

# Policy Studies, Policymaking, and Knowledge-driven Governance

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The academic and policy worlds have drifted apart since the early years of the Indian Republic. Can a new Public Policy field help reconnect academia to policymaking? The genesis and evolution of Public Policy in the United States holds important learning lessons. The *raison d'être* of Public Policy, the academic discipline, is to aid and inform public policy, the process; sans state imprimatur, cross-institutional coordination and demand-scoping, discrete supply-driven initiatives are unlikely to have substantive impact. Public Policy has considerable scope in India, provided academia and government join hands to create a policy ecosystem for meeting the specific challenges of Indian governance.

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## 1 Background and Motivation

Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Indian Prime Minister, went to great lengths to bridge the academic and policy worlds. Widely acknowledged as a scholar in his own right, Nehru took a keen professional interest in academic matters and enjoyed intellectual kinship with the likes of Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, Homi J Bhabha and V K R V Rao. He actively promoted the use of cerebral means for practical ends by tasking these luminaries with finding solutions for the myriad social, economic and technological challenges of the infant democracy. He was also the driving force behind a host of stellar academic institutions, including the Delhi School of Economics and the twin systems of Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) and Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs), created with the explicit mandate of producing the skills and knowledge needed for advancing the country's governance and developmental frontiers.

Thus, in those halcyon formative years of the republic, not much separated the public intellectual from the public administrator. In fact, the planning system itself was appropriated and largely adopted and moulded for India from academic debates then raging in Europe and the United States (US) by Mahalanobis (who also founded the famed Indian Statistical Institute). From sociologists to nuclear physicists, leading scholars had the ears of the prime minister; this automatically translated to academic influence at the highest levels of policymaking.

The subsequent years witnessed a drifting away from this promising entente. First, the politico-bureaucratic establishment usurped policymaking as its strict monopoly and crowded out academic consultation. In higher education, scholastics yielded to politics—first in finance and administration, and eventually and inevitably in thought as well. Creeping centralisation caused policy decisions to be dutifully handed down the administrative hierarchy, each level expecting the one below to implement them with little or no introspection on form, function and fallout.<sup>1</sup>

Second, a tendency emerged of reducing the complexity of policymaking to the simplicity of resource allocation. This was perhaps to a large extent driven by the growing influence of the Planning Commission, which by its nature favoured economics over other disciplines. The only other field which has managed to hold its own is law, if only because major policy decisions get frequently, publicly and noisily dragged into lengthy legal proceedings.<sup>2</sup> There is little evidence at present of physicists, biologists or sociologists having any voice or relevance left in policy decisions.

The phrase “public policy” has in recent times started making appearances in politics, administration and popular discourse. Perhaps driven by changing ideas of governance and growing demands for policy professionalism, a smattering of institutions of higher education have begun to offer programmes in Public Policy. (Henceforth, “Public Policy” refers to the academic discipline, and “public policy” to the governance endeavours.) Public Policy was an unknown entity in Indian academia as little as a decade ago, and has not yet acquired a unique scholarly identity. There is no evidence of consensus, coordination or debate over the nature or scope of the field, either amongst the pioneering institutions themselves, or with the government. In this context, can these institutions and programmes bring academic expertise back into the policy process?

The absence of a Policy Studies discipline in India is quite paradoxical, given the promising early academia-policy connections, the famously vocal nature of India’s democracy, and the long history of policy analytical work from a plethora of think tanks. Since the Indian Administrative Service is known to admit the *crème de la crème* of Indian tertiary education, one would presume the bureaucracy would also be sympathetic to the idea of knowledge-driven policymaking. What, then, explains the disconnect between the policy and academic worlds?

In order to grasp this, it is first necessary to understand its genesis and development in the country of its origin, the us. Indeed, an intriguing question is why Policy Studies originated and developed in the us and nowhere else. There are critical learning lessons in that history—the most important being that a field which by definition caters to the needs of the state cannot be created solely by academic fiat without state support and interest. Public Policy has considerable scope in India, provided academia and government can join hands to create a policy ecosystem for meeting the specific challenges of Indian governance.

## 2 Current Map of Policy Studies in India

In the us and elsewhere (see Appendix, p 67), how to structure programmes in Public Policy and its agnate fields, Public Administration and Policy Sciences, has long been hotly debated.<sup>3</sup> In India, no literature yet exists that systematically explores the need for and the means of establishing Public Policy as an academic discipline. Though some conferences in Public Policy have appeared domestically in the last few years, for the purposes of this research none of the papers presented could be traced to a published finality. There are no publicly available documents from any government or academic institution which brainstorm the strategic considerations of creating a complex, new academic field, or its feasibility, objectives and curricular structures. Mapping Policy Studies programmes in the country is hence perversely a short and simple exercise. These include the following:

— The Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore (IIM-B), an autonomous institution under the central government, has a Centre for Public Policy (CPP) offering a master’s level Post Graduate Programme on Public Policy and Management

(PGPPM), and a doctoral level Fellow Programme in Management (FPM) in Public Policy.<sup>4</sup> It is somewhat fitting that IIM-B, originally created with the sole mandate of producing professional expertise for public sector enterprises (MHRD 2008), would take the lead in Policy Studies in the country. CPP was initiated in 2000 under a tripartite agreement between IIM-B, the Department of Personnel and Training (DOPT), Government of India, and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).<sup>5</sup> The students are mid-career government employees.

— Management Development Institute, Gurgaon (MDI-G) is another notable management institution which runs a similar programme, called Post Graduate Programme-Public Policy Management (PGP-PPM).<sup>6</sup> The programme also runs in partnership with DOPT and caters to mid-career public sector employees, and is thus pitched as “executive education.” The focus is again far removed from what would normally be called Policy Studies in other parts of the world. The clientele is a captive one, and the only competition—if it may be called so—is provided by IIM-B.

— Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta (IIM-C) has a Public Policy and Management Group (PPMG). Because of capacity limitations due to its modest size and operations—which become apparent when juxtaposed against IIM-B/PGPPM—IIM-C/PPMG does not offer any specialisation in Public Policy. Unlike IIM-B/PGPPM, which was created with an explicit if idiosyncratically defined Policy Studies mandate, IIM-C/PPMG emerged out of an interdepartmental restructuring. A creation of convenience, the faculty size of the programme pales in comparison with that of IIM-B.

— The Jindal School of Government and Public Policy (JSGPP), Gurgaon started operations from 2012.<sup>7</sup> This is a privately owned and managed institution which charges a commensurately hefty fee for its MA in Public Policy.<sup>8</sup> Unlike the well-defined if un-academic constituencies of IIM-B and MDI-G, the objectives of the programme is somewhat inchoate.

— The Central University of Rajasthan has started an MA in Public Policy, Law and Governance in 2012.<sup>9</sup>

— The Indian School of Business (ISB) has set up the Bharti Institute of Public Policy at Mohali, Punjab, offering a Management Programme in Public Policy.<sup>10</sup>

— The Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Hyderabad, has recently started offering an MA in Public Policy and Governance.<sup>11</sup>

— The University of Mumbai’s Department of Civics and Politics offers a Post Graduate Diploma in Public Policy.

— The University of Delhi’s Department of Political Science has three faculty members who work broadly in Public Policy. However, there is no formal programme being offered by the university.

The IIT, Delhi, has been internally discussing the possibilities of creating a Policy Studies programme. The plans are at the preliminary stages with no guarantees of coming to fruition. India also has a number of think tanks or research institutions operating in broad or niche policy domains. A majority of them conduct economic research, but there are well-established and well-known exceptions. Some of them run short training workshops, but none offers any serious long-term academic programme.

Policy Studies, as an academic discipline, hence cannot be said to be even in the preformative stages in India. That is not to say there is a complete and absolute lack of interest among Indian academics. While researching this article, I interviewed a number of faculty members at universities and colleges who were either offering some flavour of Policy Studies or had done so in the past. Almost all of them belonged to the University Grants Commission (UGC)-recognised academic departments. In conversation, all of them declared their course-offerings were driven by personal interest, with little departmental or administrative support. General administrative and collegial reactions ranged from apathy regarding details of courses or curricula to outright resistance over any necessity of Policy Studies as an independent field within the existing academic superstructure. Despite their obvious tenacity and dedication, few appeared optimistic about their efforts bearing fruit.

### 3 Understanding the Genesis and Evolution of Public Policy

But is such pessimism warranted? Prima facie, India should be fertile ground for Policy Studies. The country takes pride in being a stable democracy where policies are constitutionally decided through discussion and debate. It had a clear head start in involving academics in development and Public Policy, and policy analysis has long been a cottage industry. The government is a voracious consumer of charts and tables, and every ministry and department across the board commissions reports and studies from academics, researchers, and consulting firms at considerable expense to the public exchequer. The real puzzle may be why Policy Studies is not yet an established, flourishing academic field.

This paradox can only be understood in a global, historical context. Indeed, a better, more intriguing question is: Why did Policy Studies originate in the US and nowhere else? Many of the features of the academic-policy-making nexus which characterise Policy Studies, for instance, can be traced back to Germany or Britain. Berlin (1959) pointed out that the 19th century German philosophers enjoyed social and political authority far above their academic mandate, while the Oxford dons at the turn of the 20th century were engaged to a large extent in producing superbly-tuned administrators for the British imperium. In that case, why did Public Policy in academia not emerge in either country to complement public policy in governance?

The key to understanding this is the central importance of knowledge, built into the heart of the American constitutional system of governance to aid and inform public policy. Alexander Hamilton in his essay “Federalist No 1” left little doubt that the young nation was going to govern itself by informed discussion and debate, and by no other means:

It has been frequently remarked that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or

whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force (Hamilton 1787).

A remarkable section in “Federalist No 62” (Hamilton or Madison 1788), quoted below, provides an astute insight into the significance which the US founding fathers accorded to knowledge in the policy process:

It is not possible that an assembly of men called for the most part from pursuits of a private nature, continued in appointment for a short time, and led by no permanent motive to devote the intervals of public occupation to a study of the laws, the affairs, and the comprehensive interests of their country, should, if left wholly to themselves, escape a variety of important errors in the exercise of their legislative trust. [...] A good government implies two things: first, fidelity to the object of government, which is the happiness of the people; secondly, a knowledge of the means by which that object can be best attained. Some governments are deficient in both these qualities; most governments are deficient in the first. I scruple not to assert, that in American governments too little attention has been paid to the last. The federal Constitution avoids this error; and what merits particular notice, it provides for the last in a mode which increases the security for the first.

The founding fathers themselves were an extraordinary group of thinkers, never rivaled before or since as an intellectual collective in governance and public welfare. Their thoughts and writings, including the *Federalist Papers*, continue to be used as guideposts for governance, both in the US and elsewhere. On hindsight, their unique blend of liberalism, erudition and practicality, and the emphasis on informed decision-making as the bedrock of democratic governance, made the US the perfect breeding ground for the emergence of Public Policy, the discipline, as an integral part of public policy, the process.

The emergence of Policy Studies as its own academic field nevertheless had to wait till the late 19th century, shaped by the concurrent growth of administrative complexity and academic specialisation. It was fitting that the call to arms was sounded by Woodrow Wilson, a noted scholar and still the only president ever to have held a doctoral degree. In an 1887 essay, Wilson called upon academia to forge a “science of administration” to meet emerging challenges in governance.<sup>12</sup> What made the essay particularly prescient was its insistence that such a field be created distinct from political science, though at the time of writing the latter itself was in the formative stages.<sup>13</sup> Wilson was a past president of Princeton University and was famous for implementing fundamental and profound curricular and administrative reforms; his pronouncements hence carried considerable weight in both academic and administrative circles. In particular, his insistence that higher education should be a vehicle for public welfare rather than a resting place for pedantic abstraction was to have a profound impact on the subsequent development of the American academic system and its intertwined relationship with the official policy apparatus.<sup>14, 15</sup>

The scholarly roots of Public Policy can be traced back to behaviouralism and the backlash against the disciplinary fragmentation of the early 20th century.<sup>16</sup> The leaders at the helm of the movement, including Charles Merriam, Harold Lasswell and Myres McDougal, were not failed scholars working at the fringes but, on the contrary, giants of American academia. The ideas they championed—cross-disciplinarity, linking

knowledge to action, quantification in research, the importance of civic participation in public discourse, and personal commitment and involvement in public affairs—still resonate as the core features of modern Policy Studies. They were public intellectuals of the first water, with considerable influence in policymaking at the highest levels. Merriam, for example, was adviser to three of the most powerful presidents in American history.<sup>17</sup> The transmission of ideas was often indirect but far-reaching; for instance, President Bill Clinton publicly acknowledged the influence of McDougal on him and other classmates at Yale who later went into public service.<sup>18</sup>

The study of governance and Public Policy started acquiring a distinct academic identity through the work of second-generation behaviouralists such as Lasswell, Lerner and Dror, in the form of what they called the “Policy Sciences” (Ascher 1986). The field received a substantial boost in the New Deal era, with the enormous boost in public expenditures and the direct involvement of the government in social and economic matters. In an act which surely went a long way in legitimising policy studies, Harvard University established the Graduate School of Public Administration in 1937, now more famous as the Kennedy School of Government.<sup>19</sup>

A subsequent landmark development was the creation of the Inter-University Case Programme and the publication of *Public Administration and Policy Development: A Case Book* (Stein 1952). The impact across multiple disciplines was immediate and profound.<sup>20</sup> The programme and the study had far-reaching consequences for at least two reasons. This was perhaps the first time that a group of academics across the nation applied scholarly analyses on policy instruments in multiple arenas. Moreover, as pointed out by Yeung (2007), the effort had tremendous academic and practical authority, from being a collaboration of a “who’s who list of public administration titans.” In that way, the programme set in motion a new stream of academic discourse.

The prosperity and national confidence of the immediate post-war period somewhat cooled the earlier drive for Policy Studies. The succeeding years resurrected both political volatility and the demand for informed policymaking. From the late 1960s, the field expanded swiftly, not least because of the exploding demand from the federal government for skilled policy personnel. It even found presidential backing when Lyndon B Johnson mandated the adoption of Robert McNamara and the RAND Corporation’s Public Policy Budgeting System (PPBS) for his Great Society initiatives (Stokes 1996). Between 1967 and 1971, nine universities started programmes in policy analysis (Allison 2006).<sup>21</sup> In the early 1970s, the Ford Foundation provided multimillion dollar general-support grants, helping create the “original eight” policy schools (Allison 2006; Dunn 1975).<sup>22</sup> All were free-standing schools, with no legacy departmental entanglements.

By the mid-1970s, the field had become sufficiently well established and self-confident to initiate introspection. The year 1970 marked the creation of both the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) and the *Policy Sciences* journal. In 1975, the Ford Foundation

organised a conference of the directors of the original eight schools. Interestingly, within a half decade of operations, the programmes had developed commonalities as well as signature profiles (Dunn 1975). For example, almost all had economics and statistics as core courses, with either workshops or internships, or both, being mandatory. Philosophical disagreements existed mainly over the nature of PhD programmes, with RAND being a strong outlier from the general belief of the master’s level being most appropriate for a policy practitioner. In 1978, the Sloan Foundation sponsored a conference of policy schools for curricular stocktaking, where a professional association of graduate schools was proposed.<sup>23</sup> The Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) was founded in 1979, and the first issue of the *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* (JPAM) came out in 1981.<sup>24</sup> Starting from 1986, the APPAM conferences have continued to be venues for institutional sharing of notes on programme structures, curricula and change of directions.<sup>25</sup>

### Growth of Think Tanks

A parallel and complementary development from the early 20th century was the growth of professional research and advocacy organisations. These “think tanks” joined hands with academia and the government to complete the American policy triumvirate, the distinctive structure and operational characteristics of which have since become institutionalised in the American policy system. A number of them, such as the Foreign Policy Association<sup>26</sup> and the Council on Foreign Relations,<sup>27</sup> grew out of a perceived need around the time of World War I to address the US’s position in a changing world order. On the domestic front, the National Bureau of Economic Research<sup>28</sup> and the Social Science Research Council<sup>29</sup> came into existence in 1920 and 1923 respectively. Both have housed several Nobel laureates over the years, including Simon Kuznets,<sup>30</sup> Douglass North<sup>31</sup> and, most recently, Alvin Roth.<sup>32</sup>

The first true prototype of the think tank model where policymakers hobnobbed with powerful intellectuals was the Brookings Institution.<sup>33</sup> It was created in 1916 by a businessman, Robert S Brookings, in a remarkable testament to the interest and involvement of the American moneyed class in governance and public policy.<sup>34</sup> Brookings’ inception mandate was to pursue scientific research in governance and administrative matters, broadly defined. However, it quickly went beyond the mere conducting of research to acquiring enormous clout in terms of actual policy implementation as well. For instance, it played a key role in the formulation of the Marshall Plan and the setting up of the United Nations.<sup>35</sup> It managed to achieve this by hiring first-rate, non-partisan scholars, and forging close bonds with the government. Its influence could even mould the very functioning of the government over the very long term. A vivid demonstration of Brookings’ heft was the creation of the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) by the passing of the 1974 Budget Act, something which it had been pushing for a long time. The influence was further solidified by the appointment of Alice Rivlin, a Brookings economist, as its first director. Rivlin went on to mould the CBO to her own vision of

adhering to fair, non-partisan operation and research standards (Irving et al 1988).

The RAND Corporation represents the diametrically opposite model, where the supply of research and analysis grow to meet an institutional demand for policy alternatives. Originally set up through a military contract given to the Douglas Aircraft Company in 1948, RAND has since then grown to behemoth dimensions, with 1,700 employees with multiple offices within the us and outside.<sup>36</sup> It also houses a distinctive and highly regarded doctoral degree programme at the Pardee Rand Graduate School.<sup>37</sup> Though RAND entertains international clients, the majority of its contract remain federal.<sup>38</sup>

#### 4 The Need to Connect Public Policy to public policy

What are the takeaways from the short history of the origin and development of Policy Studies in the us presented above? The most obvious point to be noted is that its genesis and evolution happened neither in a vacuum, nor was the architecture derived from alien blueprints. Indeed, the entire process was organic and endogenous. Policy studies emerged and developed in the us over the course of a century to address American concerns, using domestic human and financial resources, within a homegrown politico-philosophical framework, without mimicking intellectual movements from foreign shores. In other words, Policy Studies emerged as a part and parcel of a policy ecosystem whose other constituent elements evolved synchronously. Counterparts of some of the elements of this ecosystem can be found in other countries, including India, but only in the us did they historically form a systemic whole. The process of drafting of the Indian Constitution, for instance, can perhaps be compared to the creation of the us counterpart in the liveliness of the discussions, and the *Constituent Assembly Debates* are perhaps no less important historically than the *Federalist Papers*. But the resemblance did not carry over to the respective social, political and administrative systems of the two countries. As a consequence, it was the American education system, and neither the Indian nor any other, which engendered Policy Studies spontaneously.

Second, undoubtedly the most important factor behind the rise of Public Policy in the us was public policy in the us. In every country, the academic process is itself shaped by the process of governance. In the us, it was mandated from inception that democratic decision-making be based on informed choices. Public Policy is distinct from every other academic discipline in that the subject, object and end consumer of all scholarly output is the government. The economist or political scientist can find ready harbour in a department insulated from the nuts and bolts of administration, but an aloof government effectively dooms the employment prospects of the budding policy scientist. He needs the government to be open, interested, and supportive of his work. In turn, his work must be useful to the government in its public welfare activities. By definition, he straddles two worlds—he must analyse and discuss the complexities of policy problems with other subject matter experts, and he must simplify the solution alternatives for the policymaker's consumption and use.

Third, the us policy system has long been unusual in having a freely revolving door between public debate and public service—it is as common for practitioners to teach as it is for scholars to enter the administration.<sup>39</sup> us lawmakers have typically always been highly educated, with Ivy League backgrounds almost being de rigueur over the last century. Many presidents have been intellectuals of a high order.<sup>40</sup> us administrations have perhaps often been enamoured of scholarly brilliance and expert advice to a fault. It has historically been easy for the policymaker and the policy scientist in America to understand each other since they spoke the same language, if perhaps different dialects.

It should finally also be noted that American higher education has produced not only Policy Studies, but has been leading the world in every field for nearly a century. The defining characteristic of the us educational system has always been institutional flexibility to accommodate intellectual freedom. American universities have produced and attracted the world's greatest thinkers, who have been drawn in by superlative financial remuneration, splendid infrastructure and support, and complete freedom and independence from external interference. The extraordinary density of first-rate universities across the nation, and the agglomeration of first-rate scholarship in all disciplines on their campuses have made collaboration across disciplines easier than anywhere else in the world. It is a system which has bred and rewarded curiosity, courage and eclecticism. Such a state of affairs has long become unimaginable in independent India, where education is considered an extension of state bureaucracy, and government circulars casually describe scholars as “teachers and equivalent cadres in universities and colleges.”<sup>41</sup>

#### 5 Checking the Boxes

The difference with the Indian system, where the public administrator and the public intellectual live on separate planets, is stark and obvious. It is interesting to note that Indian policymaking has been most dynamic whenever a scholarly person has been at the helm. Nehru was as comfortable among intellectuals as he was among statesmen. The former Prime Minister P V Narasimha Rao, considered the architect of the modern Indian economy, spoke seven Indian languages in addition to English, French, Arabic, Spanish and Persian.<sup>42</sup> Rao's finance minister, Manmohan Singh, who subsequently went on to serve two consecutive terms as prime minister, holds a DPhil from Oxford.<sup>43</sup> Despite embarrassingly frequent charges of financial mismanagement—though Singh himself remained untainted till the very end—his two terms saw a remarkably high amount of social legislation, including the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, the Right to Education Act, and the Right to Information Act.<sup>44</sup> It was also on his watch that the Planning Commission started accepting internships for graduate students, something unthinkable a decade earlier when I was a doctoral student in Public Policy at the University of Texas, Austin.<sup>45</sup>

India does not suffer from a dearth of think tanks (Gold, Zonana and Nayyar 2009). However, social or scientific research

cannot translate to policy research in exile from the policy process. Policy Studies operate in a monopsonistic market, with the government effectively being the sole buyer of all scholarly output. Insularity of operation and apathy to external knowledge long being a hallmark of Indian governance, the market for policy analysis simply failed to develop. This was pointed out several decades ago in a powerful two-part commentary by Myron Weiner (1979a, b). His observations remain relevant till date. He noted that first, studies—despite being commissioned governments to assist state projects or programmes—were rarely utilised in policies.<sup>46</sup> Second, there was no scope of lateral entry for academics (except economists) into the government. Third, the government overwhelmingly controlled the funding of policy research. (This contrasts with the us, where a host of foundations and philanthropies sponsor research of every kind, and universities compete fiercely over endowments and research grants.) Thus, research which contradicted official presuppositions could be and frequently was suppressed.<sup>47</sup> The net result was that the basic policy feedback loop of analysis, formulation, implementation and reanalysis did not exist in the country.

The academic system has its own challenges, including issues such as promotion of collaborative scholarship and curriculum design. Collaborative research, though particularly important for policy studies, is problematic for Indian higher education in general. An important roadblock is scale. Indian departments tend to be small, with very little scope for faculty groups coalescing around specialty areas.<sup>48</sup> If larger faculties can better facilitate within-and cross-disciplinary collaboration, then scaling up might be one of easier solutions that can be adopted. (This presumes the education system is not constrained by limited supply of professorial material, and completely ignores the quality aspect.) Likewise, curricular design may also not be an insurmountable obstacle, considering Policy Studies, being loosely defined under the strictest of conditions, offers greater flexibility than any disciplinary subject regarding course content.<sup>49</sup>

Marketability presents a trickier, egg-and-chicken problem. In the absence of any space in the policy process for either the scholar or the graduate, selling a programme in Policy Studies to prospective students is a difficult proposition. Conversely, without an assured supply of fee-paying students, no academic programme of adequate quality can be sustained. IIM-B and MDI-G have solved this problem by courting a captive market with third-party (that is taxpayer) sponsorship. Knowingly or unknowingly, this approach follows Lasswell's (1943b) original idea of an institute for policymakers rather than aspiring policy analysts which the overwhelming majority of the policy schools cater to.<sup>50</sup>

In 2006, as a part of their *Vision 2025* exercise, ISB conducted an internal evaluation of the feasibility of a Master's in Public Administration programme (ISB 2006). The study looked into 50 leading us programmes, and considered the possibilities of a one- as well as two-year programme, finding merit in both approaches. It also went into details of possible curricular structures, faculty composition, and infrastructural requirements.

It identified several benefits to the nation as well as accruing parochially to ISB from establishing the first Master of Public Administration (MPA) programme in the country. But it also came to the conclusion that such a programme was not likely to be financially self-sufficient, given that the students would necessarily have to be charged less than their Master of Business Administration (MBA) counterparts, in line with their expected lower earning potential. Without getting into details, the report considered alternative financing models such as cross-subsidisation from the MBA programme and funding from foundations or the public and private sectors. The solutions, however, avoid the elephant in the room, namely, guaranteeing employment for the graduates of the programme. The crux of the matter is that without openness in governance and administration, a Policy Studies field is neither feasible nor sustainable.

Assuming away bureaucratic closed-mindedness and the difficulty of finding employment for the graduates, the primary hurdle of creating a Policy Studies programme would then be locating people with both good disciplinary training and interest and competence in practical policy applications. The us solves this problem through an open system of revolving doors between government and academia. In American academia, it is taken for granted that professors will go beyond classroom responsibilities and engage with society at large. This is done through interfacing with policymakers on matters of social importance. For instance, it is very common for leading scholars to testify before lawmakers in their areas of expertise. But more direct and sustained involvement comes from periodic lateral transitions between government employment and academic ones. There is little possibility of the Indian policy process taking this approach in the near future.

## 6 How to Create an Academic Discipline<sup>51</sup>

A number of discrete challenges can be identified for setting up Policy Studies as an academic discipline in India, including separation of the academic and policy processes, intellectual pigeonholing, and the absence of a critical mass of faculty. Broadly speaking, these can be binned into three overlapping categories. At the lowest level are the instructional barriers such as curriculum design. The second may be described as administrative barriers, which would include branding and marketing dimensions and faculty recruitment. Bureaucratic hurdles such as the UGC apparatus would comprise the third and most problematic set.

The problem of recruiting qualified people for a Public Policy programme is an illustration of how the problem can be exacerbated by the structural inflexibility of Indian higher education. Academic recruitment in India is a formidable hurdle in itself, over and above the fact that there is no established framework of Policy Studies in the country. A fundamental problem is that recruitment is linear and disciplinary by design, and deviating from established norms is frowned upon if not actively resisted. Because Public Policy does not exist in India as an academic discipline, neither do norms for recruitment. This presents a peculiar catch-22 challenge. Since policy research by definition works across disciplinary boundaries,

administrators can be reluctant to back the candidacies of people who cannot be judged by the usual lowest common denominators of disciplinary parameters.

Innovation and institution-building in academia require scholarship, but of an even greater importance is leadership. Unfortunately, this is where the Indian education system has been gutted maximally. Consider the example of the Delhi School of Economics. K N Raj, brought in and given a free hand by V K R V Rao, managed to rope in Amartya Sen, Sukhamoy Chakravarty and Jagdish Bhagwati in its initial years, a coup which would have brought credit to any department of social science in the world (Béteille 2010). The full professorial appointments of all overlooked their youthful chronological ages for their academic brilliance. Such a wilful disregard for institutional norms would not be tolerated today.<sup>52</sup>

What could be an ideal model for a Public Policy field for India? We have seen that a fundamental prerequisite for Public Policy is pre-existing demand from the government. Can we realistically expect supply from the academic institutions (listed in Section 2) to create its own demand from the government? Interestingly, Lasswell, who comes closest to being called the father of Policy Studies, rejected the in-house model in a couple of highly influential documents. Both were written while he had stepped down from his faculty responsibilities at the University of Chicago to take up the post of chief of the experimental division for the Study of Wartime Communications

at the Library of Congress. The documents combined his scholarly background with insight from his practical experience with the policy world. In the first memorandum, he reasoned that working within any particular institution of higher learning would impose a “collegial restraint” on the exercise of professional integrity (Lasswell 1943a). In the second, he proposed an alternative model—an independent “Institute of Policy Sciences” (Lasswell 1943b). Institutions such as the Congressional Research Service and the CBO which aid and inform the government embody these ideas. The organisations work closely with academic institutions and think tanks for knowledge servicing, capacity building and even long-term recruitment.

In the context of the demise of the Planning Commission and the severely understaffed state of the NITI (National Institution for Transforming India) Aayog, this could perhaps be a good model to emulate. It is inconceivable that a handful of people sitting in the capital city, no matter the depth and breadth of the expertise in their respective fields, can service the policy demands of a country as vast and complex as India. It would be logical to harness the intellectual reserves of the country, scattered in the universities and think tanks, to aid the process of governance. The onus is as much on the government to open the system enough to facilitate intellectual connect as it is on academia to step down from the ivory towers to understand the needs of governance.

## NOTES

- Administrative feebleness keeps getting periodic rappings from the Indian courts. See, for example, the ruling by the Supreme Court in *Tarlochan Dev Sharma v State of Punjab & Others* (25 July 2001), <http://www.indiankanoon.org/doc/1389589/>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- The importance of the lawyers and the economists in Public Policy is not an Indian idiosyncrasy. For a humorous but pithy commentary, see Stigler (1972).
- For the purposes of this paper, these phrases are used interchangeably. The differences between these academic cousins are subtle and have grown blurred over time, especially between Public Policy and public administration, though in general the former tends to emphasise research and analysis while the latter tends towards the functional and practical. See Hur and Hackbart (2009). See also *MPA & MPP FAQ*, National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA): <http://www.naspaa.org/students/faq/faq.asp>, accessed on 29 March 2016. For an understanding of the evolution of Policy Studies over these different avatars, see Stokes (1996) and Allison (2008).
- [http://www.iimb.ernet.in/centres/centre\\_for\\_public\\_policy](http://www.iimb.ernet.in/centres/centre_for_public_policy), accessed on 29 March 2016.
- Ibid.
- See <http://www.mdi.ac.in/admission/pgp-public-policy-management.html>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- See <http://www.jspp.edu.in>, accessed on 29 March 2016. The school did not respond to numerous overtures apart from a disjointed emailed offer from the dean, not followed through subsequently, to meet at the Constitution Club over a report launch.
- See Fees, <http://jspp.edu.in/content/fees>, accessed on 29 March 2016.

- See <http://www.curaj.ac.in/Default.aspx?PageId=134>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- Bharti Institute of Public Policy, <http://www.isb.edu/bharti-institute-of-public-policy>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- <http://campus.tiss.edu/hyderabad/programs/master-degree-programmes/ma-public-policy-and-governance>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- “The idea of the state and the consequent ideal of its duty are undergoing noteworthy change; and ‘the idea of the state is the conscience of administration.’ Seeing every day new things which the state ought to do, the next thing is to see clearly how it ought to do them. This is why there should be a science of administration which shall seek to straighten the paths of government, to make its business less unbusiness-like, to strengthen and purify its organisation, and to crown its duties with dutifulness. This is one reason why there is such a science” (Wilson 1887).
- “The time will soon come when no college of respectability can afford to do without a well-filled chair of political science. But the education thus imparted will go but a certain length. It will multiply the number of intelligent critics of government, but it will create no competent body of administrators. It will prepare the way for the development of a surefooted understanding of the general principles of government, but it will not necessarily foster skill in conducting government. It is an education which will equip legislators, perhaps, but not executive officials” (Wilson 1887).
- Wilson also made his stand unambiguously clear in his inaugural address as President of Princeton University on 25 October 1902: “We are not put into this world to sit still and know; we are put into it to act,” [http://infohare1.princeton.edu/libraries/firestone/rbcs/mudd/online\\_ex/wilsonline/4dn8nsvc.html](http://infohare1.princeton.edu/libraries/firestone/rbcs/mudd/online_ex/wilsonline/4dn8nsvc.html), accessed on 29 March 2016.

- Isaiah Berlin (1959) uses Wilson’s ideas on education to illustrate the philosophical conflict between Cambridge idealism and Oxford practicality which played out across the pond in early 20th century in his characteristically perceptive style.
- It would be impossible to cover the origin and development of any discipline in a single section of a single article. For an excellent overview, see Ascher (1986).
- See <http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/cemerriam.htm>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- See “Renowned International Law Scholar Myres S McDougal Dies,” *Yale Bulletin & Calendar*, <http://www.yale.edu/opa/arc-ylc/ylc/v26.n32.news.11.html>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- See <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/about/history>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- See, for example the review by Hyneman (1952), a political scientist, in the *Louisiana Law Journal*.
- These were Carnegie Mellon, Duke University, Harvard, Michigan, the RAND Graduate School, the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Minnesota, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Texas at Austin.
- The beneficiaries were Carnegie Mellon, Harvard, Michigan, Princeton, the RAND Graduate School, Stanford, the University of California at Berkeley, and the University of Texas at Austin.
- See <http://www.appam.org/about-appam/>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- Ibid.
- See, for example, Ellwood (2008), accessed on 29 March 2016.
- See <http://www.fpa.org/>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- See <http://www.cfr.org/>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- See <http://www.nber.org/>, accessed on 29 March 2016.

- 29 See <http://www.ssrc.org/> accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 30 See [http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/economic-sciences/laureates/1971/kuznets-bio.html](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/economic-sciences/laureates/1971/kuznets-bio.html), accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 31 See [http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/economic-sciences/laureates/1993/north-bio.html](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/economic-sciences/laureates/1993/north-bio.html), accessed on 16 September 2013.
- 32 See <http://news.stanford.edu/news/2012/october/nobel-economics-roth-101512.html>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 33 See <http://www.brookings.edu>.
- 34 "Brookings Institution History," <http://www.brookings.edu/about/history>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 For more on RAND, see <http://www.rand.org/about/glance.html>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 37 See <http://www.prgrs.edu/>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 38 See [http://www.rand.org/about/clients\\_grantors.html](http://www.rand.org/about/clients_grantors.html), accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 39 Consider, for example, the media statement by the University of Chicago Law School regarding President Barack Obama's stint as a professor, which highlights the dual teaching/public service engagements of many of the professors, <http://www.law.uchicago.edu/media>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 40 There may be a correlation between executive achievement and scholastics for US presidents. Barack Obama taught for 12 years at the University of Chicago, John F Kennedy won the Pulitzer Prize in History, Theodore Roosevelt was a prolific writer and led several professional zoological expeditions, and Woodrow Wilson was president of the American Political Science Association as well of Princeton University. The scholarly calibres of the Founding Fathers, of course, were superlative. For short biographies, see: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 41 Circulars/Orders/Notification No F3-1/2001-UI, Department of Higher Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, [http://mhrd.gov.in/sites/upload\\_files/mhrd/files/fitab.pdf](http://mhrd.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/fitab.pdf), originally accessed on 26 September 2013. The document has since been removed from the MHRD website, but is available at <http://www.nitt.edu/home/righttoinfoact/fitab.pdf>. Link verified on 29 March 2016.
- 42 See <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1479685/PV-Narasimha-Rao.html>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 43 See [http://pmindia.gov.in/en/former\\_pm/dr-m-anmohan-singh-2](http://pmindia.gov.in/en/former_pm/dr-m-anmohan-singh-2), accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 44 See <http://pib.nic.in/archieve/upareport/ppa/empowering.pdf>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 45 See <http://planningcommission.nic.in/news/intern/>, verified on 25 September 2013.
- 46 When probed, officials responded that (i) they already knew the answers and no external input was needed, (ii) academics lack practical experience, and (iii) there was no tradition of research in government.
- 47 In one hilarious instance, the Department of Prohibition of the Government of Gujarat refused the publication of a study by the Sardar Patel Institute of Economics and Social Research which found that banning alcohol caused a rise in gambling instead of in food consumption. Weiner discovered that the prevailing attitude in officialdom was that taxpayer-funded studies belonged to the government and were not public documents by default.
- 48 The Faculty of Law at the University of Delhi, among India's biggest, lists 50 faculty members (<http://www.du.ac.in/index.php?id=344>). Harvard has 215 (<http://www.law.harvard.edu/faculty/index.html?g=all>). Differences in scholastic levels go deeper than the numbers. Both URLs accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 49 It should in fact be noted that curriculum design is one of the perennially revisited aspects of the domain (Lasswell 1943b; Lepawsky 1970; Yates 1977; Friedman 1991; Geva-May and Maslove 2006; Morçöl and Ivanova 2010).
- 50 It should, however, be highlighted that Lasswell's conception applied to policy leaders. Whether mid-level officials in Indian bureaucracy qualify for the moniker is debatable.
- 51 A more detailed discussion is left for a subsequent paper.
- 52 Incidentally, all three academic superstars left, according to Desai (2010) because of the "high inflation, shrinking real salaries, and intellectual intolerance [of Indira Gandhi]."
- 53 For details, see <http://www.univcan.ca/about-us/>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 54 Canadian Association of Programmes in Public Administration (CAPPA). The website was under reconstruction at the time of going to press. An archived version (31 December 2014) can be seen at <https://web.archive.org/web/201412-31232856/http://www.cappa.ca/>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 See, for example, the MA in Public Administration at Carleton University (<http://calendar.carleton.ca/grad/gradprograms/publicadministration/#text>) and the master of public administration at the University of Victoria, Canada (<https://www.uvic.ca/hsd/publicadmin/graduate/future-students/grad-programs/pa-campus/index.php>). Both accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 57 <http://www.sg.kyoto-u.ac.jp/en/programme/philosophy.html>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 58 <http://www.sg.kyoto-u.ac.jp/en/programme/courses/course01.html>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 59 See "Curriculum in Common" <http://gsps.snu.ac.kr/en/node/243>, accessed on 06 April 2016.
- 60 See: <http://gsps.snu.ac.kr/en/portfolio/type/1>, accessed on 6 April 2016.
- 61 See "Overview and History," LKYSPP, NUS: Archived webpage dated 04 April 2013, [https://web.archive.org/web/20130404085356/http://www.spp.nus.edu.sg/Overview\\_History.aspx](https://web.archive.org/web/20130404085356/http://www.spp.nus.edu.sg/Overview_History.aspx), accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 62 See, for example, the list of courses at Kyoto University, <http://www.sg.kyoto-u.ac.jp/en/programme/courses.html>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 63 See <http://gsps.snu.ac.kr/en/node/243>, accessed on 6 April 2016.
- 64 See <http://www.ppaweb.hku.hk/programmes/tpg/mpia>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 65 <http://lkyspp.nus.edu.sg/admissions/graduate-programmes/master-in-public-policy-mpp/>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 66 See <http://www.ppaweb.hku.hk/programmes/tpg/mpia#Elective>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 67 See: <http://www.pp.u-tokyo.ac.jp/en/mppip/index.htm>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 68 See: <http://www.ppaweb.hku.hk/programmes/tpg/mpia#stru>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 69 The programmes offered by these universities are, respectively, MSc in European Public Policy (<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/spp/teaching/masters/msc-european-public-policy>), MPA European Public and Economic Policy (<http://www.lse.ac.uk/IPA/MPA/Streams/EPEP.aspx>), MA-European Public Affairs (<http://www.maastrichtuniversity.nl/web/show?id=323147&langid=42>), MSc-Politics and Public Policy (<http://courses.cardiff.ac.uk/postgraduate/course/detail/p252.html>), and European Master's in Public Administration (<http://portal.uni-corvinus.hu/?id=14783>). All URLs accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 70 See, <http://www.lse.ac.uk/IPA/MPA/Curriculum.aspx>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 71 See <https://www.hertie-school.org/studyabroad/>, accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 72 See <http://www.appam.org/>.
- 73 See <http://www.naspaa.org/>.
- 74 See <http://www.aspanet.org/>.
- 75 See <http://www.cappa.ca/>.
- 76 See <http://www.eapaa.org/index.php>.
- 77 Academic homogenisation in the European Union has also been spurred by the Bologna Process, which seeks to make higher education "more compatible and comparable" across the board. See "The Bologna Process and the European Higher Education Area," [http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/higher-education/bologna-process\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/higher-education/bologna-process_en.htm), accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 78 See [http://www.juaa.org.jp/en/accrreditation/public\\_poricy.html](http://www.juaa.org.jp/en/accrreditation/public_poricy.html), accessed on 29 March 2016.
- 79 See <http://www.kapa21.or.kr/english/>.
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## Appendix

### Policy Studies Globally

Public Policy has carved out niche positions within the tertiary education systems of many other countries. us influence and linkages are

very apparent in non-European places. Canada, with the highest number of academic programmes in Policy Studies after the us, is coloured by geographical and cultural proximity. Of the 97 universities represented by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC),<sup>53</sup> 25 offer master’s programmes in policy, with 11 offering doctoral programmes as well.<sup>54</sup> There are also a substantial number of related programmes which have a direct relevance to policy and administration.<sup>55</sup> Though Canadian programmes partly grew out of a domestically perceived need for a more analytically trained bureaucracy, they were and remain influenced by developments south of the border (Geva-May and Maslove 2006). This is readily apparent in their curricular structures, with cores designed around economics, quantitative methods, and public sector management (including public finance), along with specialisations depending on student interest and faculty competence.<sup>56</sup> This model was developed over decades at the us universities.

### The Far Eastern Quartet

One group of countries which have consciously modelled their curricular structures on the us approach is the Far Eastern quartet of Japan, South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong. For example, the declared “Educational Philosophy” of the programme at Kyoto University echoes the tenor of any leading us programme.<sup>57</sup> Excepting two Japan-specific courses on the country’s legislative and legal systems, the core curriculum is likewise indistinguishable from a standard us one.<sup>58</sup> The core curriculum at the flagship Graduate School of Public Administration (GSPA) at Seoul National University (SNU) is even more American in spirit, incorporating a course on ethics and leadership in line with recent us trends.<sup>59</sup>

This is not surprising, given the political and economic kinship of these countries with the us. The American training and background of the faculty provide a more straightforward and persuasive explanation. At GSPA, 23 of the 29 permanent faculty members did their doctoral work in us universities.<sup>60</sup> The structural and curricular affinity is reinforced through institutional connections with us policy programmes. For example, the formal creation of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (LKYSPP) at the National University of Singapore (NUS) in 2004 can be traced back to the Public Policy programme set up in partnership with Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government (KSG) in 1992.<sup>61</sup>

All four countries, presumably taking their smaller sizes into consideration, have adopted a strategy of balancing local needs with international marketability. In line with Japan’s relatively larger territorial expanse and population, the Japanese programmes attempt to maintain parity by offering a higher proportion of courses which either specifically address domestic issues or are easy to extrapolate to international settings.<sup>62</sup> GSPA–SNU, in the much smaller Korea,

leans farther towards internationalisation; of all the courses in the programme in public administration, for instance, only a tiny minority have a stated domestic focus.<sup>63</sup> International inclinations are commensurately stronger in the even smaller Hong Kong. For instance, the Department of Politics and Public Administration (DPPA) at the University of Hong Kong (HKU) offers a specialised degree of Master of International and Public Affairs (MIPA) with a pragmatic emphasis on China and the Asia-Pacific.<sup>64</sup>

Many of the programmes assert their global credentials through partnerships and collaboration with sister institutions abroad. The Lee Kuan Yew School at NUS, for instance, highlights its association with Columbia’s School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA), the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), the Institut d’études politiques de Paris (Sciences Po), University of Geneva, and University of Tokyo, offering double degrees with each of them.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, MIPA at DPPA–HKU allows students to take one-course-equivalent electives at Peking University, Johns Hopkins, George Washington, and Seoul National University.<sup>66</sup> The Master of Public Policy, International Program (MPP/IP) at the Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Tokyo, advertises not only international curricular compatibility and outreach with other universities, but a professional connection with the World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) through dedicated scholarships.<sup>67</sup> The realistic value addition in some cases is doubtful, for example, the MPA at DPPA–HKU has an optional residency at Chinese Academy of Governance, but the two-week duration is unlikely to be sufficient for any manner of meaningful learning.<sup>68</sup> Nonetheless, international linkages are clearly a signalling mechanism for attracting well-heeled students.

### European Schools

The programmes offered by the European Schools display a third major approach. They tend to be Eurocentric rather than either country-specific or global. The universities themselves range from the front-ranking (the University College London, LSE and Maastricht University), to the middle-tier (Cardiff University and the University of Bath), to the relatively low-profile (the Corvinus University of Budapest).<sup>69</sup> The bigger schools often also offer more broadly defined programmes or a broader range of them in order to appeal a wider clientèle. For example, the MPA programme at LSE has five “policy streams”—(i) Public and Economic Policy, (ii) Public Policy and Management, (iii) International Development, (iv) European Public and Economic Policy, and (v) Public and Social Policy.<sup>70</sup> However, the general tendency is to focus on the administrative and governance problems of an integrating Europe.

All these programmes are relatively young, most dating back to less than a decade. This is again a reflection of the uniqueness of the us and its policymaking structure, as also its

attractiveness to much of the rest of the world. In many ways, European academics is moving in the direction of the us, and the steady increase in the number of policy programmes offered by the traditionally cautious European universities is an affirmation of these tendencies. This is also affirmed by the evidence of competition amongst institutions through product-differentiation in a crowding market. The Hertie School of Governance provides an excellent example; it clearly attempts to position itself as being international rather than European by offering a spectrum of dual degrees and exchange programmes.<sup>71</sup> Thus, Policy Studies as an academic field is clearly making headway in many countries, but it is difficult to ascertain their relevance to their respective policy-processes.

### Commonalities across Institutions

Leaving aside differences in curricular philosophy, Policy Studies share at least two commonalities across institutions, countries and continents. The first is that all programmes are binned into one of two categories, each catering to a distinct student outcome profile. The master's programmes are designed to produce policy practitioners. They are professional programmes that may best be characterised as being public-sector counterparts of MBA programmes. So, for example, they are expected to

produce policy analysts, equivalent to business analysts, while leadership skills are emphasised in both. As in business studies, students are usually expected to intern at organisations in line with their professional interests. Doctoral programmes operate at a very different level, and are geared towards producing the next generation of policy scholars. They also share an equivalence with their counterparts in business schools in that unlike in traditional disciplines, the research explorations at the doctoral level are understood to ultimately address practical questions of governance and administration. In a second departure from more academic disciplines, there is no step up in hierarchy from the master's to the doctoral levels; the programmatic structures are tailored to different career aspirations. Policy Studies and business studies are kindred spirits in this respect as well.

The second point to note is that a large part of the homogeneity of the programmes stems from their affiliation to associations which either act explicitly as accreditation agencies, or as forums where academics and administrators exchange notes on current developments and future directions. Most us schools are aligned to either the APPAM,<sup>72</sup> or the NASPAA,<sup>73</sup> or the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA).<sup>74</sup> Canadian programmes are accredited by the Canadian Association of Programmes in Public Administration (CAPPA).<sup>75</sup> European

programmes, apart from their respective national higher education accreditation agencies, can seek the higher stamp of approval of the European Association for Public Administration Accreditation (EAPAA).<sup>76, 77</sup> All Japanese programmes have to be certified by the Japan University Accreditation Association Standards for Professional Graduate Public Policy Schools.<sup>78</sup> The Korean schools interface through the Korean Association for Public Administration (KAPA).<sup>79</sup> Even diminutive Hong Kong has the Hong Kong Public Administration Association (HKPAA).<sup>80</sup>

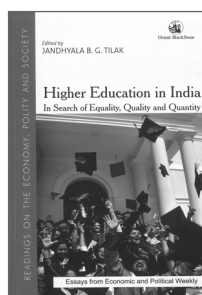
Apart from coordination at the institutional level as and when needed, these associations perform an aggregative function through two primary means. The first is through organising annual conferences which serve multiple purposes. They act as networking venues for administrative and academic personnel. They are also meeting grounds for policy researchers and practitioners. No less important, they are de facto recruitment events for doctoral students who showcase their research skills before the faculty of national and international schools which they hope to join. A more sustained and recurrent function performed by the associations is the publication of journals. Many of these are well respected not only in Policy Studies, but compare very favourably with leading field journals in the disciplinary social sciences.

# Higher Education in India

## In Search of Equality, Quality and Quantity

*Edited by*

**JANDHYALA B G TILAK**



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India has a large network of universities and colleges with a massive geographical reach and the facilities for higher education have been expanding rapidly in recent years. The story of higher education in India has seen many challenges over the decades and has not been without its share of problems, the most serious being a very high degree of inequity.

Drawn from writings spanning almost four decades in the EPW, the articles in this volume discuss, among other things, issues of inclusiveness, the impact of reservation, problems of mediocrity, shortage of funds, dwindling numbers of faculty, and unemployment of the educated young.

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