompletely developed. The articles in this volume seek to contribute to a better understanding. Several methodologies, approaches and analyses are offered. Some articles suggest that reforming/implementing bodies need to take a managerial approach, not just a technical one, to guide policies through complex and changing political, socio-economic and bureaucratic landscapes. Other articles address both the technical and process-oriented requirements to managing implementation efforts effectively. The importance of stakeholder inclusion and participatory measures are seen as key to success rates. Some authors focus on organisational arrangements, especially crucial in long-term policy reforms across a range of sectors. A few articles look specifically at the role of aid donors in implementing policy reforms. In conclusion, the collection stresses that implementation efforts that privilege ‘content’ and ignore ‘process’ will fail to achieve genuine reform.

**60. Brock, Karen, Andrea Cornwall and John Gaventa (2001)**

**‘Power, Knowledge and Political Spaces in the Framing of Poverty Policy’, *IDS Working Paper No. 143, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex***

*K: development, discourse, governance, knowledge/science in the policy process, participation, poverty, power*

**61. Burstein, Paul (1991)**

**‘Policy Domains: Organization, Culture and Policy Outcomes’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 327–50**

*K: agenda-setting, decision, formulation of policy, law*

**62. Crew, Emma and John Young (2002)**

***Bridging Research and Policy: Context, Evidence and Links, ODI Working Paper No. 173, Overseas Development Institute, London***

Available from: [www.odi.org.uk/publications/working.html](http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/working.html) (accessed 04.07.03)

*K: ideas, knowledge/science in the policy process*

**63. Crosby, Benjamin L. (1996)**

**‘Policy Implementation: The Organizational Challenge’, *World Development*, Vol. 24, No. 9, pp. 1403–15**

*K: implementation, institutions*

This paper examines the organisational challenges of implementing policy reform measures. Implementation is often seen as part of a linear process. In most analyses of reform the focus is on

the reform decision, rather than on implementation. This is unjustified. Implementation is a complex and difficult process, and many policies fail exactly because insufficient attention is given to the way in which implementation is organised. Policy change, according to the author, takes place in open systems, composed of multiple decision-makers in an unpredictable environment.

The author presents an alternative conceptualisation for understanding the tasks, actors and issues involved in policy implementation. In this conceptualisation, the policy implementation process is seen as a series of tasks that are purely strategic in nature. The following tasks are distinguished: 1) legitimation, 2) constituency building, 3) resource accumulation, 4) organisational design and modification, 5) mobilising resources, and 6) monitoring and review. The author points out that, unlike programme or project implementation tasks, all policy implementation tasks have to be 'won', i.e. acceptability has to be won-over by implementing organisations, resources have to be secured and sustained, etc.

The paper then proceeds with a discussion of various organisational challenges, as they emerged in a USAID project ('Implementing Policy Change'). The project devised innovative strategies and developed ad hoc responses to meet the organisational challenges of implementation. The paper concludes that many traditional policy implementation organisations are incapable of responding adequately to the tasks that are required for implementing policy change, and that this will probably remain the case in the short run. This is no argument to eliminate these organisations. But it does mean there is a need for 'bridging mechanisms' or 'bridging organisations', which help to overcome problems in task implementation and can show innovative responses to implementation challenges.

#### **64. Danziger, Marie (1995)**

**'Policy Analysis Postmodernized: Some Political and Pedagogical Ramifications', *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 435–50**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, democracy, discourse, ethics, policy arguments, positivism-postpositivism*

This paper attempts to examine the implications of postmodern insights for the practice and teaching of policy analysis. The aim of the author, being herself a student of rhetoric and critical theory, is to introduce an interdisciplinary approach and to generate guidelines for a more ethical and inclusive rhetoric on public policy. One of the basic points is that students of public policy have to become aware of the fact that there are two levels of knowledge (and two epistemologies), one dealing with the outside world, and the other one dealing with the language used to describe and analyse this world.

The article is a review of the literature on public policy analysis, highlighting particularly the role that language, rhetoric and argumentation play in the framing of policy problems. The main focus is on recent literature, but the author also briefly discusses the ancient Greek sophist tradition, as the current postmodernists follow up on several of the points made by the sophists, such as that there is no eternal truth, that knowledge is contingent upon many factors and that persuasion (in democratic practices) is, hence, what matters.

While reviewing the current literature, the author highlights a) the political implications – i.e. whether the insights fit with democratic or authoritarian practices – and b) the relevance of the insights for students of public policy. In the conclusion, she makes various pedagogical suggestions.

**65. deLeon, Peter (1998)**

**‘Models of Policy Discourse: Insights Versus Prediction’, *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 147–61**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, democracy, politics of policy, positivism-postpositivism, research methods*

In this paper the author attempts to transcend a major dichotomy that exists in policy research: the positivist or quantitative school holds predictability of the policy process as the primary test of value, while the postpositivist or qualitative school values an understanding of policy (its processes and contradictions) above other qualities. DeLeon argues that both approaches have their strengths and weaknesses and that a combination is possible and often also preferable.

The contemporary epistemological debate within policy research is centred around the question which of the two approaches is more attuned to ‘truth’ and more likely to achieve a better understanding of the policy process. But what is truth? Can it be observed and empirically verified (as the positivist school holds) or is it constructed and a socio-economic and political product (as the postpositivists claim). Related to their different interpretation of truth, proponents of positivism analyse policy through causal relationships. Alternatively, postpositivists claim that a contextual analysis is the best way to understand the policy process.

The author reviews the shortcomings of both schools. Through the use of two case studies, deLeon concludes that a dual epistemological research strategy is possible and likely to offer superior research results. Each approach can support, complement and even take elements from the other. Perhaps most important is the conclusion that the research problem must dictate the approach, rather than pre-given methodological preferences.

**66. Dobuzinskis, Laurent (1992)**

**‘Modernist and Postmodernist Metaphors of the Policy Process: Control and Stability vs. Chaos and Reflexive Understanding’, *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 355–80**

*K: discourse, policy metaphors, positivism-postpositivism*

The author argues that the relevance and application of metaphorical constructions in policy analysis is inevitable. He criticises, however, the contemporary positivist metaphors of control and stability. The author searches for alternative metaphors derived from the ‘new sciences of complexity’ which emphasise chaos and indeterminacy. The paper examines the justifications for and potentials of these metaphors that are postmodern in so far as they emphasise the social construction of knowledge and the indeterminacy of reality. In the conclusion, the author states, however, that modernist notions of corrective control should not be abandoned altogether. There are political circumstances in which there is no alternative to coercive control. The appropriateness of particular metaphors, hence, depends on a variety of social and political factors.

**67. Dowding, Keith (1995)**

**‘Model or Metaphor? A Critical Review of the Policy Network Approach’, *Political Studies*, Vol. 43, pp. 136–58**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, policy networks*

This article reviews various policy network theories, and assesses their usefulness for explaining policy processes. Four different approaches are discussed and evaluated. First, the descriptive approach, which uses the concept ‘policy network’ in a metaphorical sense, and has only limited theoretical ambitions with the concept. Second (but still falling under the ‘descriptive approach’ heading in the paper), there have been attempts to go beyond the metaphor and to develop theories

of the policy process in network terms. Often, according to the author, these theories are not more than typologies of different kind of networks. These typologies do not causally explain policy outcomes. Third, the Advocacy Coalition framework, which stresses shared belief systems. Fourth, the sociological network approach, which describes networks in terms of the characteristics of the members as well as the characteristics of the relationships within the network, and attempts to apply mathematical methodologies to the study of networks.

Overall, the conclusion of the author is that the network metaphor is useful, but that attempts to use the concept as a theory in order explain why policy processes have failed. The bargaining theory, focusing on actors rather than on social networks, is better in explaining policy outcomes. The only network approach that is able to explain policy processes in terms of network properties is the last approach, but even in that case one should not exaggerate its potential.

**68. Dunn, William N. (1991)**

**‘Assessing the Impact of Policy Analysis: The Functions of Usable Ignorance’, *Knowledge and Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 36–55**

*K: agenda-setting, knowledge/science in the policy process, role of policy analyst*

In the discipline of policy sciences, it is a common assumption that results of policy analysis have an impact on the policy-making process. In this paper the author challenges this assumption, and argues instead that policy analyses and policy analysts provision of ‘usable knowledge’ is at best an effort at providing ‘usable ignorance’. Usable ignorance, according to the author, is knowledge of what needs to be known to improve the efficacy of policy analysis and other applied science specialities in the context of praxis. A focus on usable ignorance, rather than on usable knowledge, can help in designing a more realistic research agenda.

**69. Dunn, William N. (1997)**

**‘Probing the Boundaries of Ignorance in Policy Analysis’, *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 277–98**

*K: knowledge/science in the policy process*

**70. Evans, Peter (1992)**

**‘The State as Problem and as Solution: Predation, Embedded Autonomy and Structural Change’, in Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman (eds) *The Politics of Economic Adjustment. International Constraints, Distributive Conflicts and the State*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, pp. 139–81**

*K: bureaucracy, developing countries, developmental state, India, state capacity, state theory*

Post Second World War development theory assumed that the state could play a large role in fostering structural change and economic development, but by the 1980s the mood had changed and states became increasingly seen as part of the problem, rather than as part of the solution. This article criticises this negative interpretation of the state. It argues that, whether one likes it or not, the state remains central in the process of change, even in implementing a structural adjustment programme. The author critically reviews the neo-utilitarian vision of the state and highlights some of its inconsistencies. One of the conclusions is that one has to differentiate between different kinds of states. State capacity can vary from state to state, and some states are even ‘developmental’. The paper then proceeds with a comparative analysis of a number of states: Zaire as a typically predatory state; Japan, Korea and Taiwan as developmental states; and Brazil and India as intermediate cases. The conclusion is that it is not so much ‘insulation’ from the economy that explains state capacity. Rather, what is crucial is a combination of internal coherence and external connectedness – something Evans calls embedded autonomy.

**71. Evans, Peter (1996)**

**'Government Action, Social Capital and Development: Reviewing the Evidence on Synergy', *World Development*, Vol. 24, No. 6, pp. 1119–32**

*K: civil society, development, developmental state, partnership (of state and society), social capital*

Synergy between state and society actors can be a catalyst for development. This article follows on, and takes the ideas further, of five other articles assembled in this *World Development* special issue on synergy. Drawing from these articles, the author makes a distinction between two forms of synergy (see below), and explores the conditions that facilitate synergy. He argues that, although synergy is most easily fostered in relatively egalitarian societies with robust and coherent state bureaucracies, it can be promoted to a certain extent in less favourable circumstances, such as prevailing in many Third World countries.

Traditional views on synergy are based on complementarity: there are mutually supportive relations between public and private actors. More novel is the idea that synergy may be based on 'embeddedness', i.e. on ties that connect citizens and public officials across the public-private divide. These two forms of synergy are themselves complementary. The author discusses several examples in which it is the combination of complementarity and 'embeddedness' that produces the positive developmental results.

The next question addressed is where synergy comes from. Is it basically an outcome of earlier social and cultural patterns existing in some societies, and less in others (the endowment view), or is synergy constructable? The five case studies show that endowments are important, but, interestingly, they also demonstrate that, even in the absence of robust social capital and even without government/political facilitation, successful synergies have sometimes emerged as a result of creative cultural and organisational innovations. Researchers have a role to play in analysing and comparing these strategies to create synergistic relations in otherwise a-synergistic environments.

**72. Evans, Peter (1996)**

**'Introduction: Development Strategies Across the Public-private Divide', *World Development*, Vol. 24, No. 6, pp. 1033–7**

*K: civil society, development, developmental state, institutions, partnership (of state and society), social capital*

**73. Fischer, Frank (1998)**

**'Beyond Empiricism: Policy Inquiry in Postpositivist Perspective', *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 1–21**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, democracy, discourse, policy arguments, positivism-postpositivism*

The empirical social sciences have failed to develop into a predictive science. They are also by and large ineffective at solving social problems. Their ambition is more to settle than to stimulate debate on social problems. They have, therefore, not contributed much to an improvement of the quality of policy argumentation in public deliberation. The author argues that policy analysis, far from being an objective procedure, is more akin to a form of scientific argumentation, in which persuasion is crucial for policy outcome. He recommends the use of postpositivist techniques and concepts in policy analysis and suggests a discursive orientation ('argumentative turn') in order to address the multidimensional complexity and inherently normative character of social reality.

Neopositivist and postpositivist epistemologies differ especially with regard to their notion of truth. While the former holds that truth corresponds to external facts (correspondence theory), the latter

views truth as an amalgam of context and experience (coherence theory). These different notions have important repercussions for the organisation of the policy process. The author suggests that the postpositivist approach of ‘practical deliberation’ has a democratising influence on the policy process since its base referent is normative. Efforts towards inclusion of the normative in policy analysis can, the author contends, make progress toward a ‘policy science of democracy’.

**74. Goetz, Anne Marie and John Gaventa with others (2001)**

**‘Bringing Citizen Voice and Client Focus into Service Delivery’, *IDS Working Paper No.138, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex***

*K: accountability, civil society, developing countries, performance, state (un)responsiveness*

This paper examines the effectiveness of policy initiatives that seek to increase citizens’ voice and public sector responsiveness in delivery of services. The study’s aim is to identify means of amplifying ‘voice’ and improving ‘responsiveness’. Fourteen different types of ‘voice’ or ‘responsiveness’ mechanisms are identified. The mechanisms are derived from over sixty case studies from developed and developing nations, in which public-sector reforms (involving an attempt to build a stronger client focus in service delivery) and civil-society initiatives (for an improved quality of services) were implemented.

Three broad processes are distinguished, namely 1) consultation, 2) presence and representation, and 3) influence. The extent to which citizens can influence public services and the extent to which states are capable of responding, depends, again, on three factors, namely, 1) the social, cultural and economic power of the client group, 2) the nature of the political regime and the organisation of political competition, and 3) the nature of the state and its bureaucracies. On the basis of these two sets of variables, the authors present a matrix that lists the various combinations of voice and responsiveness. The paper then proceeds with a short description of the various case studies under three broad headings: citizens initiatives (meant to express voice and influence policy), joint state civil society initiatives, and state responsiveness initiatives (chapter two). The reasons explaining the (un)effectiveness of the various initiatives are discussed in chapter three. The paper concludes with recommendations for donors of public sector policy initiatives. When states are hostile and not democratic and/or when civil societies are weak, preparatory work is needed, such as the creation of legal and regulatory frameworks that give citizens more effective rights (in the first case) or awareness raising and capacity-building activities (in the second case). Finally, since the case studies have made clear that voice and responsiveness are strongly influenced by political competition, it is suggested to give more consideration to the political environment when formulating reform initiatives.

**75. Grindle, Merilee S. (1997)**

**‘Divergent Cultures? When Public Organizations Perform Well in Developing Countries’, *World Development, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 481–95***

*K: developmental state, institutions, performance, public sector*

The focus of this paper is on the performance of public sector organisations in developing countries. Specifically, it seeks to examine why certain public sector organisations perform well despite unfavourable socio-economic contexts and overall poor public sector performance. The paper reports of a study on the performance of 29 organisations in six different countries. Performance of the organisation was evaluated with the help of two criteria: 1) the capacity to formulate a budget, and 2) the delivery of services. The study found that a well-developed organisational culture inculcates values through the organisation. It acts as an implicit contract between the leadership of the organisation and its employees. Variation in performance can be explained by differences in management style, performance expectations, and organisational mission. In the better performing

organisations, it was especially a certain level of autonomy in personnel management that contributed to the facilitation and growth of these cultural traits.

Grindle's comparative analysis of public sector organisations suggests that good performance has to do with non-material and conceptual factors, such as values, morale boosting, incentive structures, purposive ideation, etc. She argues that the typical macro-institutional reform measures, such as structural adjustment programmes, state downsizing, restructuring, etc. have not solved the problem of poor performance of organisations.

**76. Grindle, Merilee S. and John W. Thomas (1989)**

**'Policy-makers, Policy Choices, and Policy Outcomes: The Political Economy of Reform in Developing Countries', *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 22, No. 3–4, pp. 213–48**

*K: agenda-setting, decision, formulation of policy, implementation, institutions, policy élites*

This paper seeks to understand how changes in public policy and public institutions come about. The three main arguments developed in the paper are:

1. The dominant theories in political science and political economy are not able to explain the outcome of reforms initiatives adequately, especially because they do not systematically address the role of decision-makers and managers in the policy process. Policy élites can play an important role in shaping policy and institutional outcomes, even though they operate in contexts that constrain their options (section 1).
2. The circumstances under which policy initiatives emerge, are considered and pursued (e.g. whether there is a crisis or not) affect the process of decision making, although not necessarily the outcome of the process (section 2).
3. The characteristics of the policy/reform measure determine the type of conflict and opposition that surround its implementation (section 3).

These three arguments lead to an analytical model for understanding policy change that highlights the role of decision-makers and that has three main analytical categories explaining reform outcomes, namely circumstances surrounding policy formation, the criteria that decision-makers use while choosing between options, and the characteristics of specific policies.

**77. Grob, George (1992)**

**'How Policy is Made and How Evaluators can Affect it', *Evaluation Practice*, Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 175–83**

*K: evaluation, role of policy analyst*

**78. Haas, Peter M. (1992)**

**'Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination', *International Organisation*, Vol. 46 No 1, pp. 1–35**

*K: epistemic communities, international relations*

This paper considers how international policy coordination occurs given the complex and uncertain environment in which it takes place. The central idea of the paper (and of the subsequent case studies in the same volume) is that transnational epistemic communities play a large role in this coordination.

Epistemic communities are networks of professionals (possibly from different disciplines and backgrounds) with recognised expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain. They differ from professional groups,

bureaucratic bodies and interest groups, as is discussed in the paper. Their main role is to provide information to policy decision-makers who are faced with an increasingly complex range of issues and uncertainties. These decision-makers need information – not so much data or guesses, but interpretations of social and physical phenomena. Epistemic communities can provide these interpretations. When the communities become more institutionalised, they can also become themselves significant actors in shaping patterns of international policy coordination.

**79. Hadenius, Axel and Fredrik Ugglå (1996)**

**‘Making Civil Society Work, Promoting Democratic Development: What can States and Donors do?’ *World Development*, Vol. 24, No. 10, pp. 1621–39**

*K: civil society, democracy, social capital*

**80. Hajer, M. (1993)**

**‘Discourse Coalitions and the Institutionalization of Practice’, in F. Fischer and J. Forester (eds) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, Duke University Press, Durham, pp. 43–76**

*K: discourse, environment, policy arguments, UK*

This paper is a case study describing the application of the argumentative approach to policy analysis. The case under investigation is the acid rain problem in Britain. By examining the argumentative structure in documents and other written and oral statements, the author is able to distinguish two different discursive approaches and discourse coalitions: the traditional pragmatist approach/coalition and the ecological modernist approach/coalition. The author examines how each coalition, though employing opposing narratives on the acid rain problem, influenced the character and structure of environmental policy-making.

According to the author, the ecological modernisation discourse was successful in pushing its interpretation of the problem of acid rain. It was, however, not successful in institutionalising its interpretation in the relevant ministries and bureaucracies, where the technocrats remained dominant. So, in the end, what matters is the extent to which discourse coalitions are able to embed their ideas in bureaucratically institutionalised policy procedures.

**81. Hart, Paul ‘t and Marieke Kleiboer (1995–96)**

**‘Policy controversies in the negotiatory state’, *Knowledge and Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 5–25**

*K: agenda-setting, discourse, interest groups, rationality in the policy process*

**82. Hilgartner, Stephen and Charles L. Bosk (1988)**

**‘The Rise and Fall of Social Problems: A Public Arenas Model’, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94, No. 1, pp. 53–78**

*K: agenda-setting, media*

This paper seeks to explain why certain societal issues gain prominence and how they eventually get defined as ‘problems’. Building upon the symbolic interactionist model that views social problems as products of a process of collective definition, the authors develop a dynamic model based on ‘public arenas’. Public arenas are spaces where public discourse is created and action occurs, such as the media, NGOs, Congressional committees, research foundations, etc. The paper is meant to enhance our understanding of the evolution of a social problem and gives suggestions for how future research can be done.

The public arenas model assumes public attention is a scarce resource. The allocation and distribution of attention to social problems occurs, therefore, through a competitive and selective process. Competition entails 1) the way in which a social problem is framed, and 2) whether or not 'space' is given to a social problem.

Whether a social problem reaches 'celebrity status' or is ignored, depends on two attributes characterising all social arenas. The first attribute is the 'capacity' of the arena to 'carry' a social problem. This capacity is determined by resource constraints inherent to each public arena, which can be of different nature (time, budget, personnel, 'surplus compassion', political capital, media clout, etc). The second attribute is the set of principles of selection. These principles relate, for instance, to the potential dramatic content, novelty, cultural appeal, etc. of a social problem.

**83. Hood, Christopher (1991)**

**'A Public Management for All Seasons?' *Public Administration*, Vol. 69, No. 1, pp. 3–19**

*K: new public management*

**84. Hoppe, Robert (1999)**

**'Policy Analysis, Science, and Politics: From "Speaking Truth to Power" to "Making Sense Together"', University of Twente**

Available from: [www.cddc.vt.edu/tps/e-print/s&pparticle.pdf](http://www.cddc.vt.edu/tps/e-print/s&pparticle.pdf) (accessed 04.07.03)

*K: discourse, policy arguments, positivism-postpositivism, role of policy analyst*

**85. Horowitz, Donald L. (1989)**

**'Is there a Third-world Policy Process?' *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 22, No. 3–4, pp. 197–212**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, developing countries, politics of policy*

The article discusses similarities and differences between policy processes in western countries and in developing countries. Often, the differences are not so much related to the state of the economy (developed or developing), but to differences in the political system: more western countries have relatively well-functioning democratic governments, as compared to many Third World countries.

There are many differences between policy-making processes in developing and industrialised countries. These have to do with the basic characteristics of the environment in which policy is made. The legitimacy of many Third World regimes is problematic, and this means that, on top of their other objectives, policies are often also meant to enhance regime legitimacy. The main scope and concerns of policies differ between western and non-western countries. The balance of powers between state and society is often more tilted towards the state in developing countries, even though the capacity to implement policies effectively is often less. Public participation is often less in developing countries, and the mode of participation also differs. Information is often less available and expert knowledge plays a less prominent role, resulting in a more important role for foreign advisers and international models.

There are also important similarities between policy processes in developing and developed countries. These have to do with existing constraints, possibilities to overcome them, unintended consequences and policy feedback mechanisms. Both in developing as well as in developed countries, the timing of policies is important. It is especially in exceptional times (during a crisis, for instance) that innovative policy can be made and implemented. This means that policy researchers should study policies throughout their life cycles and would do wisely to adopt a longitudinal perspective.

**86. Hossain, Naomi and Mick Moore (2002)**

**‘Arguing for the Poor: Elites and Poverty in Developing Countries’, *IDS Working Paper No.148, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex***

*K: developing countries, participation, policy arguments, policy élites, poverty*

**87. Howlett, Michael and M. Ramesh (1998)**

**‘Policy Subsystem Configurations and Policy Changes: Operationalising the Postpositivist Analysis of the Politics of the Policy Process’, *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 466–81**

*K: discourse, policy networks, politics of policy, positivism-postpositivism*

The article aims to contribute to our understanding of the role of politics in the policy process. According to the authors, ‘politics’ can be conceived in different ways. There is a narrow definition of politics, where politics refers basically to the interaction of political parties and their influence on the policy process. The postpositivist interpretation of politics is much broader: it is about the way in which demands for a policy arise and are articulated by policy actors. The narrow definition takes policy problems for granted and focuses on the various factors (including political ones) that influence policies. The postpositivist approach acknowledges that the definition of the policy problem itself is a political process. One of the weaknesses of the postpositivist approach, according to the authors, is that the role played by politics in policy processes is poorly operationalised and that the insights remain at the level of very broad generalisations. The purpose of the paper is to contribute to a more concrete operationalisation of the role of politics in policy processes, in the postpositivist sense of the word.

In order to do this, the authors go back to the body of literature on policy subsystems, a concept which refers to almost the same phenomenon as the postpositivist concept of ‘discourse coalitions’. The authors distinguish different kind of policy subsystems. Furthermore, they distinguish between different kind of policy changes. They argue that particular types of policy change go together with particular types of policy subsystems. For instance, subsystems that are open to new actors and hospitable to fresh ideas are more likely to come up with rapid paradigmatic shifts than policy subsystems that are closed and inhospitable.

These two concepts, hospitability and openness, are further discussed and operationalised. Hospitability is about the degree of isolation between the policy network and the policy community. The more isolated, the more inhospitable the policy network. Openness refers to the symmetry/overlap between policy community and network. The more overlap, the more closed the subsystem as a whole. It is this operationalisation that, according to the authors, provides for a more concrete way to study the role of politics in policy processes.

**88. Jacobsen, John Kurt (1994–95)**

**‘Much Ado About Ideas: The Cognitive Factor in Economic Policy,’ *World Politics*, Vol. 47, No. 1–2, pp. 283–310**

*K: discourse, ideas, knowledge/science in the policy process, policy élites, rational choice*

This essay examines the role of ideas in economic policy-making. It is a review article, examining and comparing four volumes published by mainstream authors who all argue that ideas exert an independent influence on decision processes in economic policy. The review centres around three questions: 1) Do the authors prove that ideas ever operate as more than intellectual rationales for material interests? 2) Under what circumstances are ideas important intervening variables? and 3) Can ideas-oriented approaches usefully expand our concepts of rational analysis and action? The paper concludes that the authors under review do not successfully make the case that ideas have a

force of their own, but they demonstrate that an idea-oriented approach is always a valuable supplement to interest-based paradigms. They make us aware of the subtle ways in which élites behave and try to legitimise the policies they prefer.

**89. Jenkins-Smith, Hank C. (1988)**

**‘Analytical Debates and Policy Learning: Analysis and Change in the Federal Bureaucracy’, *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 21, No. 2–3, pp. 169–211**

*K: knowledge/science in the policy process, policy subsystems, US, role of policy analyst*

**90. Jenkins-Smith, Hank C. with Gilbert K. St. Clair and Brian Woods (1991)**

**‘Explaining Change in Policy Subsystems: Analysis of Coalition Stability and Defection Over Time’, *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 851–80**

*K: advocacy coalitions, knowledge/science in the policy process, policy élites, USA*

The focus of this paper is on the processes through which change occurs in the structure and membership of policy subsystem élite coalitions. The paper discusses a case – the highly polarised policy debate on outer continental shelf (OCS) energy leasing, which is examined over an eighteen year period – to review the extent to which policy positions and belief systems of advocacy coalitions remain constant over time or change. In this particular case, three advocacy coalitions emerged, namely 1) Energy Companies/Trade Associations, 2) Government Agencies and 3) Environmental Groups. These advocacy coalitions varied in their rates of defection and commitment. Several hypotheses are formulated to explain the rates of defection and commitment of these advocacy coalitions. These hypotheses are all about how human behaviour is constrained (by ideas/beliefs as well as by structures/events) and about the conditions under which behaviour can change.

**91. Jenkins-Smith, Hank C. and Paul A. Sabatier (1994)**

**‘Evaluating the Advocacy Coalition Framework’, *Journal of Public Policy*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 175–203**

*K: advocacy coalitions, approaches to policy analysis, policy subsystems*

**92. Johnson, Craig and Daniel Start (2001)**

**‘Rights, Claims and Capture: Understanding the Politics of Pro-Poor Policy’, *ODI Working Paper No. 145*, Overseas Development Institute, London**

Available from: [www.odi.org.uk/publications/working.html](http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/working.html) (accessed 04.07.03)

*K: accountability, actors, civil society, development, politics of policy, poverty, regime types, rights-based approach, social mobilisation, state (un)responsiveness*

**93. Keeley, James and Ian Scoones (1999)**

**‘Understanding Environmental Policy Processes: A Review’, *IDS Working Paper No. 89*, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, environment, knowledge/science in the policy process, politics of policy*

The main interest of the authors is to understand the relationship between knowledge/science and environmental policies. The paper is, however, of wider relevance, as it discusses a lot of the literature on policy processes, with some case studies (in boxes) as illustrations of some of the conceptual points.

Based on the literature, the authors state that there are three main explanations of policy change. The first views policy as a reflection of political structures and interests; the second adopts an actor-oriented framework and looks, for instance, at actor-networks; and the third concentrates on policy as discourse. The challenge, according to the authors, is to try to combine these approaches. In a way, they are contradictory, especially because there are different ideas of power underlying these explanations. Nevertheless, the authors conclude that there are ways to combine insights from the various approaches. They end with a discussion about ways in which policy processes could become more democratic/participatory.

**94. Klijn, Erik Hans (1996)**

**‘Analyzing and Managing Policy Processes in Complex Networks: A Theoretical Examination of the Concept Policy Network and its Problems’, *Administration and Society*, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 90–119**

*K: actors, policy networks*

This paper reviews the historical evolution of network theory since the 1950s and asks what insights have been gained with regard to the way in which policy processes are structured and managed in multi-actor settings, and how these insights can be improved.

Policy network theory, it is argued, is a useful tool for understanding policy-making in complex, multi-actor settings but requires re-conceptualisation. Klijn proposes to understand a policy network as a social system. Such an understanding highlights the patterning of social relations, through which structure is manifested, sustained and reproduced by ongoing practices of the network actors. Patterns of interaction between actors (network structure) are framed by rules. Rules, however, are open to the interpretations and perceptions of the actors, who have their own preferences and intentions. The strategies and practices (games) of actors within the network change and transform the characteristics (rules and patterns) of the network structure. Klijn argues that such a conceptualisation of a policy network (inspired by Giddens’ duality of structure) stresses the dynamics of policy processes and the interaction between the structure of the network and the concrete games that have taken place in it.

This conceptualisation has several consequences for empirical research. Research should focus both on the static (pattern of relations) feature of networks as well as on the dynamic (continuous series of games in which actors seek to achieve particular outcomes) feature. Research should also focus on management strategies – some of which are discussed in the paper – that are used by the various actors.

**95. Klitgaard, Robert (1997)**

**‘Unanticipated Consequences in Anti-poverty Programs’, *World Development*, Vol. 25, No. 12, pp. 1963–72**

*K: developing countries, institutions, poverty, public sector*

**96. Liddle, William R. (1992)**

**‘The Politics of Development Policy’, *World Development*, Vol. 20, No. 6**

*K: politics of development, politics of policy*

**97. Lindblom, Charles, E. (1959)****'The 'Science' of Muddling Through', *Public Administration Review*, Vol.19, pp. 79–88***K: formulation of policy, policy models*

This book, a classic work on policy-making, is one of the early critiques on the linear model of policy-making. It argues that, in order to understand real policy processes, one has to understand the various actors, their power and interactions. Policy-making, hence, is primarily a political process. Against this background, the author discusses the role of the policy analyst, the 'play of power' and the role of the citizenry.

**98. Long, Norman and Jan Douwe Van Der Ploeg (1989)****'Demythologizing Planned Intervention: An Actor Perspective', *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol. 24, No.3–4, pp. 226–49***K: actors, implementation, interface approach, policy stages, rural development*

This paper criticises and deconstructs current notions of planned intervention. The dominant paradigm holds that there is a kind of linear process, starting with policy formulation, than implementation, and ending with outcomes, after which evaluation can be done. By contrast, the authors state that intervention is an on-going, socially constructed and negotiated process. An actor-oriented approach is better suited to understand these processes than the conventional model.

In their deconstruction of the concept of intervention, the authors focus on three aspects. First, intervention should not be seen as a discrete activity, composed of singular events, but rather as part of a space-time continuum. Second, the 'cargo' image of intervention (intervention seen as something that comes from outside – a cargo that can help to solve local problems) is fundamentally flawed. Third, evaluation is usually only meant to justify a continuation of basically the same kind of 'interventions'. The whole idea of planned intervention is rarely questioned.

The authors recommend an actor-oriented model for understanding policy reform initiatives. This model views intervention practices as consisting of, firstly, political struggles over access and distribution of resources, and secondly, normative struggles over the definition of development and the role of development actors. In particular the notion of the state and its role in development needs to be questioned. It is necessary to go beyond fixed notions of representative roles and time-space determinants and focus rather on the historical and institutional contexts that are themselves changing and fluid and products of agency and ideas. State policy is determined not only by structural factors but also by social interests, ideologies and administrative styles. Appreciation of the autonomous processes of change occurring outside the state and conventional intervention settings is essential to understanding, and also possibly transforming, the practice of intervention.

**99. Lowi, Theodore J. (1972)****'Four Systems of Policy, Politics and Choice', *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 32, (July/August 1972) pp. 298–310***K: policy models, politics of policy, USA*

Lowi's earlier contribution to the study of public policy is his insight that political behaviour will vary across different types of policy. In previous publications (1964, 1970), Lowi identified four different types of policy, namely: Distributive, Regulatory, Constituent and Redistributive. This classification, according to some, was a major step forward in our understanding of policies. In the present paper Lowi aims to test whether his assumption that 'policies determine politics' has any value, i.e. do different types of policies lead to different features of real government? In particular, do they lead to different forms of coercion?

Different forms of coercion are distinguished with the help of two criteria, namely 1) likelihood of occurrence (which can be remote or immediate), and 2) method of applicability (whether coercion works through individual conduct or through the environment of conduct). This leads to a matrix with four different segments. According to Lowi, different types of policy fit in different segments of this matrix. Distributive policy, for example, goes together with a remote likelihood of coercion and a type of coercion that works through individual conduct. Redistributive policies, on the other hand, go together with immediate coercion, working through the environment of conduct. Different types of political behaviour – and by this is meant everything from party affiliation to party rhetoric – is contingent upon what policy type is pursued. This is illustrated in the paper with the help of historical examples, all derived from US political history.

Lowi's method is, thus, to correlate policy types to coercive forms and to determine how, in this interrelationship, political behaviour is manifested. The question remains whether Lowi's model can help in predicting changes in the political structure on the basis of the types of policies pursued. Lowi concludes himself that patterns exist but that generalisations are difficult.

**100. May, Peter J. (1986)**

**'Politics and Policy Analysis', *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 101, No. 1, pp. 109–25**

*K: feasibility of policy, role of policy analyst*

The author investigates the possible contribution of political science to public policy-making, in particular to feasibility assessments of policy proposals. Three varieties of political feasibility are discussed in the paper: 1) probabilities of success; 2) constraints and opportunities; 3) political prices and opportunity costs of a particular proposal. May discusses several theories in the political science literature to assess their relevance and possible contribution to furthering our understanding of the three varieties of political feasibility.

May concludes that it is unlikely that a predictive model that forecasts a prospective policy's political feasibility can ever be developed. 'Political mapping' of peoples perceptions and positions on a prospective policy is offered as a second-best alternative. Though only a partial political feasibility calculation, May argues that at least policy-makers can gather informed judgements on a prospective policy issue and design their political/strategic approach accordingly.

**101. Mazmanian, Daniel A. and Paul A. Sabatier (1980)**

**'A Multivariate Model of Public Policy-making,' *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 24, No. 8, pp. 439–68**

*K: decision, environment, formulation of policy, policy stages*

**102. McGee, Rosemary and Karen Brock (2001)**

**'From Poverty Assessment to Policy Change: Processes, Actors and Data', *IDS Working Paper No.133, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex***

*K: knowledge/science in the policy process, participation, participatory research, poverty*

**103. Moore, Mick (1997)**

**'Leading the Left to the Right: Populist Coalitions and Economic Reform', *World Development*, Vol. 25, No. 7, pp. 1009–28**

*K: economic reforms, elections, political parties, politics of policy, populism*

**104. Moore, Mick (1999)**

**'Politics Against Poverty? Global Pessimism and National Optimism' *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 33–46**

*K: globalisation, interest groups, politics of policy, poverty, public choice*

The main question addressed in this paper is whether governments in developing countries have any political latitude to introduce pro-poor policies. The most common answer to this question is pessimistic: that latitude is very little. The main purpose of the paper is to challenge this pessimism, for which there are no good reasons, according to the author. This pessimism has two main sources. The first is a set of beliefs about globalisation. Globalisation would undermine the capacity of governments to introduce pro-poor or progressive policies, such as asset or income redistribution to the poor. The author claims that there is no reason to be so negative about globalisation, and stresses that there is an alternative interpretation for which there is more empirical evidence, namely that globalisation often generates economic instability, which governments are forced to mitigate. The role of the state may, hence, increase, and there may be more social protection rather than less.

The second source is, what Moore calls, 'interest group economism', a very popular set of ideas derived from public choice theory. The two main propositions are: a) redistributive policies will generate high levels of opposition and conflict, and b) successful implementation of redistributive policies require the active, mobilised support of the potential beneficiaries, i.e. the poor. The inevitable conclusion is that it is extremely difficult to implement redistributive policies successfully, and therefore need not be tried. In effect, this 'interest group economism' is, hence, a right-wing approach. Moore contests these two claims and argues that the assumptions regarding politics and policy do not fit the reality of many poor countries. One important point in this argument is that governments and political leaders have important degrees of autonomy and resources that they can use to shape preferences, create confusion among policy opponents, control information, define public interests, etc.

**105. Ostrom, Elinor (1991)**

**'Rational Choice Theory and Institutional Analysis: Toward Complementarity', *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 85, No. 1, pp. 237–43**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, institutional analysis, rational choice*

**106. Phillips, Susan D. with Michael Orsini (2002)**

**'Mapping the Links: Citizen Involvement in Policy Processes', *CPRN Discussion Paper No. F/21, Canadian Policy Research Networks, Ottawa*  
Available from: <http://www.cprn.org/en/doc.cfm> (accessed 04.07.03)**

*K: Canada, civil society, institutions, participation, social mobilisation*

**107. Politt, Christopher, Stephen Harrisons, J. David Hunter and Marnoch Gordon (1990)**

**'No Hiding Place: On the Discomforts of Researching the Contemporary Policy Process', *Journal of Social Policy*, Vol. 19, No.2, pp. 169–90**

*K: research methods, role of policy analyst*

'But in an era of bad faith, the man who does not want to renounce separating true from false is condemned to a certain kind of exile.' – Albert Camus (1956)

This article presents a broad understanding of the research community engaged in policy-process analysis. The paper has two intentions. The first is to emphasise the paucity of research methods that are acceptable in current policy analysis and to highlight its dangers. The second is to advocate the ethnographic approach to the study of policy processes.

The above quote is metaphorically used to suggest that policy circumstances most in need of independent investigation are immersed in ‘bad faith’. The policy researcher (‘the man’) with fair and genuine intentions is thus condemned to a ‘certain kind of exile’ where he is starved of money and has no possibility to continue policy analysis. The policy circumstances in which the research community is asked to participate are increasingly determined by a political agenda. This agenda sifts the sensitive from the acceptable policy issues and, thus, constrains a genuine understanding of the policy process. Sound policy research is increasingly rare, and one variety – the ethnographic approach – is especially at risk.

The implication of bad faith, according to the authors, is that those associated with a policy programme feel it prudent to suppress their own critical faculties and exude unwarranted confidence. The policy administrator can choose to silence debate on a policy issue to secure his next term in office; the policy researcher can choose to keep negative implications of a study silent in order to be commissioned another research grant. These tendencies affect the acceptability of the ethnographic approach since it supports multiple interpretations and allows for many normative positions. Its research findings are often not primarily meant to direct a policy action, but rather to learn about diverse perceptions on a policy issue.

While ethnography scores high with regard to external validity (the extent to which its insights reflect the external world), the common critique is that it is poor with regard to internal validity. It is for this reason that the scientific and neoclassical economic approaches – which score high with regard to internal validity – are the preferred approaches amongst most policy administrators. These produce neat, quantitative and prescriptive outcomes. In order to increase the acceptability of ethnographic research in policy circles, the authors supply some guidelines and techniques that may help to increase the internal (and external) validity of ethnography. These techniques result from a case study on the health policy domain, in which the authors took part, and which is presented in the paper.

**108. Rennie, Ruth (1998)**

‘History and Policy-making’, *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (156), pp. 289–301

*K: formulation of policy, history, knowledge/science in the policy process*

This article argues that historical research can make an important contribution to policy decisions. This is so, according to the author, because the historical context that historians can offer to policy-makers may deepen the latter’s understanding of current issues. An historical perspective can be particularly useful in areas in which there are visible traces of the past (e.g. related to the preservation of heritage sites) and in areas in which historical interpretations, through their effects on national memories, inform policy choices. An historical framework can also be applied to recover institutional memory. The historians’ involvement in (re)defining collective memory implies that, potentially, historians challenge the narratives that attempt to universalise national identity and question the form given to national collective memory. Historians can contribute to how policy is formulated, by 1) verifying the basis of demands for redress relating to the consequences of historical events, and 2) rectifying the narrative of historical events and influencing collective memory. These activities of historians can have a bearing on educational (e.g. school curriculum) and human rights policy. For instance, historians can be called upon to verify and justify a marginalised group’s claim to compensation, mental suffering or ‘native title’ to land. The paper ends with some recommendations regarding (methodological) training of historians, the necessity of interdisciplinary research, and the need for historians to come out of the ivory tower of academia.

**109. Rochefort, A. David and W. Roger Cobb (1993)**

**'Problem Definition, Agenda Access, and Policy Choice', *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 56–71**

*K: agenda-setting*

The authors' concern is with the initial stage of policy-making when a policy issue reaches the public policy agenda and attains problem status. The processes involved to reach this status are, they contend, non-rational. How a problem is *perceived* and *argued* is more relevant than 'objective' measurements or phenomena. So far, little academic work has been done on this issue of problem definition, which, according to the authors, is related to the dominance of the stage heuristic linear model to policy-making. The article seeks to address this deficiency and discusses the literature on the subject, current policy-making developments and future research needs.

**110. Rochon, Thomas R. and Daniel A. Mazmanian (1993)**

**'Social Movements and the Policy Process', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, No. 528, (July 1993) pp. 75–87**

*K: actors, civil society, law, participation, social mobilisation*

This paper considers how social movements affect change in public policy. There are three distinct strategies through which a social movement can try to influence public policy. The first is to attempt to change the policy, for example through formulating alternative legislation. This strategy is result-oriented and seeks to have the movement's goals met at the end of the policy process. The second strategy is to seek participation in the policy process. In the third strategy, public policy is influenced through the movement's effect on changing social values and norms. The authors claim that the success rate for each of these strategies is difficult to determine. This is because there may be a time lag between a movement's activity and a policy response. For example, a change in social values may occur early on in a movement's activity but only much later is there a policy response to this.

The authors discuss two different cases to illustrate their points: one related to the nuclear freeze movement, the other to the control of hazardous waste. The authors conclude that the most effective path for a social movement to affect policy outcomes is to gain access to the policy-making process (strategy 2). Unfortunately, however, this strategy is less popular among activists and of the movements' leaders. Often, these activists and leaders fear they will be co-opted in the mainstream or they fear they will be accused by more militant organisations of watering down their original purposes. They may therefore tend to focus more on tangible legal end-results, with the risk that, when they fail in this respect, the movement fades away, as one of the case studies suggests.

**111. Roe, Emery M. (1991)**

**'Development Narratives, or Making the Best of Blueprint Development', *World Development*, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 287–300**

*K: development, discourse, knowledge/science in the policy process, narratives*

Rural development is an uncertain and complex process, the outcomes of which are often not predictable. This makes policy-makers and practitioners cling to blueprint development. Blueprints are usually based on particular narratives. These narratives are less normative than ideologies; they are like stories. Four such narratives, all related to rural development in developing countries, are discussed in the paper. One of these is the tragedy of the commons. Another one is the 'story' that land registration means that owners can use the title deed as collateral for loans, which leads to more credit, which leads to more agricultural investment which leads to increased agricultural productivity. These narratives lead to blueprint solutions: privatisation in the case of the 'tragedy of

the commons', and land registration in the second case. Often, there is a wealth of evidence against the narratives. Nevertheless, the policy-makers keep following the blueprint 'solutions'. Those who are critical of the narratives and the blueprints usually propose a learning process as alternative: one has to be flexible and adaptive given the fact that the environment is characterised by uncertainty and instability.

The author argues that this alternative (the learning process approach), although right in the sense that the blueprint does not work, misses the point that narratives and blueprints basically serve to reduce uncertainty. Instead of elaborate and demanding studies, which would only increase uncertainties, the narrative helps policy-makers to 'understand' what is going on and what must be done. This means that, rather than pushing the learning process, one should investigate how narratives can be improved and blueprint development can be made better use of. The examples discussed in the paper illustrate a) the need to replace one narrative by a counter-narrative, b) the possibility of keeping the blueprint, but to change the mechanism that would lead to the desirable outcome, thereby, in the end changing the narrative, c) the possibility of stretching the narrative or finding innovative solutions within the narrative, which allow for other kinds of interventions, and d) the option of replacing the narrative with the help of new technological inputs (computers).

**112. Sabatier, Paul A. (1988)**

**'An Advocacy Coalition Framework of Policy Change and the Role of Policy-oriented Learning Therein', *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 21, No. 2–3, pp. 129–68**

*K: advocacy coalitions, knowledge/science in the policy process, policy subsystems*

The author develops a conceptual framework to understand policy change. The framework is based on three main premises. The first is that an understanding of policy change requires a time perspective of a decade or more. The second is that the most useful way to think about policy change over such a time span is to focus on 'policy sub-systems'. The third is that public policies and governmental programmes can be conceptualised in the same manner as belief systems, i.e., as sets of value priorities and causal assumptions about how to realise them.

The framework, which is summarised in the paper in a figure, consists of two sets of exogenous variables (one more stable, the other more dynamic) which affect the constraints and opportunities of actors in the policy subsystem. Within the policy subsystem, actors aggregate into advocacy coalitions. Advocacy coalitions are groups of people from various organisations who share a set of normative and causal beliefs and who often act in concert. Advocacy coalitions develop strategies and try to influence government decisions. Decisions lead to programmes, which lead to policy outputs and policy impacts (including side-effects). Policy change can happen as a result of learning processes but also as a result of external developments (which impact on the composition and resources of the various coalitions).

**113. Sabatier, Paul A. (1991)**

**'Toward Better Theories of the Policy Process', *Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 24, (June 1991) pp.144–56**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, institutions, knowledge/science in the policy process, policy models, policy stages, policy subsystems*

**114. Sabatier, Paul A. and Susan Hunter (1988)**

**'The Incorporation of Causal Perceptions into Models of Elite Belief Systems', *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 42, No. 9, pp. 229–61**

*K: advocacy coalitions, knowledge/science in the policy process, policy élites*

**115. Schlager, Edella (1995)**

**'Policy-making and Collective Action: Defining Coalitions within the Advocacy Coalition Framework', *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 28, No. 4, pp. 243–70**

*K: advocacy coalitions, collective action, institutional analysis*

The author argues that issues of collective action have not been sufficiently addressed in actor-network based theories of the policy process. The Advocacy Coalition Framework model (ACF, developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith) is strong in explaining the structure and stability of belief systems as well as the process of learning in policy-making, but it is weak in explaining how beliefs and learning translate into policy. Little attention is given in the ACF to 1) why actors with shared belief systems form coalitions to collectively press forward policy goals; 2) how coalitions maintain themselves over time; and 3) what kind of strategies ACs adopt to pursue policy goals. Two alternative models are reviewed by the author. These are Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development framework and Moe's theory of Structural Choice. These theories complement the ACF: while Ostrom has something useful to say regarding the formation and maintenance of coalitions, Moe focuses on the strategies that actors use in coalitions to deal with political uncertainty and opposition. The author suggests that insights from these theories can be incorporated in the AC framework, resulting in a better explanation of collective action processes in policy-making.

**116. Schlager, Edella and William Blomquist (1996)**

**'A Comparison of Three Emerging Theories of the Policy Process', *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 49, pp. 651–672**

*K: advocacy coalitions, approaches to policy analysis, institutional analysis*

This article compares three different theories of the policy process. These three theories are selected because they are relatively well-developed frameworks, addressing more than just one aspect or one stage in the policy process. The three theories are the Institutional Rational Choice (IRC) approach (as developed by Ostrom), the Structural Choice (SC) theory (as developed by Moe) and the Advocacy Coalition Framework (of Sabatier and others). The author uses 6 criteria in the comparison of the theories. Two of these refer to the methodology: boundaries of the inquiry and conception of the individual. Three criteria refer to aspects highlighted in one of the theories: the role of information and belief systems, which is highlighted in the ACF; the nature and role of groups, which is prominent in the SC; and the concept of levels of action, put forward in the IRC. The last is the extent to which the theories cover the whole policy process, with all its various stages. The paper concludes with a discussion of the shortcomings of the theories and suggestions for further work in order to improve them.

**117. Schulman, P. R. (1988)**

**'The Politics of 'Ideational Policy'', *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 50, No.2 pp. 263–91**

*K: ideas, knowledge/science in the policy process, rationality in the policy process*

**118. Smith, Martin J. (1990)**

**'Pluralism, Reformed Pluralism and Neopluralism: The Role of Pressure Groups in Policy-making', *Political Studies*, Vol. 38, pp. 302–22**

*K: interest groups, pluralism*

This paper assesses the contribution of pluralist interpretations to our understanding of the policy-making process. The author begins by countering three claims made by critics of pluralist interpretations. These claims are that 1) pluralists see all pressure groups as being of equal influence; 2) pluralists discount the importance of economic resources; and 3) pluralists regard the

state as neutral. According to the author, the pluralist model is much more sophisticated than many of the critics allow. He evaluates the various strands within the pluralist tradition, in order to present the 'best case' definition of pluralism. This 'best case' also has its limitations, and there is room for further improvement. The author's main criticism has to do with the over-emphasis on pressure groups (interest groups) and the under-emphasis of the role of the state in the policy process.

A characteristic common to all pluralist theories is that pressure groups are supposed to exercise a major influence over the political process. However, the classical, reformed and neo-pluralist models each specify this power differently. Power is differentiated and conditioned by the level and diversity of resources. Not all pressure groups bring the same power to the policy-making process. This argument is the essence of the author's answer to the critics of pluralism.

At the same time, the author acknowledges that a major shortcoming of each model is its over-reliance on pressure groups to explain change in the policy process. The pluralist tradition is criticised for its relative neglect of the role of the state, and for underrating the influence of institutional structures on the policy process. Certain groups and issues are excluded without conscious decisions of other pressure groups, but as a result of the structure of the policy process itself. So, there is a type of power – structural power – that is exercised through routine behaviour and institutions, and which is not immediately related to resources and preferences of interest groups. Another point highlighted by the author is the impact of different sets of interests from within the state on the policy process. These interests may be diverse and conflicting. The state, or interest groups from within the state, may make use of (outside) pressure groups to attain its/their own ends. The state, therefore, is viewed as exercising a considerable influence on the policy process. The author does not discount the influence of pressure groups, but concludes that, in the end, it is an empirical question whether and to what extent a particular policy process can be usefully described in terms of pluralist theories.

#### **119. Snare, Charles E. (1995)**

**'Windows of Opportunity: When and How can the Policy Analyst Influence the Policymaker During the Policy Process', *Policy Studies Review*, Vol. 14, No.3–4, pp. 407–30**

*K: role of policy analyst*

This paper seeks to understand how the policy analyst, policy-maker and policy process interrelate to affect policy. It examines four questions, namely, 1) What roles can the policy analyst play? 2) What are the personality types of policy-makers? 3) What is the role of the policy-maker's personality in the policy process? and 4) What are the 'windows of opportunity' for the policy analyst to influence the policy-maker during the policy process? The author's main interest is to provide an understanding (perhaps even some guidelines) of when and how the policy analyst can have an impact on the policy process.

The author argues that the policy analyst can have an impact at various stages of the policy process. Windows of opportunity depend on, firstly, the personality type of the policy-maker, secondly, the role/purpose of the policy analyst, and thirdly, the appropriateness of the strategies to influence the policy-maker. Two personality types of policy-makers can be distinguished: the pragmatist and the crusader. The pragmatist is flexible and guided by external cues, while the crusader is principled and guided more by internal cues, such as values and beliefs. Policy-makers of these two different kinds approach the various policy stages (i.e. agenda-setting, formulation of policy alternatives, accomplishing policy tasks, and evaluation of future policy) in different ways. The policy analyst can play different roles: that of expert, advocate, or trouble-shooter. The paper concludes that further research, for instance into the personality of policy-makers and the roles of policy analysts,

is necessary in order to get a better idea of possible windows of opportunity to influence the policy process.

**120. Sprechmann, Sofia and Emily Pelton (2001)**

**‘Advocacy Tools and Guidelines. Promoting Policy Change’, CARE, Atlanta**

Available from: [www.careusa.org/getinvolved/advocacy/tools.asp](http://www.careusa.org/getinvolved/advocacy/tools.asp) (accessed 04.07.03)

*K: advocacy, participation, poverty*

**121. Stone, Deborah A. (1989)**

**‘Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas’, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 104, No. 2, pp. 281–300**

*K: agenda-setting, ideas, narratives*

**122. Stone, Diana, Simon Maxwell and Michael Keating (2001)**

**‘Bridging Research and Policy’, Paper for an International Workshop funded by the Department for International Development (DFID), UK, 16–17 July 2001**

Available from: <http://www.gdnet.org/pdf/Bridging.pdf> (accessed 04.07.03)

*K: knowledge/science in the policy process, role of policy analyst*

This paper is about the relationship between research and policy, which is often not straightforward, but tenuous and fraught. It is an overview paper, not so much a review of the main themes in the literature, but a summary and short discussion of the various issues and approaches. The assumption is that sometimes research can be useful for policy-makers, but the conclusion is that the impact of research is uncertain and contingent on the social and political context. Chapter 2 is about ‘Policy Processes and Decision Making’. It lists a) four different models of how knowledge can be utilised in policy-making, and b) the various possible contributions of research in each stage of the policy process. The third chapter discusses what researchers can do in order to have more impact on the policy process. The fourth chapter is about challenges that face the policy-makers in their utilisation of research outcomes. The fifth chapter summarises the conclusions. Chapter 2–4 also end with concluding observations, usually formulated in the form of suggestions or recommendations: points that researchers should pay attention to, issues that have to be kept in mind etc. The paper can, therefore, be of use to researchers who want to be better heard by policy-makers, or policy-makers who want to communicate better with researchers.

**123. Sutton, Rebecca (1999)**

**‘The Policy Process: An Overview’, *ODI Working Paper No.118, Overseas Development Institute, London***

Available from: [www.odi.org.uk/publications/working.html](http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/working.html) (accessed 04.07.03)

*K: approaches to policy analysis, policy stages, politics of policy*

This paper is an overview of the literature on policy processes. It is not a critical review of the literature, but rather a potentially useful reference guide, listing and explaining the key ideas of the various approaches to the study of the policy process.

The paper starts with a short explanation of the linear model of the policy process. Section two is about the contribution of the various disciplines to a broader understanding of the policy process. This section contains many short pieces on different approaches that have emerged from within political science/sociology, anthropology, international relations and management. Section three is about ‘cross-cutting themes’. This section is also basically a list of the various approaches, ideas, and conceptual contributions. There is no systematic comparison of approaches in the paper. There

is also no larger argument, except that the linear model is inadequate, and that many different (kinds of) factors and circumstances can lead to policy innovation.

**124. Thompson, John W. (1995)**

**‘Participatory Approaches in Government Bureaucracies: Facilitating the Process of Institutional Change’, *World Development*, Vol. 23, No. 9, pp. 1521–54**

*K: developing countries, institutions, participation, participatory research*

**125. Thomas, John W. and Merilee S. Grindle (1990)**

**‘After the Decision: Implementing Policy Reforms in Developing Countries’, *World Development*, Vol. 18, No. 8, pp. 1163–81**

*K: decision, feasibility of policy, policy stages, politics of policy*

The article contains a critique of the linear model of policy reform, which assumes that the decision is the crucial moment in the policy process. Once the decision is made, it is assumed, policies are implemented (successfully or unsuccessfully). The main point made by the authors, based on reform experiences in twelve countries (out of which four are narrated in some detail), is that the implementation process itself deserves much more attention. Particularly in developing countries, it is not primarily the process of decision-making but the process of implementation that witnesses most struggles and political contestations. The authors develop a so-called interactive model of policy-making, which is based on the assumption that each reform policy will meet responses and opposition and that reform initiatives are, hence, altered or reversed in the course of implementation. There can be a range of outcomes, depending to a significant extent, on the actions of individuals. Policy-maker and managers can influence this process. Since it is possible to anticipate in advance to a certain extent on this implementation process, policy-makers would be wise to shift their attention from the decision to the implementation process, in order to think about ways to manage this process strategically. The article is meant to give some analytical tools for the assessment of the feasibility of the planned reforms and for the strategic management of the process.

In principle, two types of opposition to reform policies are possible, namely a) a reaction from the public arena, and b) a response from within the bureaucracy. The authors list the characteristics of the reforms which make the former or the latter more likely. These have to do with the distribution of costs and benefits; the level of administrative and technical content of the policies; the extent to which the reforms depend on participation of the public; and the duration of the reforms. Reformers may need additional resources to implement the reform. These resources can be political, financial, managerial or technical. At any stage of the policy process, decision-makers can take all these things into account in their assessment of the feasibility of a reform, and in their strategic assessment of how to go about.

**126. Thompson, Michael (1993)**

**‘Good Science for Public Policy’, *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 5, No. 6, pp. 669–79**

*K: knowledge/science in the policy process, policy stages, rationality in the policy process*

**127. Throgmorton, J. A. (1991)**

**‘The Rhetorics of Policy Analysis’, *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 153–79**

*K: discourse, policy arguments, role of policy analyst*

The author concurs with Majone’s (1989) viewpoint on the importance of rhetoric (‘the craft of persuasion’) in policy analysis and seeks to develop a conceptual framework for understanding the

role of rhetoric in the policy-making process. Policy analysis cannot be understood apart from the audiences to which its efforts are directed. Three main audiences are distinguished, namely scientists, politicians and lay advocates, each of them having their own normal discourse. Policy analysts not only have to address all these three audiences; they should also try to mediate between them, i.e. stimulate debate and encourage conversation between the three groups. The paper includes an extensive case study – about toxic waste disposal in the Love Canal in New York the 1970s – illustrating the point that policy analysts should not privilege one rhetoric (usually that of the scientists or that of the politicians) over others (usually that of the lay persons). Rather they should try to actively mediate the discourse between the three audiences and make sure to incorporate also the views and language of the often excluded lay people and their advocates.

**128. Torgerson, Douglas (1986)**

**‘Between Knowledge and Politics: Three Faces of Policy Analysis’, *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 33–59**

*K: knowledge/science in the policy process, politics of policy, positivism-postpositivism, role of policy analyst*

**129. Webber, David J. (1991)**

**‘The Distribution and Use of Policy Knowledge in the Policy Process’, *Knowledge and Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 6–35**

*K: knowledge/science in the policy process, role of policy analyst*

**130. Weiss, Carol H. (1979)**

**‘The Many Meanings of Research Utilization’, *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 39, (September/October 1979) pp. 426–31**

*K: knowledge/science in the policy process, role of policy analyst*

This article addresses the utilisation of research in public policy-making. The author’s concern is with the various uses of social science research and whether, ultimately, social science research can be useful for the policy-making process. The author develops seven models in order to better understand the processes and purposes of the use of research in the public policy arena.

The seven models are the following: First, is the (linear-based) *knowledge-driven* model that assumes research findings to direct policy-making. In contrast to this, the *problem-solving* model assumes research can fill a ‘knowledge gap’, which facilitates decision-making in the policy process. The *interactive* model assumes multiple interfaces such as personal experience, judgement, indigenous technologies to direct the policy-maker’s decisions. The *political* model assumes research serves political ends. Here, policy-making is determined by interests and ideology. The *tactical* model assumes research to strategically defer any decision on policy. Research is cited as ‘being done’; often it passes off as sanctioned by experts, but it is not necessarily utilised. The *enlightenment* model assumes the decision-making process is affected through a ‘circuitous’ diffusion of information and data in society. The effect is an informed public that can give policy-makers an indication of how to interpret a policy issue. A final view of research utilisation considers research as a part of the *intellectual enterprise of the society*. In this interactive approach, research responds to intellectual and popular thought. Research utilisation can influence a current policy debate or, alternatively, a policy concern can influence a research agenda.

**131. Weiss, Carol H. (1991)**

**‘Policy Research as Advocacy: Pro and Con’, *Knowledge and Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 1–2, pp. 37–55**

*K: decision, knowledge/science in the policy process, role of policy analyst*

**132. Yee, Albert S. (1996)**

**'The Causal Effects of Ideas on Policies', *International Organization*, Vol. 50, No.1, pp. 69–108**

*K: epistemic communities, knowledge/science in the policy process*

With the failure of some other explanatory models (such as game theory), it has been rediscovered that ideas and beliefs are very important in policy-making. The problem, though, is how to conceptualise the effects that ideas and beliefs have on policies. Is there a causal relationship between ideas/beliefs and policies? What kind of causal relationship is that? And how do ideas and beliefs influence policy outcomes? The article addresses these questions and discusses insights of a number of different theories and approaches in social science and philosophy of science.

The usual idea of causality is that causes are responsible for producing effects. In the social world, however, this concept of causality is inadequate. Usually, a particular social phenomenon is related to not one but several causes, and whether particular causes result in particular effects depends, usually, on a number of contingent factors. Based on recent developments in the philosophy of science, the author, therefore, adopts an alternative concept of causality, based on the idea that there are 'causal mechanisms', 'powers' or 'capacities'. Ideas and values (called 'ideations' in the paper) can be causes in this alternative sense.

The author then outlines three different ways in which ideations can affect policies. In all these ways, ideas operate through institutions. The first is the bureaucratic power of epistemic communities. Epistemic communities advocate particular ideas, which may trickle down to the policy-making process. Moreover, members of the epistemic communities may acquire key bureaucratic positions, which enable them to influence policies. The second is that ideas can become 'encased' or embodied in particular institutions. The rules and procedures of these institutions influence policy in particular ways. The third is that institutions act as filters. They govern the entry of ideas in the policy process, and affect the access of policy-makers to particular ideas. The next question, then, is how it is that ideas and beliefs exercise and possess the capacity to influence policies in these three ways. The answer to this question is related to the way in which language, intersubjective meanings and discursive practices operate.

## 2 Policy Processes in India

### 2.1 Books

**133. Bhaduri, Amit and Deepak Nayyar (1998)**

*An Intelligent Person's Guide to Economic Liberalisation*, Penguin Books, New Delhi

*K: economic reforms, India, politics of reform*

This book is basically a critique of the economic reform process in India. By moving beyond the slogans of the advocates of liberalisation and of those of the left, the book tries to contribute to a more evidence-based debate on the reforms. It discusses various aspects of the reform policy process, including the hidden script of the reform, the underlying belief system and the reform discourse, the reform strategy of the Indian government and the wider political-economic context of the reforms.

**134. Byres, Terence J. (ed.) (1994)**

*The State, Development Planning and Liberalisation in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi

*K: class power, development, India, politics of development, state theory*

This collection of essays, initially written for a conference in 1989, takes stock of India's experiences with planning. Most essays are written by political economists. They address questions related to the achievements of planning and its successes and failures in addressing agricultural and industrial development, structural transformations in the economy, etc. There are also a few essays focusing on the role of the state in development planning (Byres, Chatterjee) and the process and method of planning (Mozoomdar).

**135. Chakravarty, Sukhamoy (1998)**

*Development Planning: The Indian Experience*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi

*K: development, India*

This somewhat dated book is a classic account of India's planned development. It discusses failures and achievements, but also the ideas underlying the Nehru-Mahalanobis approach and the difficulties in the process of plan implementation.

**136. Currie, Bob (2000)**

*The Politics of Hunger in India. A Study of Democracy, Governance and Kalahandi's Poverty*, MacMillan, Basingstoke

*K: class power, corruption, democracy, elections, food (insecurity), India, politics of policy, populism*

The main question addressed in this book is: When is it that hunger and famines exist and under which conditions do they disappear? The prevailing consensus, according to the author, is influenced heavily by the work of Amartya Sen and Jean Drèze. It holds that famines tend not to occur in electoral democracies in which there is a relatively free press and a high degree of freedom of speech and association available to its citizens. Governments that need to seek re-election, and that face criticism cannot afford to ignore starvation or to neglect famine.

Currie challenges this assumption to some extent. The book deals with the Kalahandi region of the State of Orissa in east India, which is characterised by recurrent droughts and food crises. The Kalahandi case seems to contradict the prevailing consensus. After all, India is a democratic country in which regular elections are held, and there is a free press which has published extensively about the problems of poverty and alleged starvation in Kalahandi. Against this background, the study sets out to explore what kind of political processes have generated and perpetuated hunger in this region and what sort of political institutions and political actions are best suited to combat these problems.

The author concludes that there are a number of characteristics of the political process that explain why the elected government did not respond adequately to the widely-publicised extreme distress in Kalahandi. Elections, according to Currie, mean that people have the power 'to get rid', but not the power 'to get right'. Ruling parties change, but without producing significant improvements. In a similar fashion, the legal framework ensures the 'power to report', but the power to follow this up and enforce is often lacking. Furthermore, subsequent governments have developed various strategies to manage the 'expectation-delivery gap', such as blaming the preceding government, etc.

**137. Das, S.K. (2001)**

*Public Office, Private Interest. Bureaucracy and Corruption in India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, etc.*

*K: bureaucracy, corruption, India, new public management*

**138. Drèze, Jean and Amartya Sen (eds) (1997)**

*Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives, Oxford University Press, New Delhi*

*K: development, India, politics of development*

This collection starts with an essay by Amartya Sen, followed by three case studies, and ends with a paper on mortality, fertility and gender bias in India. Policy processes are particularly addressed in the three case studies, on Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Kerala. Invariably, these case studies illustrate the importance of local relations of power for the implementation of various development policies.

**139. Echeverri-Gent, John (1993)**

*The State and the Poor. Public Policy and Political Development in India and the United States, University of California Press, Berkeley etc.*

*K: approaches to policy analysis, collective action, India, politics of policy, rural development, social conflict, USA*

This book is about rural development in India (i.e. the Employment Guarantee Scheme in Maharashtra, and the National Rural Employment Programme in West Bengal) and in the United States (during the New Deal). Theoretically, the book is informed by three perspectives. The first is the 'rational process perspective', which holds that policy-makers plan and monitor in a rational manner (although the complexity of many problems means that their rationality is 'bounded'). The second is the 'conflictual process perspective', which asserts that implementation is always characterised by social conflicts. Third is the 'organisational environment perspective', which stresses the social context in which policies are implemented.

The book has three main empirical chapters, each dealing with one of the cases. In each empirical chapter, all three theoretical perspectives are applied. The case studies are based on archival work as well as on fieldwork. One of the things that comes out of the cases is that policies often have political impacts, and that these shape further political developments. Politics, according to the

author, is not necessarily detrimental to policy implementation. On the contrary, collective action is often necessary to pressurise administrators to do a better job.

**140. Fuller, C. J. and Veronique Benei (eds) (2000)**

***The Everyday State and Society in Modern India*, Social Science Press, New Delhi**

*K: anthropology of the state, India, state theory*

This book contains eight different essays: one introduction and seven case studies illustrating the everyday state and society relations in India. The issues discussed in the case studies vary considerably, from, for instance, the Onam festival in Kerala to slum clearance during the Emergency. The commonality of the articles is in their approach and methodology – all papers are ethnographies of the state in one way or other. The first essay, by C. J. Fuller and John Harriss, is an argument for developing an anthropological and ethnographic perspective on the state. The question to be addressed, they say, is: what is the Indian state for people in India today. A few important insights discussed in the introduction and in the empirical case studies are that ordinary Indians, to a considerable extent, have internalised the impersonal norms and values of the Indian state; that the boundaries between state and society are blurred and negotiable, but that the idea and perception of a boundary remains nevertheless important; and that many Indians are able to comprehend the state and do not so much resist it but rather use the system as best as they can.

**141. Guhan, S. and Samuel Paul (eds) (1997)**

***Corruption in India. Agenda for Action*, Vision Books, New Delhi**

*K: corruption, elections, empowerment, India*

**142. Harriss-White, Barbara (2003)**

***India Working: Essays on Economy and Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge**

*K: class power, development, economic reforms, India, state capacity, state theory*

Based on extensive fieldwork mainly in Tamil Nadu, south India, this book discusses many aspects of India's economy. The author discusses the main structures of accumulation, of which the state is one. Her starting point is not an idealised notion of the state, but the 'actually existing state' or 'local state' that can be investigated and analysed through its day-to-day actions and practices. Such case studies reveal the porous nature of the boundary between state and civil society, the significance of the 'shadow' state, the importance of the private status of officials, the continuity of corruption during or after 'really existing' liberalisation, the depletion of the local state's resources and the lack of capacity of the state to address fraud and tax evasion.

**143. Jayal, Gopal Niraja and Sudha Pai (eds) (2001)**

***Democratic Governance in India: Challenges of Poverty, Development and Identity*, Sage Publications, New Delhi**

*K: democracy, governance, India*

**144. Jenkins, Rob (1999)**

***Democratic Politics and Economic Reform in India*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi**

*K: democracy, economic reforms, India, institutions, policy networks, politics of reform*

This book deals with the politics of the economic reform process in India in the 1990s. Based on detailed fieldwork in four Indian States (Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Karnataka and West Bengal) Jenkins develops an interpretation of the political mechanisms that have made the reform process

possible. Jenkins describes these mechanisms under three different headings (and this is the bulk of the book), namely incentives, institutions and skills.

With regard to incentives, the author argues that the political élite is willing to take risks (i.e. introduce reforms), because they are confident that the reforms will not fundamentally alter the political arena or their privileged position. 'Politics as usual' will thus not end, and the reforms may even provide new opportunities for earning illegal incomes, strengthening support bases, etc. Under the second heading, institutions, Jenkins describes the formal (mainly federal) and informal (mainly party networks) institutions. The way these institutions work helps the political élite to implement the reforms with surprising efficiency. Jenkins' third heading, skills, refers to the tactics used by politicians and party élites, which enable them to introduce the reforms by stealth, i.e. like a stealth bomber without being noticed by the political radar screen.

**145. Jha, S. N. and P. C. Mathur (1999)**

*Decentralization and Local Politics*, Sage Publications, New Delhi

*K: decentralisation, India*

This is a collection of 13 already published papers with a new introduction. A few of the papers are from the late 1980s and most are from the 1990s. All papers focus on the politics of decentralisation. A few are case studies of how particular policy processes and outcomes were shaped in and through panchayat institutions.

**146. Kohli, Atul (1987)**

*The State and Poverty in India. The Politics of Reform*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, etc.

*K: democracy, India, political parties, politics of policy, populism, poverty, regime types*

On the whole, the Indian state has failed to deal effectively with poverty. There has been moderate economic growth, but very little redistribution of this growth. This lack of redistribution, it is argued, is related to the patterns of domination: the country has been ruled by a political élite in alliance with the propertied classes. The main question explored in this book is under which conditions the state can nevertheless implement some significant redistributive policies. After all, there are variations in distributive outcomes. What is it that explains these variations? The argument developed, on the basis of in-depth studies of West Bengal, Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh, is that regime types, closely related to the nature of the political party, can make a lot of difference. In particular, the ideology, organisation and class alliances underlying a party-dominated regime are of considerable importance for the redistributive performance of that regime. The regime most likely to do something about poverty, according to Kohli, is a well-organised left-of-centre regime.

**147. Manor, James (1993)**

*Power, Poverty and Poison. Disaster and Response in an Indian City*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, etc.

*K: actors, corruption, India, institutions, performance, poverty, power, state capacity, state (un)responsiveness*

**148. Mathur, Kuldeep and Niraja G. Jayal (1993)**

***Drought, Policy and Politics in India: The Need for a Long Term Perspective*, Sage Publications, New Delhi**

*K: drought, environment, India, politics of development, politics of policy*

This study analyses drought policies in India. On the one hand, it is an historical analysis of the evolution of India's drought policy, going back to the colonial time. On the other, it is an empirical analysis of the policy process regarding the country-wide drought in 1987. The focus is on the way drought is perceived, the types of policies that are implemented, and the political interests served. It is argued that drought policies are often short-sighted and relief-oriented. Drought is seen as a natural hazard, rather than as a (man-made) effect of inadequate ways of dealing with the vagaries of nature. Through an analysis of the parliamentary debates in the Indian parliament on drought, the authors investigate the response of politicians. They also analyse the extent to which the drought played a role in the 1989 elections in Rajasthan, one of the States affected by the drought. It is argued that the short-term relief oriented way of dealing with drought fits in with an agricultural development paradigm that privileges high-output irrigated agriculture and marginalises rainfall-dependent agriculture. Moreover, it serves the interests of the government – which can show it is the guardian of public welfare – and of those individuals who are in charge of sanctioning relief measures.

**149. Mathur, Kuldeep (ed.) (1996)**

***Development Policy and Administration*, Sage Publications, New Delhi**

*K: bureaucracy, civil society, decentralisation, development, formulation of policy, India, institutions, poverty*

This is a collection of ten papers published earlier between 1982 and 1994, with a new introduction. The papers are quite diverse in their topics (e.g. the relationship between the prime minister and the public service, the failure of development planning, or decentralisation). What the papers have in common is that they all contextualise public administration issues and problems within a larger socio-political and economic context.

**150. Mitra, Subrata (1992)**

***Power, Protest and Participation: Local Elites and the Politics of Development in India*, Routledge, London**

*K: class power, development, India, participation, politics of development*

**151. Mooij, Jos (1999)**

***Food Policy and the Indian State. The Public Distribution System in South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, etc.**

*K: corruption, developmental state, food (insecurity), India, policy networks, populism, state theory*

This book provides an empirical analysis of the Public food Distribution System (PDS). The programme has its origins in 1939, but especially after the mid 1960s it expanded enormously in terms of coverage as well as scale of expenditure. In one of the chapters the book analyses this history of the PDS in its political-economic context. The major part of the book is a detailed analysis of the functioning of the PDS in two south Indian States: Karnataka and Kerala. These chapters are based on empirical fieldwork, and cover the politics around procurement and distribution, the contested enforcement of the Essential Commodities Act and the way in which State Civil Supplies Corporations operate. The book argues that real food policy has to be understood as embedded in social relations and shaped by processes 'on the ground' rather than as a logical result of official statements and intentions.

**152. Paul, Samuel (2002)*****Holding the State to Account. Citizen Monitoring in Action, Books for Change, Bangalore****K: accountability, advocacy, India, performance, public sector*

This book is a description of an initiative of a number of Bangalore citizens to make Karnataka State (in south India) more accountable and improve performance. The group introduced a 'report card on public services' in order to gather feedback on the quality and effectiveness of various public services. The book describes the various stages of this initiative, the response by the state and the process of scaling up and advocacy that followed.

**153. Pavarala, V. (1996)*****Interpreting Corruption: Elite Perspectives in India, Sage Publications, New Delhi****K: corruption, India*

This book analyses élite perceptions of corruptions in Andhra Pradesh, south India. Based on interviews with five élite sections (bureaucrats, business/industrial leaders, judges, journalists and politicians), the author discusses the way in which the phenomenon of corruption is constructed in discourses of élites. The book is not about actual political, social and economic practices of corruption.

**154. Pingle, Vibha (1999)*****Rethinking the Developmental State: India's Industry in Comparative Perspective, Oxford University Press, New Delhi****K: developmental state, India*

Why is it that state intervention in industrial development is sometimes successful and sometimes not? This book addresses this question in the case of India. It analyses, compares and contrasts the steel industry (a case of failed industrial development), the automobile industry (which succeeded to some extent) and the software industry (an outright success, according to the author). In each of these cases, the author discusses not only the growth of the sector but especially the government policies and changes therein. The book concludes that success (and failure) depends on the kind of business-government relations that exist. Shared understanding and the presence of trusted development associations appear to be very important factors.

**155. Potter, C. David (1996)*****India's Political Administrators: From ICS to IAS, Oxford University Press, New Delhi****K: bureaucracy, India*

This is a historical analysis of what is now the Indian Administrative Service (IAS), the 'steel frame' of the Indian bureaucracy, as it is sometimes referred to. It illustrates that there is a large continuity in the organisation of the bureaucracy from the colonial times till now, even though the position of the administrators changed significantly when India became a democracy and politicians started to become involved at all levels. The IAS interpreted this situation as 'political interference' in administrative life, but they adjusted to the situation, even to the extent that many cooperated smoothly with the politicians in various kind of illegal practices during the Emergency in the 1970s. Nevertheless, tensions between bureaucrats and politicians remain important. The author analyses the work of many IAS officers as very political. Other issues discussed include the gentlemanly and service class norms and values of the IAS and the increased pressure from below challenging the authority of the IAS.

**156. Pranab, Bardhan (1998)**

***The Political Economy of Development in India, (expanded edition with an epilogue on the Political Economy of Reform in India), Oxford University Press, New Delhi***

*K: class power, India, politics of development, politics of reform*

This classic work, originally published in 1984, explains India's economic stagnation in terms of a dominant coalition formed by the three main proprietary classes (industrialists, rich agriculturalists and professionals within the state). The conflicts between these classes have serious repercussions for the fortunes of economic growth and democratic polity. Moreover, the three proprietary classes hold each other in a kind of deadlock situation making change unlikely. The 1998 edition has a new epilogue in which the author discusses the extent to which this thesis still holds. After all, reforms were introduced in the 1990s, suggesting that the deadlock had somewhat broken. The author argues that there is still a staggering burden of government subsidies, placating various powerful interest groups. In spite of all the changes in economic policy, one should therefore not exaggerate the extent of shift that has taken place in the basic political equilibrium. Nevertheless, the author also states that there are important changes and realignments in the composition and attitudes of the dominant coalition. On the one hand, the dominant coalition itself has become more diverse, fluid and fragmented. On the other hand, the ideas about the preferred role of the state have changed, and there is more public recognition of the fact that the state has overextended itself in the economy.

**157. Rudolph, Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph (1987)**

***In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State, Chicago University Press, Chicago***

*K: class power, India, state capacity*

**158. Sims, Holly (1988)**

***Political Regimes, Public Policy and Economic Development, Sage Publications, New Delhi***

*K: India, Pakistan, regime types*

This book is a comparison of the developments in what is now Pakistani and Indian Punjab. At the time of Independence, the larger share of rural infrastructure and fertile land went to Pakistan, suggesting a brighter future for the development of the Pakistani Punjab than for the Indian. The Indian Punjab, however, developed into a showpiece of the nation, and not the Pakistani. The book explores the various issues explaining the different performance. At the time of Independence, both governments had similar objectives for their respective Punjabs, but their policies related to agriculture and rural development differed sharply. The book focuses particularly on the respective approaches to public investment and technology (irrigation and fertiliser). The author also discusses the role of (local) institutions in development. In India the bureaucracy is somewhat accountable for its actions and the political structure facilitates the distribution of resources. In Pakistan, on the other hand, local level officials have a monopoly control over resources, and political leaders have not tried to incorporate the demands of wider constituencies into their policies.

**2.2 Articles and Papers****159. Arora, Dolly (1993)**

**'On the Tragedy of Public Domain: Corruption, Victimization and the New Policy Regime', *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 39, No. 1, pp. 383–94**

*K: corruption, economic reforms, India*

**160. Breman, Jan (1985)**

**“I am the Government Labour Officer...” State Protection for the Rural Proletariat of South Gujarat’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 20, No. 24**

*K: bureaucracy, class power, India, law, power, rural development, social conflict, state (un)responsiveness, work(ers) in government*

This article describes the patterns in the interaction between officers of the Labour Department in Gujarat (India) and agricultural labourers and farmers/landlords. It is based on close observations of these interactions and intensive fieldwork in the area. The article illustrates the sometimes unintended social/class bias in the interactions between officers and labourers. The labourers are often not able to answer the inappropriately asked questions (about earnings, conditions of work, etc.) and therefore invariably make a poor impression. Even where evidence is gathered on infringements of the minimum wage legislation no further action is taken and farmers/employers always succeed in getting off the hook. This situation is hardly surprising: some of the government labour officers are farmers themselves, and in any case they identify more with them than with the labourers. Moreover, they can demand bribes from the farmers/employers who do not comply to the minimum wage legislation. Such deals with the landlords are obviously in the interest of the government officials. All in all, the landless proletariat is completely vulnerable, as in its actions the state systematically supports the landowners rather than the labourers.

**161. Chhibber, Pradeep (1995)**

**‘Political Parties, Electoral Competition, Government Expenditures and Economic Reforms in India’, *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 74–96**

*K: Congress party, democracy, economic reforms, elections, India, political parties, politics of reform*

This article emphasises the role of political parties in the shaping of economic policies. According to the author, the Indian government has succeeded relatively well in reforming regulatory practices. Distributive policies, however, have not been reformed. The reason for this is the way in which party competition works. Political parties fight each other not so much along ideological lines. Rather, their main concern is access to the state and to state resources. All parties rely on these resources for mobilising electoral support. Ruling parties have, therefore, no interest in reforming distributive policies, even when this would be necessary for economic growth. The article focuses on two sets of distributive policies to argue this point: central allocation of loans and food to the various States, and the disbursement of subsidies. The empirical sections refer particularly to the period 1967–1984, in which Congress was the dominant party, but the conclusion goes beyond that period: as long as political parties contest elections primarily in order to provide supporters access to the state, economic rationalisation of government expenditure may be a long way off.

**162. Crook, Richard C. and James Manor (1998)**

**‘India (Karnataka)’, in *Democracy and Decentralisation in South Asia and West Africa. Participation, Accountability and Performance*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 22–84**

*K: accountability, decentralisation, democracy, India, participation, performance*

**163. Echeverri-Gent, John (1992)**

**‘Public Participation and Poverty Alleviation: The Experience of Reform Communists in India’s West Bengal’, *World Development*, Vol. 20, No. 10, pp. 1401–22**

*K: implementation, India, interest groups, participation, political parties, poverty, state (un)responsiveness*

**164. Harriss, Barbara (1988)**

**'Policy is what it Does: State Trading in Rural South India', *Public Administration and Development*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 151–60**

*K: class power, food (insecurity), implementation, India*

**165. Harriss-White, Barbara (1996)**

**'Order, Order .... Agro-commercial Micro-structures and the State: The Experience of Regulation', in Burton Stein and Sanjay Suhbramanyam (eds) *Institutions and Economic Change in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp. 275–314**

*K: India, law, regulation of markets*

This article explores the idea and practice of state regulation of agro-commercial production and markets. After a more general argument about the necessity of regulation, an outline of a taxonomy for the study of market regulation, and a description of the main features of regulation in India, the author discusses the history and present day regulatory practices in south India and West Bengal. It is argued that these practices are characterised by regulatory pluralism: different forms of state regulation go together with non-state forms of regulation. The law is poorly operationalised and serves some interests more than others. In fact, it is interpreted, manipulated and subverted systematically to reinforce the power of some commercial classes. The paper, hence, criticises those who believe that a more coherent law can do the trick, as well as those who propose a purely *laissez faire* solution to institutions and markets.

**166. Harriss-White, Barbara (2002)**

**'Development, Policy and Agriculture in India in the 1990s', *Queen Elizabeth House Working Paper Series No. 78*, Oxford**

Available from: [www2.qeh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/qehwp/qehwps78.pdf](http://www2.qeh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/qehwp/qehwps78.pdf) (accessed 04.07.03)

*K: agenda-setting, agriculture, budgets, development, discourse, India, participation, politics of poverty*

**167. Harriss, John (1985)**

**'The State in Retreat? Why has India Experienced Such Half-hearted Liberalisation in the 1980s?' *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 31–8**

*K: class power, economic reforms, India, political parties*

Both the attempt to liberalise India's economy in the middle of the 1980s as well as the failure of this attempt are understood in this paper as outcomes of the compromised nature of class power and the weakness of the state as an organisation. It is the uneasy alliance between India's bourgeoisie and its dominant rural classes that has led to structural constraints, fiscal problems and a crisis in planned development. The push for liberalisation came from India's big industrialists, but other dominant classes resisted the reforms. The way in which the dominant coalition operates made it impossible for the state to move ahead and change the course and pace of India's development.

**168. Harriss, John (2000)**

**How Much Difference Does Politics Make? Regime Differences Across Indian States and Rural Poverty Reduction, *LSE Destin Working Paper Series No. 00–01*, London School of Economics**

Available from: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/destin/workpapers/povertyreduction.pdf>  
(accessed 04.07.03)

*K: India, politics of development, poverty, regime types*

Starting from the work of Kohli (1987), who argued that political regimes make a difference for the development of pro-poor policies and their implementation, and the work on dominance and state power in India edited by Frankel and Rao (1989, 1990), the author investigates the relationship between State-wise performance in poverty reduction and regime characteristics (mainly in terms of caste/class dominance patterns). This relationship is certainly not simple and straightforward, but the paper nevertheless concludes a) that the structure and functioning of local (agrarian) power and the relations of local and state-level power holders have a significant influence on policy processes and development outcomes; b) that populist regimes relying on charismatic leaders in the context of competitive populism can do relatively well with regard to pro-poor policies and programmes; and c) that well-organised left-of-centre parties, which successfully confront local landed power through even modest reforms, are probably best able to deliver poverty reduction.

**169. Jenkins, Robert S. (1995)**

**‘Theorising the Politics of Economic Adjustment: Lessons from the Indian case’, *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 1–24**

*K: economic reforms, India, institutions, interest group, policy élites, politics of reform*

**170. Joshi, Anuradha and Mick Moore (2000)**

**‘Enabling Environments: Do Anti-poverty Programmes Mobilize the Poor?’ *The Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 25–56**

*K: India, Nepal, poverty, social mobilisation*

This article explores how ‘friends of the poor’ in government and other agencies may help increase the effectiveness of anti-poverty programmes by designing, organising or implementing them so as to stimulate the mobilisation of the poor. Four different strategies are discussed: 1) provocation (i.e. angering the poor), 2) conscientisation (i.e. making the poor more aware), 3) organisational preference (i.e. giving organisations that represent the poor preferential treatment or position, for instance, through corporatist structures), and 4) creating an enabling institutional environment that encourages poor people, social activists and grassroots political entrepreneurs to invest in pro-poor mobilisation. This last option is more indirect than the other three, but more promising, according to the authors. This option has various dimensions: tolerance, predictability, credibility and rights. The authors then proceed with a discussion of two cases (a rural water supply programme in Nepal, and the employment guarantee scheme in Maharashtra, India). Both cases illustrate the role of the creation of an enabling environment in mobilisation of the poor.

**171. Kochanek, Stanley A. (1996)**

**‘The Transformation of Interest Politics in India’, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 68, No. 4, pp. 529–50**

*K: business, economic reforms, India, interest groups*

**172. Kochanek, Stanley A. (1996)**

**'Liberalisation and Business Lobbying in India', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 155–73**

*K: business, economic reforms, India, interest groups, politics of reform*

As a result of economic and political changes, the nature and conduct of interest groups has also changed in India. State-dominated pluralism is eroding and interest groups have become less individual, patron-client oriented and particularistic and more collective, open and pluralistic. The paper focuses particularly on the main business groups: FICCI, ASSOCHAM and CII. It describes their history, support base and lobbying strategies. The CII is the youngest but currently also the most influential business association. Its social base is mainly the electronic, software and computer industry. It has established a close rapport with the major economic ministries. Of the three main business associations it is the best suited to the post-1992 reform environment, and it has succeeded in influencing economic policies to its advantage.

**173. Kohli, Atul (1989)**

**'Politics of Economic Liberalisation in India', *World Development*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 305–28**

*K: business, Congress party, India, interest groups, political parties, politics of reform, populism*

In 1985, the Indian government introduced various liberalisation policies, but after some time liberalisation slowed down and a more populist economic programme was re-adopted. The article analyses the political conditions under which these changes took place. The focus is particularly on domestic policy processes and international conditions remain outside the scope of the paper.

The paper starts with a description of liberalisation under Indira Gandhi. The author states that after Indira Gandhi resumed power in 1979, she became more communalist and more pro-business. In 1985, Rajiv Gandhi came to power. His economic policies were not very different from those of the previous years, and he could have presented them as continuity, but he presented them as change: a new start. Congress had a large majority in the Indian parliament, and – in combination with a new set of policy advisors – this gave an illusion of autonomy, as if policy-making could take place without 'politics as usual'. Initially, there was little response/opposition, but this soon changed. The first opposition came from within the Congress rank and file itself, but there were many other categories of people that started to protest subsequently. The fear of losing electoral support forced the government to slow down the pace of economic change, and the state lost its temporary autonomy. This leads the author to the conclusion that, although changes are possible, there are obvious limits to how far and how fast a liberalisation programme can be implemented in a democracy.

**174. Krishna, Anirudh (2001)**

**'Moving from the Stock of Social Capital to the Flow of Benefits: The Role of Agency', *World Development*, Vol. 29, No. 6, pp. 925–43**

*K: actors, development, India, poverty, social capital*

**175. Manor, James (1987)**

**'Tried, then Abandoned: Economic Liberalisation in India', *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 39–44**

*K: Congress party, economic reforms, India, interest groups, political parties, politics of reform*

This article discusses the widespread opposition from many categories of people against the reform process that was introduced by Rajiv Gandhi in 1985. Despite this opposition, Rajiv Gandhi did not

try to build support for the liberalisation policy, but turned his back on the entire scheme. Opposition in combination with incapable political leadership, thus, made the reforms a failure.

**176. Manor, James (1995)**

**‘The Political Sustainability of Economic Liberalization in India’, in Robert Cassen and Vijay Joshi (eds), *India: the Future of Economic Reforms*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp. 341–61**

*K: Congress party, economic reforms, India, political parties, politics of reform*

As compared to economic reforms in many other parts of the world, the reforms in India have a cautious and limited character. The government is reluctant to go against the interests of those who are powerful, while – for electoral purposes – it also does not want to alienate the poor. While this cautiousness makes the reforms possible, it may undermine their sustainability in the long run.

This paper analyses the thinking and strategies that are pursued by the main economic policy decision-makers, P.V. Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh. P.V. Narasimha Rao, according to the author, was a very determined politician, capable of formulating and implementing coherent policy. The main idea behind the reform was not to end the role of the state as a protector of the vulnerable and promotor of development, but rather to preserve this role as much as possible. The reforms were centrally managed and this management, including the sequencing of the reforms, was done very carefully. While the reforms were publicised in international fora, their importance was underplayed in domestic politics. P.V. Narasimha Rao, according to the author, realised that a low-key approach would help to reduce opposition to the reforms (both within the Congress party and outside it) and could help to secure his own political survival.

**177. Mathur, Kuldeep (1995)**

**‘Politics and Implementation of Integrated Rural Development Programmes’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 30, No. 41 & 42: 2703–8**

*K: India, politics of development, poverty*

Although poverty eradication has been a recurrent theme in India’s planning, the government has performed very poorly in this respect. The paper reviews the experience with the Integrated Rural Development Programme, which is flawed in several respects. It illustrates that the fundamental paradox described by Frankel in 1978 still exists: the commitment to radical social change goes together with an equal determination to avoid a direct attack on the existing structures. The Indian bureaucracy, the author concludes, seems to work at two levels. One is the level of preparation and design, where well-meaning and experienced administrators design attractive policies. The other is the level of implementation, where a nexus between local politicians and local bureaucrats – insufficiently supported by the expert planners who are involved in designing the schemes – makes it impossible to implement the schemes. This schizophrenic situation suits the central government planners well. They can continue to project a progressive image and blame poor performance on others.

**178. Mathur, Kuldeep (2001)**

**‘Does Performance Matter? Policy Struggles in Education’, draft, unpublished paper, p. 16**

*K: actors, agenda-setting, decision, development, education, India, institutions, performance, policy élites*

**179. Mathur, Kuldeep (2001)**

**‘Governance and Alternative Sources of Policy Advice: The Case of India’, in K. Weaver and Paul Stares (eds), *Guidance for Governance. Comparing Alternative Sources of Public Advice*, Japan Centre for International Exchange and Brookings Institute.**

*K: bureaucracy, democracy, elections, India, knowledge/science in the policy process, think tanks*

This paper traces the evolution of public policy processes in India. These processes, the author argues, are constrained and influenced by the fact that India is still in a transition towards a more meaningful and participative democracy, despite having formal democratic institutions since Independence. This affects the policy process in two distinct ways. On the one hand, governments tend to concentrate on their political survival rather than on policy. On the other, the bureaucracy, a follow-up of the colonial administration, is massive, self-interested and not very effective. These political and bureaucratic characteristics have lent the Indian policy-making process a decisively technocratic quality. Characteristically, policy formation and choice emerge from specially appointed committees. These committees handle specific policy issues or sectors and the members are recruited by political or civil servant élites who seek a quick policy proposal or recommendation. Research institutes are only a recent development. They do not fare very well, as they are challenged by resource constraints and have to toe a political line for more funding. All these factors have made independent analysis on policy issues a rare phenomenon.

It is only recently that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have started to challenge policy choices and have come up with alternatives. They influence policy processes in various ways, and offer the best possibility for alternative policy advice and choice. Unfortunately, however, their role is limited by political and administrative constraints. The ‘right to information’ is crucial for more accountability and for expanding the possibility of alternative policy advice.

**180. Mollinga, Peter P., R. Doraiswamy and Kim Engbersen (2001)**

**‘The Implementation of Participatory Irrigation Management in Andhra Pradesh, India’, *International Journal on Water*, Vol. 1, No. 3/4, pp. 360–79**

*K: approaches to policy analysis, class power, implementation, India, irrigation, policy models, political parties*

Since 1996–7, the south Indian State of Andhra Pradesh has witnessed a significant reform process in the irrigation sector. On the basis of fieldwork in one canal irrigation system in Andhra Pradesh, this paper analyses the implementation process of this participatory irrigation management reform. It discusses the question whether the reform process followed a ‘machine’ approach (in which implementation is seen as a quasi-mechanical exercise) or a ‘transactional’ approach (in which implementation is regarded as a dynamic process). The paper concludes that, although the case is not a typical example of a machine approach, the policy-makers have not sufficiently taken all the implications of the transactional model into account. There were several ‘machine’ assumptions in the design of the reform, and these have perhaps not single-handedly caused some of the implementation problems but certainly not contributed to addressing them.

**181. Mooij, Jos (1999)**

**‘Food Policy in India. The Importance of Electoral Politics in Policy Implementation’, *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 11, pp. 625–36**

*K: democracy, elections, food (insecurity), implementation, India, performance, political parties, populism*

This paper discusses, compares and contrasts the politics of food policy implementation in two Indian States: Karnataka in south India and Bihar in north India. Both States are covered by the

Public Distribution System (PDS), a major intervention in the Indian food economy meant to reduce food insecurity and improve welfare. As in most south Indian States, the PDS in Karnataka works reasonably well. Most poor people receive some subsidised foodgrains every month and Karnataka politicians see the scheme as important and use it to enhance their popularity and attract votes. By contrast, the impact of the PDS on the poor in Bihar is negligible. A large percentage of the foodgrains is diverted to the open market. This raises the question as to why the populist politicians in Bihar are not making use of the PDS in the same way as their colleagues in Karnataka. Based on fieldwork in these two States, the paper explores a number of hypotheses. It concludes that politicians in Bihar take a definite interest in the PDS, but as a result of the different features of the overall political process in this State, it has a different impact on the implementation process.

**182. Mooij, Jos (2001)**

**'Food and Power in Bihar and Jharkhand. The PDS and its Functioning', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No. 34, pp. 3289–99**

*K: class power, democracy, food (insecurity), implementation, India, political parties*

**183. Patnaik, Prabhat (2000)**

**'Economic Policy and its Political Management in the Current Conjuncture', in Francine Frankel, Zoya Hasan, Rajeev Bhargava and Balveer Arora (eds), *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi pp. 231–53**

*K: class power, democracy, economic reforms, globalisation, India, politics of reform*

This article criticises the neo-liberal policies on many fronts, but it also addresses the question why these policies could become accepted in India.

All over the world, the influence of the Bretton Woods institutions has been considerable. This has also been the case in India. The author criticises the official justification of this influence (that there was economic mismanagement in the country). There is a convergence of interest in the Bretton Woods policies (including those of multi-national companies, domestic third world bourgeoisies, sections of the élite etc.), but it is particularly finance capital that benefits from the removal of restrictions on capital flows and other liberalisation policies. The economic effect of liberalisation, according to the author, is not so much export-led growth, but rather the import of crises and stagnation.

An important question then is how these reforms could sustain themselves, and why there is not much more opposition. This, according to the author, is because an abridgement of democracy has taken place, in at least three ways. The first is the strategic way in which policy-making takes place and public opinion is shaped. There is a small group of people involved in economic policy-making, and many of them have previously been employees of the IMF or World Bank. Individual media persons or academic researchers are influenced by well-paid assignments. Independent critical academic work becomes more difficult to undertake in an era in which also the universities become increasingly market-driven. A second factor explaining lack of opposition is that at a certain point there is no way back. And lastly, the political arena itself changes as a result of the liberalisation policies. Globalisation in India has intensified communalism, fundamentalism and secessionism. These movements have become more important in Indian politics, and even led to a shift in political discourse away from economic policies towards issues raised by these movements. Implementation of the reforms has become easier, and is, ironically, even justified by some on the ground that it would stimulate modernisation and would help to overcome traditionalism and backwardness.

**184. Pedersen, Dige Jorgen (2000)**

**'Explaining Economic Liberalisation in India: State and Society Perspectives', *World Development*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 265–82**

*K: business, economic reforms, India*

The question addressed in this paper is why the economic reforms that were implemented after 1991 could be relatively successful. The author reviews several explanations that focus on the state élite or on pressures from international agencies (such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund). These explanations provide some clues, indeed, but are unsatisfactory when it comes to an explanation of the consolidation of the reform. The consolidation, according to the author, can best be explained by the so-called 'quiet revolution' that has taken place in India in the 1990s. The 'quiet revolution' refers to the rise of a new group of industrialists, which are characterised by modern technology, professional management and collaboration with foreign companies. These modern industrialists are mainly represented in the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII). The CII claims to be in favour of globalisation and economic reforms. Moreover, it has excellent relations with the economic policy-makers, and is actively engaged in political debates. In short, according to the author, it is the economic and political rise of these new industrialists that explains that the reforms could be carried through.

**185. Rao, V. M. (1999)**

**'Policymaking for Agricultural Development. Why it Misses the Poor', *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, Vol. 42, No. 1, pp. 49–57**

*K: agriculture, India, policy élites*

**186. Rao, V. M. (2001)**

**'The Making of Agricultural Price Policy: A Review of CACP Reports', *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 1–28**

*K: agenda-setting, agriculture, development, food (insecurity), India*

As the subtitle indicates, the paper is an analysis of the reports of the Commission for Agricultural Costs and Prices (previously the Agricultural Prices Commission). Based on reports from 35 years, the paper describes the evolution of agricultural price policy in India, and sheds light on how agricultural policy-making takes place in a democratic but unequal society. Three main periods are distinguished, namely a) the period from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s in which India achieved self-sufficiency, b) the period from the early 1980s to the early 1990s, in which agricultural growth was more broad-based than in the previous period, and c) the period after the early 1990s, when economic reforms were introduced in other sectors of the economy. The broader context of policy-making as well as the changing composition of the CACP are mentioned, but the main emphasis of the paper is on the content of the CACP reports and what these reveal about policy preferences.

**187. Rubin, R. Barnett (1985)**

**'Economic Liberalization and the Indian State', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 942–57**

*K: Class power, corruption, development, economic reforms, India, politics of reform*

This article is an interpretation of the 1985 budget, which introduced some liberalisation policies. The budget was received with enthusiasm, particularly by the urban middle classes. What most observers did not notice, according to the author, was that the budget was part of an attempt to reshape the relationship between the Indian state and economic interest. It was an attempt of the state to break away from patronage politics and towards playing a more developmental role (though

an élitist one). In other words, it was an attempt to make the state more autonomous from the main proprietary classes in society (as described by Bardhan).

Even though the proposed policies meant higher risks and less protection for the industrial sector, there was little opposition. This is related to the gap between what is announced and what was actually implemented. It is argued that, if the new policies were to lead to a reduction of subsidies, less scope for corruption and a decrease in importance of patronage relations, resistance would be likely to emerge within the dominant coalition.

**188. Saxena, N. C. (2001)**

**‘Improving Effectiveness of Government Programmes – an Agenda of Reform for the 10<sup>th</sup> Plan’, Conference paper *Fiscal Policies to Accelerate Economic Growth*, New Delhi, p. 24**

*K: accountability, agenda-setting, corruption, development, governance, implementation, India, performance, poverty*

**189. Shastri, Vanita (1997)**

**‘The Politics of Economic Liberalization in India’, *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 27–56**

*K: bureaucracy, discourse, economic reforms, ideas, India, policy élites*

The paper investigates the source of reform/policy change in India. The main emphasis is put on ideas as a source of policy change. The paper makes three main points, namely: 1) there has been a shift in the policy discourse; 2) there has been a ‘change team’ pushing the reforms; and 3) there was a conscious attempt to manage the reforms politically.

The author states that the reform process started in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when various committees headed by senior administrators who were more market-friendly than their predecessors wrote their policy reports. These ideas were further developed during the Rajiv Gandhi regime. Although many of the policy ideas could not be implemented, the strength of the new discourse increased. The ideological orientation of the key decision-makers and economic advisors changed further, a process which was helped by the entry of the so-called ‘laterals’ within the bureaucracy. These laterals were usually relatively young. Often they had had their training outside India, notably in the United States, and they had sometimes prior professional experience in the World Bank or in the academic world. Although Rajiv Gandhi had to backtrack on his reform policies, the ideas and convictions within the bureaucracy regarding the necessity of reform continued to gather strength, and when Narasimha Rao took over the plans were all ready to be implemented. The bureaucratic policy-makers just waited for the gradual opening of the ‘windows of opportunity’ to introduce the reforms in a carefully sequenced way.

**190. Sudan, Randeep (2000)**

**‘Towards SMART Government: The Andhra Pradesh Experience’, *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 46, No. 3**

*K: good government, governance, India, policy stages, politics of policy*

This paper, written by a member of the Indian Administrative Service, describes the introduction of various e-governance measures in Andhra Pradesh. The author uses a framework developed by John P. Kotter to describe this process. Basically, this framework defines distinct stages for leading change within organisations. In contrast to the linear model of policy-making, the stages are political, rather than mechanical. They are: a) establishing a sense of urgency, b) creating a guiding coalition, c) developing a vision and a strategy, d) communicating the change vision, e)

empowering broad-based action, f) generating short-term wins, g) consolidating change and producing more change, and h) anchoring new approaches in the culture.

**191. Thimmaiah, G. (1996)**

**'The Political Economy of Populist Programmes', *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 40–63**

*K: democracy, elections, food (insecurity), India, populism, poverty*

This article analyses several populist programmes in India against the history of the political economy of India's development. It suggests that populist schemes had already been launched by the first Congress government after Independence, but it is especially from the late 1960s onwards that they became more and more important. By that time, it had become clear that the earlier strategy, i.e. relying on general economic development in order to eradicate poverty, had failed. State governments as well as the central government introduce populist programmes, and they may even compete with each other in this respect. The paper analyses two types of populist schemes in more detail, namely subsidised rice schemes and loan waiver schemes, and concludes that in some cases (such as the subsidised food schemes), populism may result in actual redistribution.

**192. Varshney, Ashutosh (1989)**

**'Ideas, Interest and Institutions in Policy Change: Transformation of India's Agricultural Strategy in the mid-1960s', *Policy Sciences*, Vol. 22, No. 3–4, pp. 289–323**

*K: agriculture, ideas, India, institutions, interest groups*

**193. Varshney, Ashutosh (1999)**

**'Mass Politics or Elite Politics. India's Economic Reforms in Comparative Perspective', in Jeffrey D. Sachs, Ashutosh Varschney and NirupamPajpai (eds) *India in the Era of Economic Reforms*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi etc. pp. 222–60**

*K: democracy, elections, formulation of policy, India, interest groups, politics of reform*

This paper addresses the question why the economic reforms in the 1990s did not attract much attention, let alone opposition. The answer is found in contingent circumstances – i.e. social and political developments in India in the 1990s that had little to do with the reforms, but which made the reforms possible. Generally, scholars assume that reforms, once they are on the agenda, become a central issue in political debates. So, there should be sufficient political support for them, otherwise they are doomed to be still-born. The author claims that this centrality of reforms need not be the case: in a situation in which other issues dominate what he calls 'mass politics', reformers can proceed quietly as long as they refrain from policies which could turn into mass political issues.

Mass politics in India centers around identity issues. Especially in the 1990s, Hindu nationalism has been a rising force. The demolition of the Babri mosque in Ayodhya in north India plus the issue of job reservation for the lower castes, led to mass politics centering around identity and communalism, and the main political parties started to realign. As a result, subsequent budget/reform proposals could pass the Indian parliament, not because the opposition parties were in favour of the reform policies, but because Hindu-Muslim relations and caste animosities had become the prime determinants of political coalitions.

The same concepts, mass and élite politics, are used to explain why reforms have been successfully executed in some areas and not in others. Reforms that touch, directly or primarily, élite politics have gone farthest. Reforms that have positive political consequences in mass politics have been implemented, but reforms that have potentially negative or highly uncertain consequences in mass politics have either been completely ignored, or pursued half-heartedly.

**194. Wade, Robert (1982)**

**'The System of Administrative and Political Corruption: Canal Irrigation in South India', *The Journal of Developmental Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 287–328**

*K: bureaucracy, corruption, India, irrigation*

**195. Wade, Robert (1985)**

**'The Market for Public Office: Why the Indian State is not Better at Development', *World Development*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 467–97**

*K: bureaucracy, corruption, India, irrigation*

This article describes a system of corruption as it exists in the irrigation sector/department in a south Indian State. Of crucial importance in this system are the transfers from one post in the government to another. Some posts in the government are more wanted than others. There is a sanctioning authority distributing posts, and the common practice is that people are willing to pay for particular posts. The price will reflect the amount one expects to be able to earn in the post (and this is more, for instance, if one is in charge of construction work). Politicians are also involved in the transfer system. They share in the money that is collected. Since the electorate votes mainly on the basis of short-term gains, politicians need a lot of money to get a party ticket in the first place and in order to get elected. It is this institutionalised circuit of transactions, in which the bureaucracy appropriates money from clients as well as from the state treasury and shares this money with higher ranks within the bureaucracy and politicians – all mediated through the system of personnel transfers – that makes the Indian state not better at development.

**196. Weiner, Myron (1999)**

**'The Regionalization of Indian Politics and its Implications for Economic Reform', in Jeffrey D. Sachs, Ashutosh Varshney and Nirupam Pajpai (eds), *India in the Era of Economic Reforms*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi etc. pp. 261–95**

*K: corruption, economic reforms, federalism, India, performance*

This article analyses the role of State governments in India's economic liberalisation and the way in which federalism helps to accelerate or to slow down the reform process.

The article gives a historical overview of Centre-State relations, and the way in which these have changed over time. The focus is particularly on the political aspects of these relations. Three 'centralising features' are discussed, namely:

- a) The lack of fiscal autonomy of the States and their fiscal dependence on the Centre. This has led to debts of the States to the Centre. The occasional waivers have added to further fiscal laxity on the part of the States.
- b) The possibility of invoking Article 356 of the Constitution. This article has been misused many times. The article has contributed to political instability at the State level and short-term time horizons among State political leaders.
- c) Problems with administrative capabilities. Generally, State governments are staffed by less competent and more corrupt people than the Centre.

Given these features, the author states it is not surprising that the reforms have moved slowly in the States. Yet, at the same time, the political and economic environment is changing, and States must now compete with each other, not only in New Delhi, but also in national and global market places. A new mind-set of State politicians, new skills within State bureaucracies and a different kind of politics are necessary in order to pursue the reforms.

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