Afghanistan Public Policy Research Organization

Policy and Institutional Analysis:
A Handbook

July 2017

Training Manual

موسسه مطالعات عامه
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Acknowledgements

About the Authors

This manual was compiled by Saeed Parto.

About APPRO

Afghanistan Public Policy Research Organization (APPRO) is an independent social research organization with a mandate to promote social and policy learning to benefit development and reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and other less developed countries through conducting social scientific research, monitoring and evaluation, and training and mentoring. APPRO is registered with the Ministry of Economy in Afghanistan as a non-profit non-government organization and headquartered in Kabul, Afghanistan with offices in Mazar-e Sharif (north), Herat (west), Kandahar (south), Jalalabad (east), and Bamyan (center). APPRO is also the founding organization of APPRO-Europe, a non-profit association registered in Belgium, and acts as the Secretariat for the National Advocacy Committee for Public Policy (NAC-PP).

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Introduction

This manual is developed as a result of APPRO's collaboration and interaction with numerous government agencies and civil society organizations throughout Afghanistan since 2007. The manual is intended to serve as a resource for policy analysis trainers and civil society individuals and organizations that wish to pursue positive societal change through policy reform and consistent with the principles of "good governance" (see below).

In democracies, the right of citizens and their representative organizations to express opinions and demand democratic change are enshrined in the Constitution and specified in numerous related laws and regulations. The pre-conditions of policy reform in a democracy are freedom of assembly and speech and access to information and corridors of power, all necessary elements of the democratic process, and practical instruments that facilitate policy reform through advocacy.

This manual provides an overview of the policy process under good governance and the place of constructive engagement in that process.

The principles of good governance are participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability, and a strategic vision (Box 1).

Box 1: Principles of Good Governance

Participation: All men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as capacities to participate constructively.

Rule of law: Legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.

Transparency: Transparency is built on the free flow of information. Processes, institutions and information are directly accessible to those concerned with them, and enough information is provided to understand and monitor them

Responsiveness: Institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders.

Consensus orientation: Good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interests of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.

Equity: All men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their wellbeing.

Effectiveness and efficiency: Processes and institutions produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.

Accountability: Decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil society organizations are accountable to the public, as well as to institutional stakeholders. This accountability differs depending on the organizations and whether the decision is internal or external to an organization.

Strategic vision: Leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development. There is also an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which that perspective is grounded.

Source: UNDP (1997) [1]

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[1] UNDP (1997), *Governance for Sustainable Human Development*. United Nations Development Programme, cited on: http://www.gdrc.org/u-gov/g-attributes.html

What is Policy Analysis?

Policy analysis as a specific discipline began to emerge as the problems being analyzed became broader, policy goals more ambitious, and policy contexts more complex to include whole sectors such as public health, housing, education, environment, transportation, and even the whole economy focusing on such issues as unemployment or inflation.[2] The sectoral and societal approach to policy making necessitated more in-depth understanding of choice making with respect to trade offs among multiple and conflicting priorities.

As a discipline, policy analysis was to provide better understanding of the policymaking process and supply reliable policy-relevant knowledge on economic and social problems. In this sense, public policy may be defined as a *formally expressed, and documented, intention comprising a number of specific decisions to effect social, economic and sometimes political change* or *to maintain the status quo*. As such, a conscious and documented course of inaction can also be construed as a policy. A policy may be expressed as one or more laws, rules, statutes, edicts, regulations, order, or a combination of these elements.

The initial articulation of public policy in the 1950s, its processes, and its analysis contained attributes of multidisciplinarity, guidance to the policy makers for making political decisions, knowledge of the policy process among the relevant actors, and a mode of governance akin to a democracy. Public policy was therefore envisioned as being informed by collective input of political scientists, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and statisticians and mathematicians. The ideal form in public policy was, therefore, to utilize quantitative and qualitative methods.

Policy analysis also has roots in operations research and systematic decision making of the 1940s and early 1950s, systems analysis of the late 1950s and early 1960s, and policy analysis of public policies from the late 1960s to the present. As a result, policy analysis since the 1990s has become more closely associated with managerial practices, due to its empirical (and quantitative) orientation, than to the facilitation of a democratic mode of governance. That economists began and continue to hold sway over all other disciplines in public policy speaks to the ability of economists to express social, economic, and political issues in an oversimplified, and seemingly much more precise, manner than other disciplines in social sciences.[3]

"Policy Sciences", a phrase coined in the early 1950s, was to strive for three principal attributes:

- **Contextuality:** decisions are part of a larger social process
- **Problem Orientation:** Policy scientists are at home with the intellectual activities involved in clarifying goals, trends, conditions, projection, and alternatives.
- **Diversity:** The methods employed are not limited to a narrow range.[4]

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[2] Based on: Walker, W.E. (2000), Policy Analysis: A Systematic Approach to Supporting Policymaking in the Public Sector, *Journal of Multi-criteria Decision Analysis* (9), 11 – 27.

[3] Based on: Fischer, F., G.J. Miller, M.S. Sidney (2007) eds., Handbook of Public Policy Analysis Theory, Politics, and Methods, (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press), page xix.

[4] Lasswell, H.D. (1971), A Preview of Policy Sciences, (NY: Elsevier Publishing).

Policy sciences emphasized the need to map the policy process, from inception to implementation and closure, with full, multi-dimensional details.[5] The maturation of the public policy process and the expansion of its scope also meant that acceptability of policy solutions by the public began to matter more than policy optimality.[6]

Since the 1950s public policy making has increasingly relied on input gathered through public opinion surveys, focus groups, and town hall meetings to engage the public in the public policy process. To varying degrees, the actors of the public policy process are typically politicians, technocrats, natural scientists, social scientists with economists in the lead, interest and lobbying groups, and the general public. Navigating a process through the often colliding intentions of these actors makes policy making and its analysis an art rather than a precise science, though arguably a lot of both social and natural sciences and politics goes into the public policy process.[7]

Modern policy analysis is often characterized as being scientifically, objectively, and empirically based. There is increasing empirical evidence, however, that major policy decisions at the highest levels since the early 1990s have been made based more on the whims of politicians than the needs of the public, with economists providing the "empirical" justifications guided by neoliberalism as the overarching ideology, prioritizing private economic interests as the drivers of progress above all other societal needs. Since the 1990s the assisting role assigned to policy analysts has been increasingly conditional on being based on tangible economic rationalization and reasoning, preferably consistent with the dominant neoliberal values.

The politics of public policy making and an appreciation of the inherent complexities of the public policy process since the 1980s have resulted in the emergence of a circular view of the policy process shaped by the values of and power relations among stakeholder, rather than a seemingly linear view first espoused in the 1950s. (Figure 2).

Modern policy analysis since the 1980s has attempted to take account of the circularity and bidirectional feedbacks between the various elements of the policy process. At the same time, a more explicit role is assigned to the politics of the policy making process, often resulting in policies that are not products of comprehensive and objective evaluations or learning from past experience. The disjointed trajectory of most policies, relations of any given policy to a number of other policies at different scales, and the bidirectional feedback between the different elements of a policy domain force us to conclude that in the real world "policy processes rarely feature clear-cut beginnings and endings… [and that] policies are perpetually reformulated, implemented, evaluated, and adapted. …. Instead, new policies (only) modify, change, or supplement older policies, or – more likely – compete with them or contradict each other."[8] Policy making and setting policy objectives are far from rational and thus can, if badly designed, aggravate social or societal problems rather than solve them.

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[5] This mapping is fully articulated in seven stages of intelligence, promotion, prescription, invocation, application, termination, and appraisal. See Lasswell H.D. (1956), The Decision Process: Seven Categories of Functional Analysis, (College Park, Maryland: University of Maryland Press).

[6] Simon, H.A. (1969: 64-65), The Sciences of the Artificial (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).

[7] Bardach, E. (1996), The Eight-Step Path of Policy Analysis, (Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Academic Press).

[8] Werner, J. and K. Wegrich (2007), "Theories of the Policy Cycle", in Fischer, F., G.J. Miller, M.S. Sidney (eds.), Handbook of Public Policy Analysis Theory, Politics, and Methods, (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press), Chapter 4, pages 44-45.

Actors and factors, and mechanisms through which they interact are all functions of their contexts defined by a full range of institutions through which actors in contexts organize themselves, or are organized. While it is difficult to visualize context complexity, for analysis it is necessary to attempt visualization to, in the least, attempt to understand the different elements, their relationships, and their role in giving character to the context. This manner of understanding contexts has, of course, been the domain of interest for institutionalists since early 20th Century.

Contextualizing the policy process also necessitates, due to the political element of the process, an appreciation of and an attempt to understand the mode of governance of the context and the context's institutions through which that mode of governance is maintained. Framing policy process and its analysis should, therefore, be done in conjunction with governance and its institutions.

The best known policy analysis models that simultaneously incorporate elements of circularity, complexity, context specificity, and politics are John Kingdon's "Multiple Streams Approach", Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's "Advocacy Coalition Framework", and Ostrom's "Institutional Analysis and Development Framework." Each of these models is summarized in the next section.

Policy Analysis Models

Multiple Streams Approach

The Multiple Streams Approach (MSA) model of policy analysis builds on the "garbage can theory", first phrased in the 1970s by organizational choice scholars, and articulates three main streams whose intersection results in policies. These are the policy stream (solutions), the politics stream (public sentiments, change in governments), and the problem stream (problem perception).[9] The MSA model also makes reference to "windows of opportunity" for the points during the process when a policy solution or package of solutions may "stick", and "policy entrepreneurs" whose job is to continuously generate policy solutions for politicians looking for a policy choice most suited to their needs or political priorities. The main elements of the MSA framework are as follows:

Problem stream: In all societies there is always a plethora of problems and issues that require the attention of policy makers. The perceptions of which problems need to be prioritized over all others change over time and often on short notice as a function of *major physical, social, or political events.* Problems are addressed through policy based on how they are presented or framed, by lobbyists, coalition groups, or politicians. Key in all cases is that not all problems could be addressed by policy makers at the same time and with the same degree of urgency or priority.

Policy stream: *There are always a number of available solutions* to address problems or issues. Widely accepted solutions are continually developed by *policy entrepreneurs* (including technocrats, political activists and academics) in anticipation of future problems and in the hope of attracting the attention of policy makers in need of new solutions.

Politics stream: Changes in the dominant political ideology or personalities in charge of policy making often result some problems or issues acquiring prominence over others, i.e., a change in what policy

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[9] Cohen, M.D., J.G. March, and J.P. Olsen. *Administrative Science Quarterly* Vol 17(1), pp. 1-25.

issues should be pursued by policy makers as opposed to others. A change of government due to elections, a military *coup d'état* or an invasion often results in major realignments of policy priorities.

According to the MSA framework, in any given policy domain there is ambiguity, competing priorities among policy issues needing to be addressed, scarcity of full and reliable information and the risk of available information being manipulated, limited time in which to make a policy decision, and an inherent inability to act rationally due to various pressures combined with "bounded rationality."[10]

The unit of analysis in MSA is the political economy, applied at the nation-state scale but also sometimes at lower or higher scales.

Advocacy Coalition Framework

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) identifies value systems as the primary basis on which individuals make decisions, including policy decisions. There are three interdependent layers of values. These are Deep Core Values, Policy Core Values, and Secondary Values.[11]

Deep Core Values: are fundamental and normative and are largely products of upbringing and socialization, while being (usually) context related. Deep core values are very difficult to change. Examples include religious beliefs and rigid ethnic or ideological convictions. Deep core values rarely change.

Policy Core Values: form the foundation on which alliances or coalitions may be made. The best example of a policy core value is political party affiliation based on a set of beliefs according to which society should function. Policy core values are easier to change than deep core values, depending on the nature of societal change being sought through policy.

Secondary Values: are narrower in scope compared to deep core and policy core values and are more empirically and pragmatically based. As such, secondary values can change relatively easily in light of new information or learning. Examples of secondary values include details of policy options for the types of schools being built rather than whether or not schools should be built, the latter being more a function of deep core and policy core values.

Policies are translations and operationalizations of belief systems, influenced by organized interest groups, lobbyists, ethnic and religious groups, political parties operating in multiple decision making venues, degree of consensus needed for policy change, and openness of the political system measured based on the number of decision making venues and the accessibility of those venues to stakeholders including those affected by policy.

The unit of analysis in ACF is the policy subsystem, e.g., the education sector, though with the recognition that all policy subsystems are influenced by changes in the broader political environment and by other subsystems.

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[10] Bounded rationality in decision making involves non-optimizing choices and procedures. See, for example, Selten, R. (1999), "What is Bounded Rationality?" SFB Discussion Paper B-454 for the Dahlem Conference (Bonn: Laboratorium für experimentelle Wirtschaftsforschung: Bonn University).
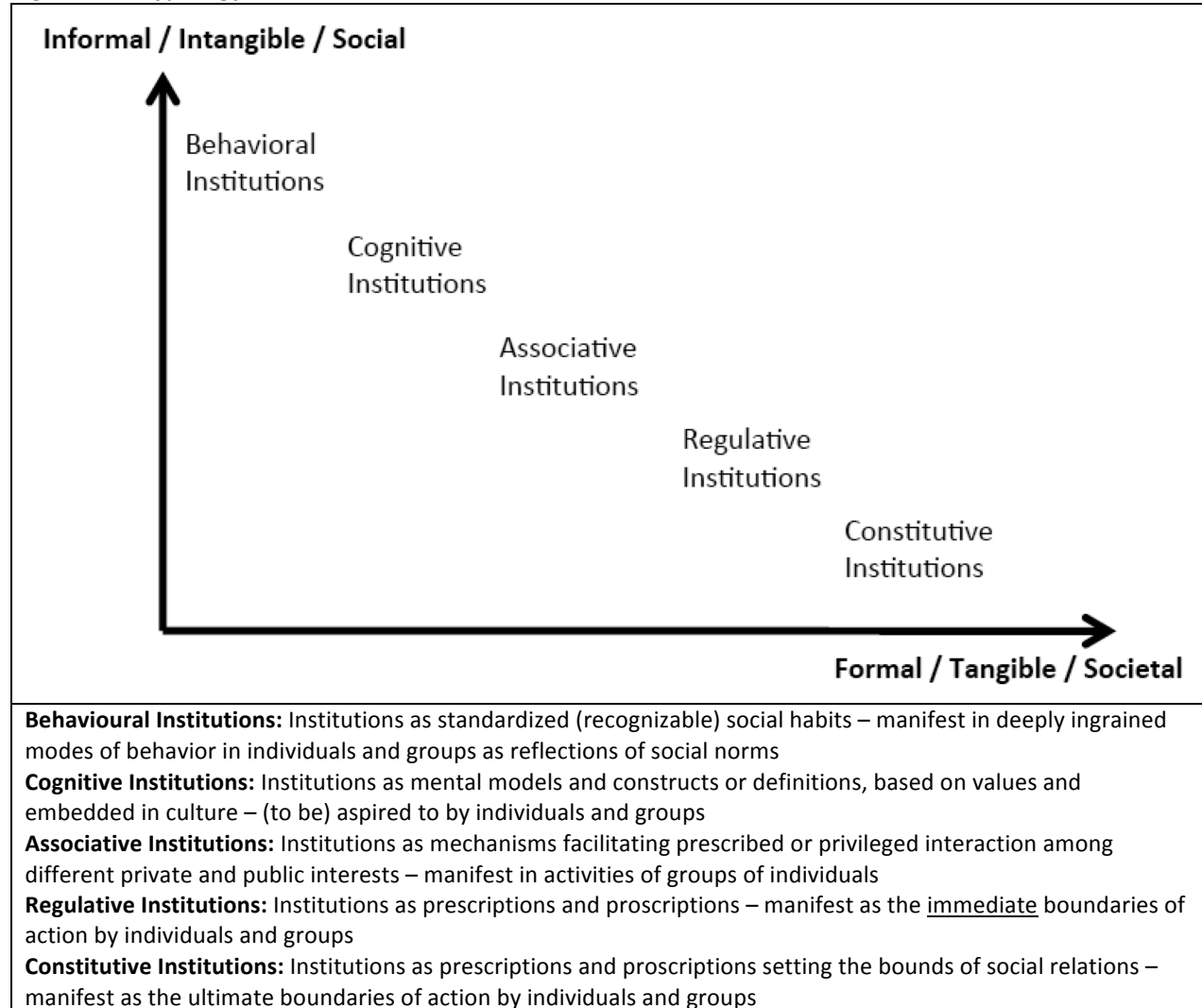
[11] This section is based on Sabatier, P.A. and H.C. Jenkins-Smith (1999), "Frameworks Focusing on Policy Change over Fairly Long Periods", in Sabatier, P.A. (ed.), Theories of the Policy Process. (Boulder CO: Westview Press).

Institutional Analysis and Development Framework

The Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework for policy analysis emphasizes the collective role of institutions in governance and policy making processes. Broadly defined, institutions govern human activity and interactions in economic, social, and political spheres. In this broad view, institutions include highly abstract and frequently invisible structures as well as highly formal and tangible artifacts and structures through which interdependent actors organize themselves, or are organized.[12]

Figure 1. A Typology of Institutions

Behavioural Institutions: Institutions as standardized (recognizable) social habits – manifest in deeply ingrained modes of behavior in individuals and groups as reflections of social norms
Cognitive Institutions: Institutions as mental models and constructs or definitions, based on values and embedded in culture – (to be) aspired to by individuals and groups
Associative Institutions: Institutions as mechanisms facilitating prescribed or privileged interaction among different private and public interests – manifest in activities of groups of individuals
Regulative Institutions: Institutions as prescriptions and proscriptions – manifest as the immediate boundaries of action by individuals and groups
Constitutive Institutions: Institutions as prescriptions and proscriptions setting the bounds of social relations – manifest as the ultimate boundaries of action by individuals and groups

Source: Parto (2008)[13]

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[12] Parto, S. (2015), "Policy Analysis and Institutions of Governance: Analyzing….What?" available from: www.appro-europe.net

[13] Parto, S. (2008). "Innovation and Economic Activity: An Institutional Analysis of the Role of Clusters in Industrializing Economies". Journal of Economic Issues 42(4): 1005-1030.

Institutions may be defined as rules, norms, habits or strategies that create incentives and disincentives to shape behavior in repetitive / predictable situations. Institutions may also be physical entities and artifacts such as ministries or academic entities, laws, policies, or procedures that act as mechanisms for adjusting behavior in a situation that requires coordination among two or more individuals or groups of individuals. Institutionalist analysis of the policy process must, therefore, be based on in-depth knowledge of how the relevant actors behave and why.[14] Given the central role of institutions in the policy process, it is necessary to have a practical working definition for each category of institution, applicable to the analysis of policy at different stages of the policy making process and at different scales of governance. Figure 1 is an attempt to meet this need.

In addition to the necessity of having working definitions for the different types of institution, the rich history of institutional thought in economics, political science, sociology, and anthropology points to the highly complex context of policy making as a social activity and, thus, calls for input and reflection from multiple disciplines and analyses at multiple levels of activity and at different scales and types of governance.[15]

The unit of analysis in the IAD framework for policy analysis is the arena, quite similar in characteristics to ACF's "policy subsystem" (see above).

Key Elements of ACF, MSA, and IAD

Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)

- Belief systems are more important than institutional affiliation
- "Subsystem" is the unit of analysis
- Actors "learn" and periodically change their belief systems and revise strategies
- Actors may be pursuing a variety of objectives
- Researchers and journalists (in addition to politicians, bureaucrats, and citizens groups) are potentially significant policy actors
- Changes in the core aspects of a policy are usually the results of changes in non-cognitive factors external to the policy subsystem, e.g., the macro-economic or political conditions
- The policy process has to be studied over a period of a decade or longer

Multiple Streams Approach (MSA)

- "Messiness" of the policy process is taken as the baseline
- "Policy formation" and change are products of a coming together of problems, policies, politics, and random events creating windows opportunities for new ideas
- "Policies" are proposed and lobbied for by "policy entrepreneurs", e.g., politicians, bureaucrats, analysts, consultants, journalists, and academics.
- "Politics" are political processes such as elections and their aftermaths or the role of "regulatory" factors, e.g., pressure groups, in agenda formation, awareness raising, and learning

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[14] *Ibid.*
[15] For more information on IAD, see: Ostrom, E. (1999), "Institutional Rational Choice: An Assessment of the Institutional Analysis", in Sabatier, P.A. and H.C. Jenkins-Smith (eds.) Theories of the Policy Process (Boulder CO: Westview Press), pp. 35-73.

Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (IAD)

- "Physical / material conditions", "Attributes of Community", and "Rules-in-Use" constitute the starting point in the analysis
- "Action Arena" is the unit of analysis, consisting of "action situations", e.g., an environmental problem, and "actors" (individuals and organizations)
- Individuals are "fallible learners" capable of making mistakes <u>and</u> learning
- Learning depends on the availability of incentives and opportunities in "institutional arrangements"
- "Patterns of Interactions" among actors of an action situation generate "outcomes" whose evaluation against predetermined societal criteria provides feedback for the various stages of the policy process

Institutional Policy Analysis: A Framework

In light of the discussion in the preceding sections, we can revisit the notions of governance and institutions to make the following statements as working definitions and guideposts for conducting institutional policy analysis:

- The mode of governance is the manner in which a community of interdependent actors organizes itself at the lowest scale and is organized from the highest scale.
- Governance is intimately related to a multiplicity of institutions, as depicted in Figure 1, through which it is exercised.
- Governance for effecting societal change has to pay particular attention to formal and informal and tangible and intangible institutions (Figure 1) and their functions in facilitating *and* curtailing change
- To fully account for the role of institutions in policy analysis we need to:
  - Identify the problems, events, actors, and other factors that collectively act as catalysts for processes that precede the emergence of institutions and policy problems in their current forms,[16]
  - Establish the controllability of these catalysts and use the information in selecting policy measures that utilize the catalysts,
  - Set in motion institutionalization processes that neutralize undesirable / unsustainable institutions and reinforce desirable / sustainable institutions already present, and
  - Identify what complementary catalysts may be initiated through policy or other intervention to steer change.

Institutional change through policy intervention is more likely to occur if introduced through weaker entry points on the behavioral-constitutive continuum depicted in Figure 1. A major policy implication of this perspective on institutions of governance is that managing societal change requires Govern*ment* intervention through policy measures as a main catalyst for instituting change. Since government intervention does not occur in a vacuum and is often, in relative democracies, shaped by civil society, in-depth understanding is also needed on the nature and characteristics of state-civil society interface and the institutions, i.e., the rules, norms, and protocols, that govern that interface.

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[16] Ostrom, E. (1999), Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993, 1999), and Kingdon, J. (1984[1995]), <u>Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies</u> (Boston: Little, Brown).

The suggested methodology can be used to identify the variables (decisions, situations, and other factors) that may have played key roles in effecting a transition from one "stable" state to another in the subsystem under study. By weighting and ranking the identified variables we can identify the most important variables of the policy subsystem or arena, track changes in the properties of these variables over time, and assess them for controllability. The next step is to make educated guesses about the mix of variables likely to facilitate a transition from the current state of affairs to a more desirable stable state, e.g., from a weak education system to a stronger, higher quality one. A schematic to summarize the above considerations for policy analysis is presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Dynamics of the Policy Process
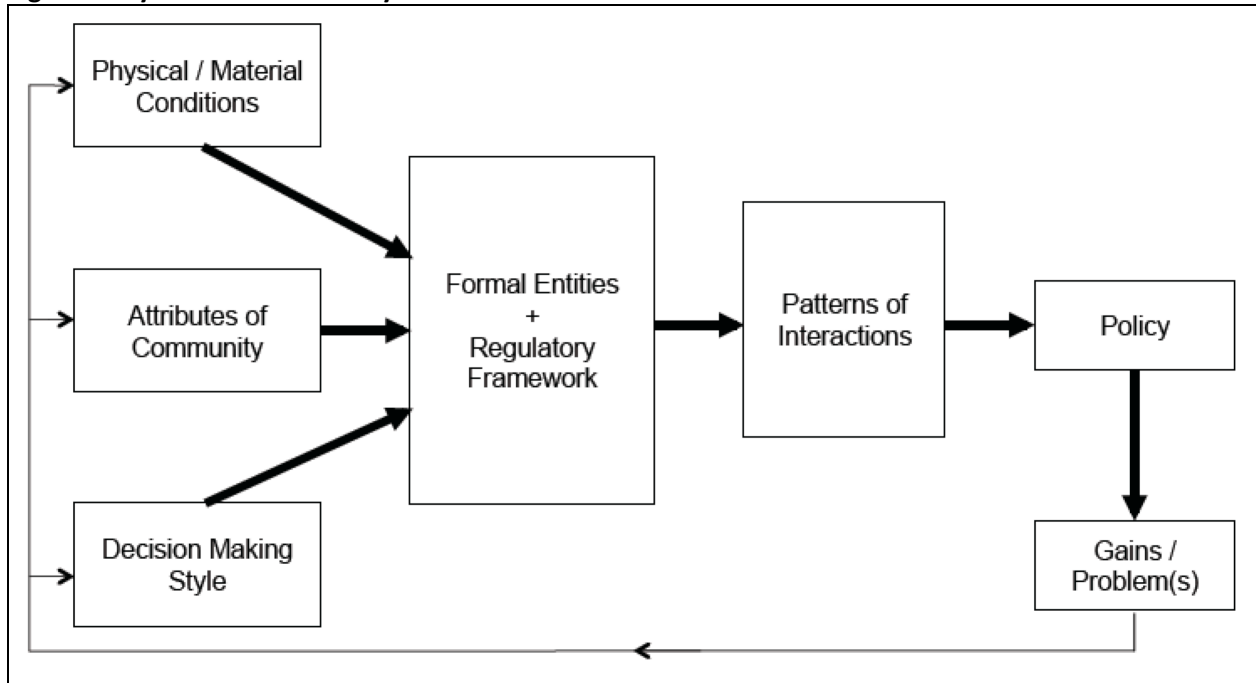
Source: Adapted from Parto (2015)

The institutionalist perspective views institutions as the binding agent in human interactions and manifest at all levels of inter-relation, scales of governance, and through different spheres of human activity in a given situation. Viewed in this manner, Figure 1 can be used to inventory and categorize the full range of institutions in a given policy arena. The final step in this proposed approach is to develop and play out policy scenarios while making allowances that some of the historical causalities may not hold due to changed conditions. Also, caution has to be taken to deal with the potential consequences of policy experimentation failures.

It is crucial to apply the proposed methodology concretely and specifically to an arena or subsystem manageable in size and clearly delineated for its boundaries. Examples include policies on municipal waste management, gender equality in the workplace, or public transportation rather than large all-encompassing questions such as "sustainable development" or "good governance." At the same time, the delineation must be applied without losing sight of the larger picture and the ever-present influence of factors external to the delineated arena.

As a profession, policy analysis examines what actions would best serve the public interest in a given situation, and how those actions can be successfully elaborated as formal policy and implemented by

state actors with support from their civil society constituents. To increase the likelihood of success and sustainability of policy outcomes, modern policy analysis focuses on conflict resolution, partnership, consultation, participation and engaging a broad spectrum of stakeholders in the decision-making process to gain their support and reflect the interests of a wide range of community of actors in policy decisions. An informed and pragmatic policy analyst can relatively easily identify the relevant actors, relevant factors, and the mechanisms that facilitate or curtail discourse on policy formation and implementation without becoming entrenched in normative disputes with competing factions in a policy arena.

The guiding questions for policy analysis along the lines described above are:

- How are policy decisions made? Or, what is the mode of governance?
- Who are the actors?
- What are the factors?
- How involved are non-policymakers in policy decision making processes?
- What specific mechanisms are there for non-policymakers' involvement in policy decision making processes?
- What are the formal policy discourse mechanisms?
- Most importantly, why are we interested in the policy process?

Modern policy analysis places less emphasis on administrative / technocratic aspects of policy making and stresses the understanding of the process itself and learning from how the process unfolds throughout the policy cycle. It encourages democratic pragmatism and economic rationalism in recognition of the need for an inclusive decision-making process based on economic realities. It further highlights the role of informal, intangible institutions in influencing the policy process at its various stages.

Application

The descriptions for the relationships summarized in Figure 2 are as follows:

Physical and Material Conditions: consist of geography, resource scarcity / availability and distribution. Policies are almost always affected by physical and material conditions of the place. Decisions about health, education, or agriculture in one country, by nature, differ from those in another country with a different geography, climate, and available human and financial resources, for instance. Analyzing such decisions demands in-depth understanding of these conditions and how they influence policy outcomes.

Attributes of the Community: such as values, beliefs, customs, and traditions have deep roots in a community's history and how it has evolved over centuries. They have a significant bearing on the implementation of policy. A practical policy maker or a good policy analyst recognizes the near impossibility of changing fundamental values and beliefs in the short and medium terms.

Decision Making System: is the manner in which decisions are made at the community level. Typically, the system consists of tacit rules, regulations, and agreements and functions according to clearly understood, though often undocumented, hierarchies with roots within the community.

The above three elements are the primary ingredients of the informal / intangible / social institutions as illustrated in Figure 1. These three elements fully define behavioral institutions, largely inform cognitive institutions, and form the beginnings of associative institutions (Figure 1).

Formal Institutional Context: refers to the very tangible, structuring entities such as government ministries and agencies, semi-government agencies, academic organizations, and formal religious organizations established by, or working in close coordination with, the state to meet specific needs within the community. Formal institutional context also includes the documented regulatory framework.

Patterns of Interactions Between Formal and Informal Institutions: In any given context, there are numerous interfaces between less formal / intangible institutions and formal / tangible institutions. The manner in which these interfaces occur shapes the discourse on policy issues and sets the parameters of the policy process.

Policy: Formal policy is often the product of the confluence of interests of actors operating through formal and informal, tangible and intangible institutions.

Problem(s): Implementing policies often results in identification of new problems, and/or creating new problems particularly when the policy is ill designed. It is also possible that unforeseen and uncontrollable events, such violent conflict or natural disasters, create new problems within the policy arena.

Policies are developed to effect change and address problems. Not all policies succeed in achieving their intended results and even if they do so, they are likely to identify new problems. The full exercise of policy-making as described here attempts to prevent and minimize the likelihood of future problems. However, given the complexity of the process and the multitude of actors and factors, it is extremely difficult to avoid unintended consequences. This makes policy-making a cyclical process in which new problems and their impacts will be factored in as we revise/redefine other inputs in the process such as physical and material resources, community attributes, and so on. *The problems, identified or created, at the end of the policy cycle necessitate a return to the beginning of the process as illustrated in Figure 2*.

Scope and Scale of Policy: Policy arenas vary in scope and scale. The scope may be the entire education subsystem, for example, or a component of the subsystem such as primary education. The scale may be:
- Organizational – for instance, to change external strategy or change forms and structures within an organization, be it small or large
- National – for instance, specific action or groups of activities to address gender equality, regional / international trade, anti-corruption, or environmental protection.
- Regional – for instance, specific action or groups of activities to address gender equality, regional / international trade, anti-corruption, environmental protection, anti-smuggling, or border security.
- Global – for instance, subscribing to and abiding by the rules of the World Trade Organization, international security or climate change agreements, and international conventions on human rights.

Policy Hierarchy: A policy is usually made up of a set of decisions and related activities to address a problem or an issue. Also, a policy is usually a component of a broader strategy. Policies are made to stay on track in implementing a strategy with multiple, longer term objectives.

Figure 3: Policy Hierarchy
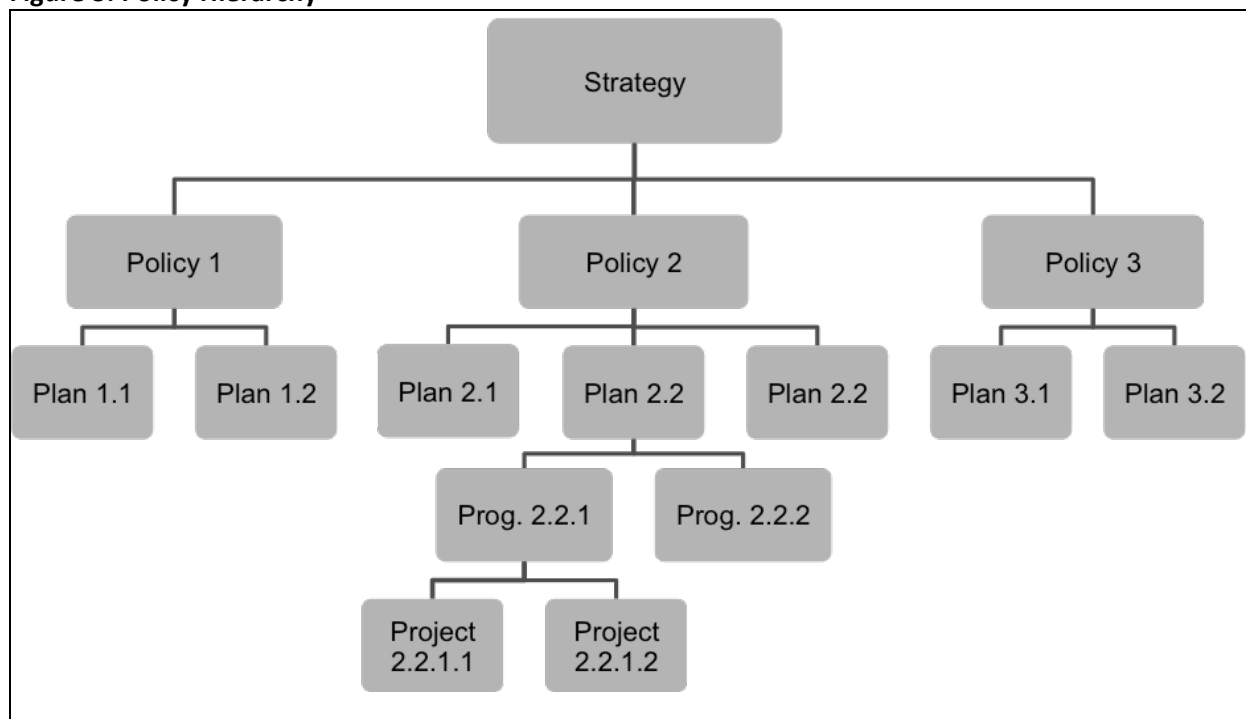
A strategy may be specific to an organization, a municipality, a nation state, or a multiplicity of nation states sharing the same priorities in addressing an issue or sets of issues. For example, a nation state may have a strategy to become more competitive or to balance its budget. The strategic intention is translated into policies in different sectors, usually represented by the formal institutions of state such as ministries or national departments. Each ministry or national department may define its own sub-strategy to meet the policy objectives set for its sector at the national level. Regardless of the level of the strategy, i.e., national or ministerial / departmental, policies need to be developed to articulate and specify how the strategy is to be implemented and through what changes. Each policy is then broken down into a series of plans while each plan consists of a series of programs. Each program can be broken down into a series of related projects while each project sets a series of specific activities to meet the project's objectives (Figure 3).

Politics of Policy Making

The policy process has been called messy because it is both complex and complicated. The process is "complex" because it humanly not possible to know everything about the multitude of internal and external actors and factors that do not always act or behave in predictable or identifiable ways. A complex system cannot be designed. Rather, it adapts and evolves. The policy process is also "complicated" because there are many actors, factors, and mechanisms with many inter-relations and interactions among them that need to be taken into account, ranked for importance, and monitored.

The policy process contains many actors, forming temporary or longer term coalitions, that attempt to influence policy makers at different levels of government. Policy making bureaucracies and policy activists / lobbyists have a shared vocabulary and operating procedures that favor particular sources of

evidence over others and particular framing and phrasing of issues, such as "value for money", "making economic sense", "consensus based", "politically prudent", "community oriented", or "demand driven" that often imply the political or ideological stance of the proponent.

The political mood of the moment has a significant bearing on which policy solutions are acceptable / palatable to the policy making bureaucrats and which are not. The political mood, however, is not a constant in the policy process but a variable. Regardless of the political mood, it is almost always possible to advocate or lobby for specific policy priorities as long as the proposed priorities resonate with at least some of the key principle premises of the dominant political mood.

The shared vocabulary, and the manners in which policy preferences are framed and phrased, may be categorized as follows.

Administrative Rationalism

Administrative rationalism is the product of efforts to develop the state as a practical and functional entity to organize the increasingly complex social, economic, and political affairs of industrialized societies. For many, the attempt at functionalizing the state and the policy process through administrative rationalism has become an instrument for promoting liberal capitalism, particularly the variety that calls for a minimal role by the state and an almost complete reliance on the free and unregulated market forces for resolving the multi-faceted, complex, complicated, and ongoing policy challenges of modern industrial societies.

Administrative rationalism relies heavily on scientific and technical expertise and bureaucratic hierarchies. Given the isolation of the scientists, technicians, and bureaucrats from the constituents, they are vulnerable to being "captured" by special interests of lobbyists and political parties.[17] Also because of their isolation from their constituents, policy makers functioning according to the principles of administrative rationalism are often focused on addressing acute problems with no space or time to develop different solutions, experiment, or learn from success and failures.

Democratic Pragmatism

Democratic pragmatism as an approach in policy making emerged in response to the crises of administrative rationalism and its inability to address discontent around environmental issues.[18] To overcome this inability, democratic pragmatism calls for increased engagement of the public in environmental decision making and thus drawing and engaging with more actors from the public than under administrative rationalism. The move from administrative rationalism coincided with the move from government to governance, with governance being a constellation of actors rather than only one main actor as in the case of government.

Democratic pragmatism relies on informal modes of engagement with a multiplicity of actors with competing interests. However, the tendency to include policy constituents does not necessarily mean that the policy makers are immune to being captured by the rich and the powerful. Regardless of the

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[17] "Regulation is … a process, by which interest groups seek to promote their private interest … Over time, regulatory agencies come to be dominated by the [entities] regulated." Richard Posner (1972, 1974, 1998).

[18] Dryzek, J.S. (2005), Part III (Solving Environmental Problems)

vulnerability to being captured, democratic pragmatism has associated a number crucial terms and phrases to the vocabulary of the policy process, including "public consultation", "alternative dispute resolution", "policy dialogue", "lay citizen deliberation", "town hall meetings", "public enquiries", and "right-to-know enquiries".

Economic Rationalism

Economic rationalism has been popular among political leaders since the early 1980s. The cornerstones of economic rationalism are privatization of all property, minimal or no regulation, elimination of protective associations such as trade unions, and using the market's supply and demand functions to put the right price on as many things as a possible. Critics of economic rationalism worry that complying with these principles without questioning their potentially devastating distributional impacts plays directly into the hands of the proponents of a political ideology that strongly favors the wealthy at the expense of the poor and vulnerable and results in widening two gaps, one between the rich and the poor within the nations and the other between the wealthy nations and poor nations.

A more nuanced form of economic rationalism has been practiced, somewhat successfully, in northwestern European countries where the state continues to play a major role in regulating the market.

Kleptocracy

Kleptocracy means "rule by stealing" and is characterized by nepotism and croneyism. Structured kleptocracy functions based on a vertical integration of networks, characterized by an elite that takes in the lion share of extorted or stolen funds, and the additional levies from bribes collected by petty criminals in extortive government positions. The petty bribe takers purchase their positions, often at staggering prices, based on the bribe-taking utility of the positions and the certainty of the prospect of paying back the debt incurred to buy the position, through collection of bribes extorted from a hapless and increasingly discontented public.[19]

In kleptocratic modes of governance, money and power are concentrated in the hands of the elite and there are weak or nonexistent rule of law, widespread and multi-level impunity, systemic (white) corruption, and a dysfunctional bureaucracy. The net result of the confluence of factors is a systemic inability to effect positive change through policy intervention, since the powerful strive to maintain the status quo even if there is political will at the highest level for change, there are no sanctions against criminal and anti-societal behavior, and state coffers constantly have insufficient funds to finance systematic policy implementation.

Depending on the context, *the mode of governance has, to varying degrees, elements of administrative rationalism, democratic pragmatism, economic rationalism, and kelptocracy. The challenge for the pragmatic policy analyst is to understand the mode of governance and the drivers that sustain it and to devise policies that can be implemented despite the seemingly insurmountable systemic barriers.*

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[19] See APPRO (2017), Reconceptualization of Corruption in Afghanistan, available from:
http://appro.org.af/?publication=re-conceptualizing-corruption-in-afghanistan-an-institution-of-bad-governance

Advocacy and Policy Making

Policy Monitoring and Public Accountability

Almost all efforts by civil society to reform policy commence with observation and monitoring of the implementation and effectiveness of policies already in place.[20] These might include, for example, commitments to international conventions on fundamental rights such as food security, gender equality, and environmental protection or commitments through national policies on various issues such as education, nutrition, health, or corruption.[21]

High profile policy monitoring by civil society organizations can contribute to improved policy implementation and policy effectiveness by raising awareness on public policy objectives and drawing public attention to underperformance or to policy failure. Policy monitoring by civil society organizations may be in one-off investigations into particular areas of interest, conducting baseline assessments of situations about which reliable or up-to-date information is lacking, or follow-up research after the policy has been rolled out to establish what results were achieved. Policy monitoring may also be periodic monitoring reports at set intervals to track progress toward, or away from, policy objectives.

In this sense, monitoring for effectiveness or for advocacy purposes mirrors applied policy analysis.[22] Right to information laws, where they exist, are indispensible instruments for civil society in acquiring policy-relevant information from otherwise uncooperative officials.[23]

Monitoring and Evaluations

Involving citizens and civil society organizations in the process of policy monitoring and evaluation and gathering data using such instruments as citizen surveys, social audits, and participatory policy review strengthen advocacy efforts and eventual impact.[24]

Policy Change

Gaining entry and exerting influence at the early stages of policy design in the policy making process can be very effective in shaping policy outcomes. Active participation in the policy process requires engagement with bureaucrats and politicians, not all of whom may be supportive of civil society having a say in the policy design.[25] Campaigns for policy change utilize a wide range of tools and tactics including public demonstrations, protests, letter writing, petitions, lobbying, using conventional and social media, and legal action. Campaigning for policy change can be confrontational in nature.

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[20] From APPRO (2017), "Evidence-based, Constructive Advocacy: A Handbook", available from: http://appro.org.af/publication/evidence-based-constructive-advocacy-a-handbook/, based on Association for Progressive Communications – APC (2014), available from: https://www.apc.org/en/node/9456.

[21] From APC (2014)

[22] See, for example, Parto, S. (2015), "Policy Analysis and Institutions of Governance – Analyzing…. What?, available from: http://appro-europe.net/publication/

[23] From APC (2014)

[24] From APC (2014)

[25] From APC (2014)