**PRANAM** 

NAMASKAR

# Public Policy Education: How it Can Help Lead to Better Citizen-Centric Outcomes?

By

Mukul Asher

Mukul.asher@gmail.com

Presented at IIT, Tirupati, India, 27 July 2022

#### Focus of this Session

- This session focuses on understanding the nature of public policy education, and how programs in this field, multidisciplinary by nature, could be structured for achieving citizen-centric outcomes in India.
- While it is essential to understand and reform public policy processes, the ultimate aim of these processes should be to achieve the citizencentric outcomes.



I consider that the great national sin is the neglect of the masses, and that is one of the causes of our downfall. No amount of politics would be of any avail until the masses in India are once more well educated, well fed, and well cared for... If we want to regenerate India, we must work for them.

#### -- Swami Vivekananda

{CWSV - 5 : Interviews : The Missionary Work Of The First Hindu Sannyasin To The West And His Plan Of Regeneration Of India}

SBPE3 #EkBharatVijayiBharat #VRock50



### Organization

- Evolution of Public Policy Education
- Select Inspirational Thoughts and Observations Relevant for Public Policy Education in India
- Population As an Example of Public Policy Issue
- Why Countries/Regions Regress? Some Observations
- Concluding Remarks

- Over the past several decades, the academic programs in teaching of government have witnessed evolution from Public Administration to Public policy to Public Management. Management aspects, obtaining better outcomes which are citizen centric from given financial and physical resources is increasingly the focus pf public policy schools. AS an example. Courses which used to be called "Public Finance" are now increasing titled "Public Financial Management"
- At the undergraduate level, Public Administration programs started first and are very common.
- Public administration focuses on how government and its agencies are organized and function. This is critical in understanding how a government functions. This is particularly the case in India with federal structure, with 28 states, 9 Union Territories, 773 Districts as of April 2022, and numerous urban and local bodies.
- But organization of government changes over time, and this does not permit more detailed analysis of public policies (education, health) wherever they occur in government. Hence public policy programs were introduced

- Public Policy Programs at undergraduate level are still not common. Thus, the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, started in 1936, does not have an undergraduate public policy program.
- The emphasis then shifted to Management aspects as technology, data analysis, more sophisticated statistical and quantitative techniques became available
- At Master level, degrees are offered in all three areas, with emphasis on training public sector officials, and those from the social enterprise, and notfor-profit sectors.
- At the Ph.D. level, programs in all three areas are there, but not very widespread.
- Besides School of Public policy, The Schools of Government and School of International and Public affairs, and Schools of Business/Management have been associated with such training.

- Economics, Political Science, and Management have been key disciplines which are included, to varying degrees, in Public Policy Programs. So the program is that of a Professional School, and not an strict academic discipline based program.
- Professional schools have different requirements, including ability to engage with policymakers, and other public policy stakeholders, as well as to communicate public policy research and ideas to wider stakeholders.
- With the rise of digital economy, increasingly courses in data analytics, and big data are also included by Public Policy Schools.
- More extensive regulatory structures in all countries have also meant increasing role for law and regulation courses.

- Political economy aspects are integral to studying public policy issues.
- These aspects impact design, manner of implementation, and the extent to which monitoring and evaluation are pursued.
- Leadership at all levels, and their Niyat (intent) are critical.
- A system wide perspective, rather than ad-hoc scheme or program based perspective, of how work process are organized in the public sector to achieve citizen- centric outcomes, is increasingly emphasized.

- Distinction between domestic and international has narrowed considerable. Each affects the other, making task of an analyst even more complex.
- An example of changing geo-politics:
- Prime Minister Narendra Modi on July 14, 2022, participated in the first-ever I2U2 (India, Israel, US, UAE) Summit virtually. India's Ministry of External Affairs has stated:
- "It intends to mobilize private sector capital and expertise to help modernise the infrastructure, low carbon development pathways for our industries, improve public health, and promote the development of critical emerging and green technologies."

#### Changing Geo-Political and Geo-economic Dynamics

- Key announcement at first I2U2 summit will be setting up of UAE funded \$2 billion agricultural parks project in India, say US govt
  officials; Israel to provide tech support, US private sector to also pitch in.
- The I2U2 Group will advance a hybrid renewable energy project in India's Gujarat State consisting of 300 megawatts (MW) of wind and solar capacity complemented by a battery energy storage system. The U.S. Trade and Development Agency funded a feasibility study for the \$330 million USD project.
- UAE-based companies are exploring opportunities to serve as critical knowledge and investment partners. Israel and the United States intend to work with the UAE and India to highlight private sector opportunities.
- Indian companies are keen to participate in this project and contribute to India's goal of achieving 500 GW of non-fossil fuel capacity by 2030. Such projects have the potential to make India a global hub for alternate supply chains in the renewable energy sector.
- <a href="https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/07/14/joint-statement-of-the-leaders-of-india-israel-united-arab-emirates-and-the-united-states-i2u2/">https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/07/14/joint-statement-of-the-leaders-of-india-israel-united-arab-emirates-and-the-united-states-i2u2/</a>
- Accessed on 14 July 2022
- Could such a summit been envisaged even few years ago?

- In implementing public policies, it is critical to evaluate the "readiness" for a particular policy.
- Public policies formulation and implementation require a framework, not a blueprint. This is a mistake often made.
- Public policies need to also take into account transition requirements and costs when moving from one policy to another.
- For some public policies, there are short term benefits but medium to long term costs (e.g. bank nationalization; keeping retail petrol price fixed for long periods).
- For other public policies, there are short term costs, but medium term to long term benefits (e.g. GST; Currency Swap or inaccurately referred to as demonetization, developing a metro system in a city, Swatch Bharat programs)

- हमारे देश में मुफ्त की रेवड़ी बांटकर वोट बटोरने का कल्चर लाने की कोशिश हो रही है। ये रेवड़ी कल्चर देश के विकास के लिए बहुत घातक है। इस रेवड़ी कल्चर से देश के लोगों को बहुत सावधान रहना है: PM @narendramodi
- रेवड़ी कल्चर वाले कभी आपके लिए नए एक्सप्रेसवे नहीं बनाएंगे, नए एयरपोर्ट या डिफेंस कॉरिडोर नहीं बनाएंगे। रेवड़ी कल्चर वालों को लगता है कि जनता जनार्दन को मुफ्त की रेवड़ी बांटकर, उन्हें खरीद लेंगे। हमें मिलकर उनकी इस सोच को हराना है, रेवड़ी कल्चर को देश की राजनीति से हटाना है: PM

• Our education system can be at the forefront of nations only if it is rooted and derived from our traditional strength and knowledge.

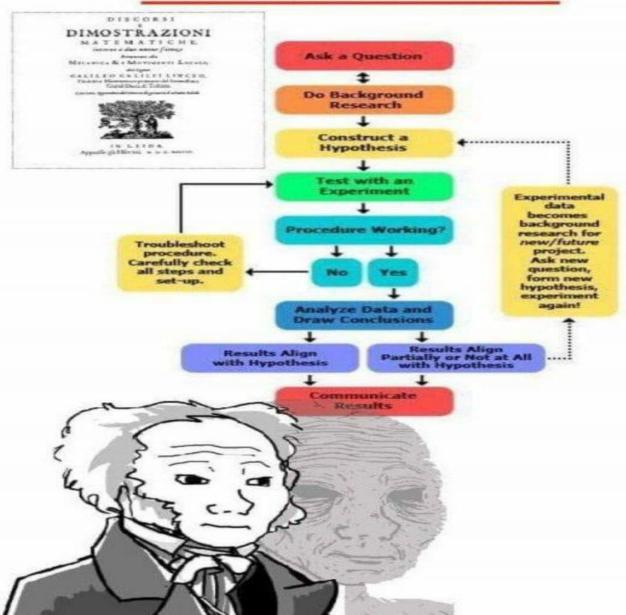
### Temjen Imna Along

Minister of Higher Education & Tribal Affairs, State of Nagaland.

 Nations weaken not because of their past but, rather, by how they are taught it.

Anand Ranganathan

## Scientific Method



## Science Worshiper's Method



Any scheme based on heredity is not only undemocratic but unspiritual' 'while the spirit of India can never die the social institutions which don't embody it must be scrapped' 'caste injures the spirit of humanity and violates human dignity'

President Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan

To listen is only possible when you put aside your particular opinion, your particular knowledge or problem, your conclusions; when you're free to listen, not interpreting, not judging, not evaluating

This has relevance to teaching HOW to think, basic trait of an educated person. Obtaining a Degree is not education.

Too many persons with degrees ,too few who are educated.

Public policy education needs to be directed at HOW TO THINK, NOT WHAT TO THINK; while imparting skills which could help in meeting demand for them.

- Service process design. This is something that we do not take seriously enough in Indian public services delivery. It would really improve citizen experience at very little cost.
- Sanjeev Sanyal

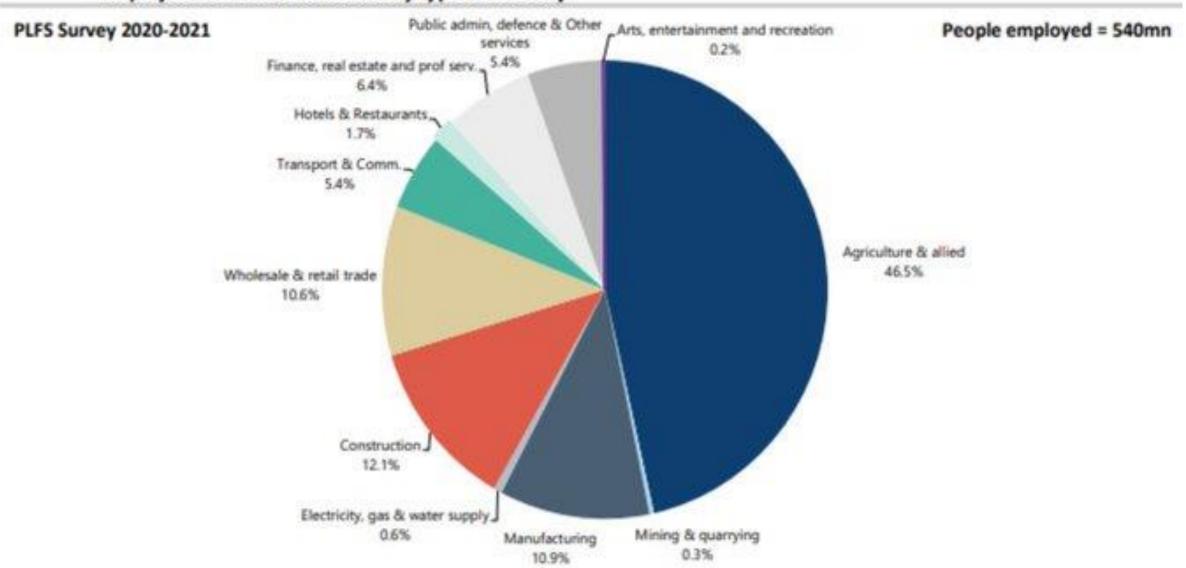
### Example from Abroad:

• Last year, I had pre-surgery tests in a public hospital. It took a full morning. Today, I had pre-surgery tests in a NHS-accredited clinic. It took 18 minutes. To do exactly the same tests and with fewer personnel. Here is how they did it:

- In the slow hospital, all patients had to do the required tests (blood, ECG, etc) in a pre-determined arbitrary order. Therefore, a patient taking longer than expected to complete an exam slows down everyone else.
- Conversely, in the faster clinic, examination rooms would call the next available patient that didn't do the test yet. Pull instead of push. This resulted in a more efficient workload allocation.
- Moreover, in the slow hospital, paperwork was filled on the spot. Instead, in the faster clinic, paperwork
  was sent ahead of time to the patients to fill at home and was only reviewed on the spot. This saved a lot
  of time the patients' and, more critically, the staff's.
- In the slow hospital, if you had a question, you had to ask a nurse. Conversely, in the faster clinic, there
  was ample documentation provided to patients before they even had questions. That saves the nurses'
  time.
- Finally, the slow hospital asked all ~40 patients for the day to come at the same time (8am). Instead, the faster clinic asked patients to come in staggered groups (I was asked to come at 7:30 with a few other patients).
- This saves the patients' time. Moreover, the small groups prevents a single patient coming late from causing a backlog if I had been 10 minutes late, say, they would just have called first another one of the patients in my batch.

• My point is: yes, public hospitals are severely underfunded and understaffed, but there are many low-hanging fruits to harvest for free that they're not harvesting.

#### Employment in India classified by type of Industry



Source: PLFS Survey, Jefferies

https://www.firstpost.com/india/for-new-india-new-system-and-modern-processes-are-critical-says-pm-modi-in-varanasi-10883561.html

#### Accessed on 7 July 2022

- The Prime Minister stressed that "we should not only prepare degree holder youth but give our education system to the country, whatever human resources are needed for the country to move forward. Our teachers and educational institutions have to lead this resolution."
- His stress is on developing skills, and on learning HOW to think; not WHAT to think. This has profound implications for India's current educational institutions.
- The prime minister expressed confidence that India can emerge as a big centre of global education. He said guidelines have been issued to prepare Indian higher education as per international standards. Special offices have been established in 180 universities for international affairs of the institutions. He asked the experts to be aware of the international practices in the field.

This is an observation on the US educational system

Our whole educational system, from the elementary schools to the universities, is increasingly turning out people who have never heard enough conflicting arguments to develop the skills and discipline required to produce a coherent analysis, based on logic and evidence.

**Thomas Sowell, An American Economist** 

One of his books which is most relevant for this audience:

#### **Basic Economics 2014**

Basic Economics is a citizen's guide to economics, written for those who want to understand how the economy works but have no interest in jargon or equations. Bestselling economist Thomas Sowell explains the general principles underlying different economic systems: capitalist, socialist, feudal, and so on. In readable language, he shows how to critique economic policies in terms of the incentives they create, rather than the goals they proclaim. With clear explanations of the entire field, from rent control and the rise and fall of businesses to the international balance of payments, this is the first book for anyone who wishes to understand how the economy functions.

 There are people who seem to think that the world owes them an awful lot, but who feel no need to explain what they have contributed to the world that led to this great debt.

#### **Thomas Sowell**

 "Intellectuals give people who have the handicap of poverty the further handicap of a sense of victimhood."

Quoted in the book "Maverick: A Biography of Thomas Sowell" by @jasonrileywsj

Sustainable development requires a sustainable lifestyle.

Dr S. Jaishankar External Affairs Minister, India

This is very relevant for discussion on environment. If a person goes in car to protest at a pro- environment gathering, is that consistent behavior?

"we have not paid enough attention to shaping our own core values." Therefore: "we must create core values." Ideally, "We must combine the flexibility of (our) traditional values with the modern spirit (scientific & rational). Many Indian intellectuals believe, that core values must be same as that of rich west. eg that, "Freedom of speech" is an absolute right. Common Indians believe that family rights and responsibilities are inseparable, & national values should reflect this core Indian value"

**Arvind Virmani 13 October 2021** 

Public Policy education in India needs to be consistent with India's core values as much as possible.

"All rights to be deserved and preserved come from duty well done ... [Important to] correlate every right to some corresponding duty to be first performed. Every other right can be shown to be usurpation hardly worth fighting for."

Mahatma Gandhi, CWMG Vol. 95, p. 137.

 Need to combine rights with responsibilities. It is important for the public policy education to stress this if India is to become a great power.

#### Sridhar Vembu

**Sridhar Vembu** (born 1968) is an Indian billionaire business magnate and the founder and CEO of Zoho Corporation. According to *Forbes*, he is the 55th richest person in India with a net worth USD \$3.75 billion, as of 2021

His two observations are worth mentioning here.

- 1. scientific method: First the data, then the analysis, third the policy implications, and finally the views A public policy education must imbibe the nature of scientific method among all participants, faculty included.
- 2. US-trained Indian economists reflect that flawed approach of naively elevating contextual US experience as universal economic law.

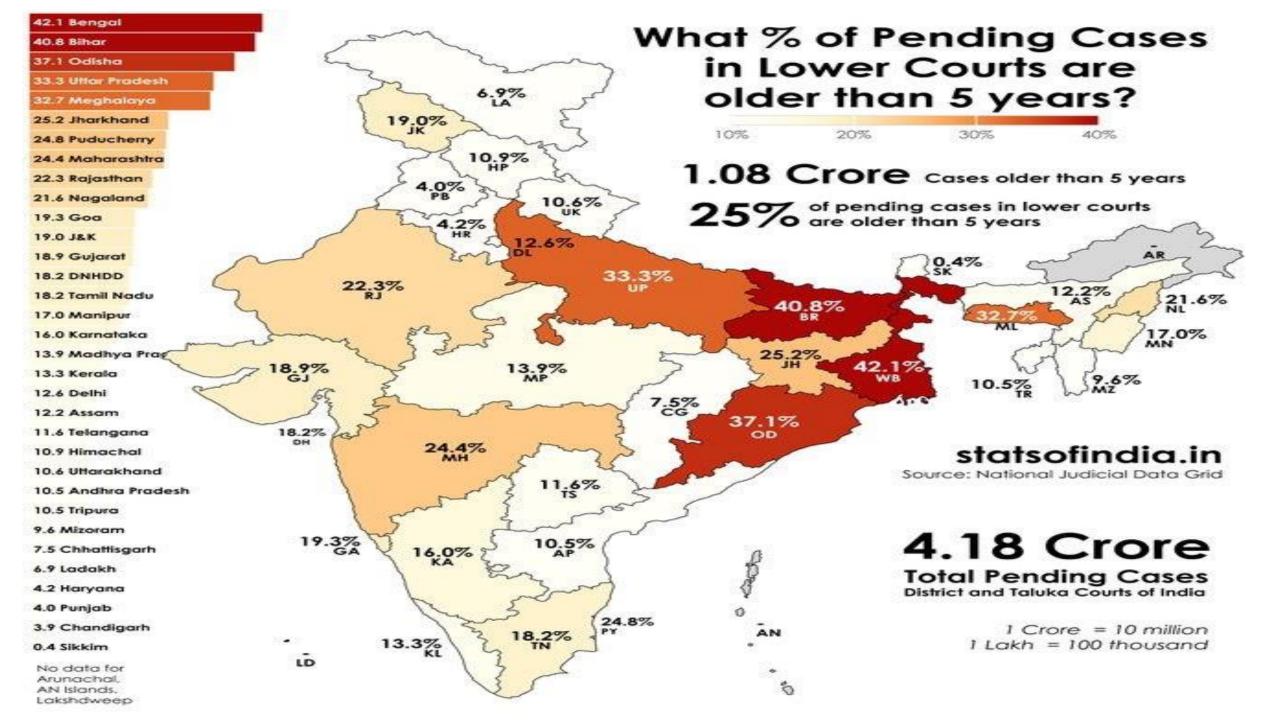
Local-context empirical studies and institutional and market structures relevant for public policy. Projects/thesis could be set to augment this aspect for India.

#### **Devendra Fadnavis**

- Any developed society is evaluated by its rule of law and its justice delivery system. India is the fifth largest economy now and will become the third-largest by 2030. If we want to achieve this, then the rule of law and justice delivery system in our country will be evaluated.
- One challenge: cases pending (see next slide)
- Implication for Public Policy Education:
- Law and Economics as at least an elective merits consideration in the curriculum
- In capacity building efforts, aim to include legal personnel at all levels of the judiciary
- The following is just one example of urgent judiciary reform needed in India:

Supreme Court on Tuesday 12th July 2022, <u>sent</u> a 60-years-old land dispute back to the Allahabad High Court after keeping the case with itself for 16 years. Interestingly, the Allahabad High Court had pronounced its verdict in this case in 2006 after hearing the matter for 31 years.

Even while the higher courts frequently <u>sermonize</u> the trial courts on the need for swift justice and describe it as a basic right of the litigants, it is astonishing that this case was languishing in the High Court and Supreme Court for 31 years and 16 years, respectively.



A public policy issue using law and statistics
Suppose all those undertrial are released, what would that imply for Type I and type II errors?
Can we minimize both type of errors at the same time?
From this, the essential nature of need for trade-offs in public policy becomes clear.

- Type I error means rejecting the null hypothesis when it's actually true, while a Type II error means failing to reject the null hypothesis when It is actually false
- A person decides to get tested for COVID-19 based on mild symptoms. There are two errors that could potentially occur:
- Type I error (false positive): the test result says you have coronavirus, but you actually don't.
- Type II error (false negative): the test result says you don't have coronavirus, but you actually do

Quote from Debroy (2021) on judicial reform and on greater focus on performance of states in development and governance areas.

- "The Constitution has a Seventh Schedule, with separate lists for the Union and state governments, and a concurrent list.
- Compared to the public attention devoted to the executive arm, relatively limited attention is paid to the legislature and judiciary. As citizens, we should be concerned with the productivity of legislatures too.
- In discussions on reforms, or debates about public expenditure, there is an excessive focus on the Union government, reflecting perhaps our mindset that there is a "Centre", though constitutionally, there is no "Centre".
- There is the Union government. Witness the interest in Union Finance Commission recommendations and the amnesia about State Finance Commissions and their recommendations.
- Alternatively, there is limited scrutiny of state-level expenditure, or fiscal devolution and decentralization of decision-making within states, or tracking functioning of state legislatures. (There are of course reports on the state of state finances.)
- Most factor markets we seek to reform are on the concurrent list or the state list."

#### Emerging Debate on Number of States and their Governance

- An exciting emerging public policy issue is whether the number of current states (28) needs to increase, with accompanying governance changes.
- For an argument in favour: see
- Gautam Desiraju, 2022, "India 75@75: Case For Smaller States Has Never Been As Convincing As Now".

https://swarajyamag.com/politics/india-7575-case-for-smaller-states-has-never-been-as-convincing-as-now

Accessed on 11 July 2022

- There is a serious argument of using laws (and shaping regulation and standards, both domestically and internationally, to gain national advantage. Europe, UK, USA have been using laws, regulations as a major instrument to advance their interests.
- See next slide for using law to exercise economic power globally.
- How can India begin to be a player in shaping global regulations and standards?
- Including this aspect requires at least elective courses in Science Technology and Public Policy, and Global Economic and Political Dynamics.

#### ANALYTICAL ESSAY

# Economic Lawfare: The Logic and Dynamics of Using Law to Exercise Economic Power

VICTOR A. FERGUSON

School of Politics and International Relations, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia

Unprecedented economic interdependence and the extensive legalization of international commerce have created unique opportunities for states to exercise power in world politics. Yet, while international relations (IR) scholars have revealed much about how interdependence conditions the ability of states to leverage economic relationships to influence other actors, the equivalent role of law has received less systematic attention. This article explains the logic and dynamics that inform how, why, and under what conditions states may use law as a sword or shield in the realm of international commerce. Drawing upon the IR literature on economic statecraft and the international law literature on lawfare, the article conceptualizes "economic lawfare" and uses it to elucidate how law may shape the use of economic power. It outlines a typology of pathways through which economic lawfare can be employed and their associated opportunities and constraints, before presenting a simple model of key dynamics that shape their use. That model's plausibility is probed and the pathways are empirically illustrated in two case studies of recent episodes in which the Chinese government has sought to manipulate international commerce for strategic purposes. The article clarifies the distinction between legal and nonlegal instruments of economic statecraft, offers a theoretically explicit account of key mechanisms through which law may condition the use of economic power, and provides new conceptual foundations for emerging research on how institutions shape the ability of states to intervene in markets to achieve strategic objectives.

## Select Inspirational Thoughts and Observations Relevant for Public Policy Education in India

 Broad based economic growth happens when elites try to bring it about. To do so, they must strive to deepen and broaden economic density and complexity, and create many economic activity nodes throughout the region and the country. This course of action also has its risks, but without elite resolve to bring about growth, a region or a country can not prosper.

In this context, Arvind Virmani has argued:

 India must recognize both its strengths(national economic power) and its weakness (low per capita GDP) to maximize the benefits from international relations and minimize the costs imposed by its enemies. A recent study illustrates dynamics of a policy Initiative: Bank Nationalization in India



Privatization of Public Sector Banks in India Why, How and How Far?

Poonam Gupta

Arvind Panagariya Columbia University

India Policy Forum



NCAER | National Council of Applied Economic Research
NCAER India Centre, 11 Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi 110002
Tel: +91-11-23452698, www.ncaer.org
NCAER | Quality | Relevance | Impact

### **Public Policies Towards Population**

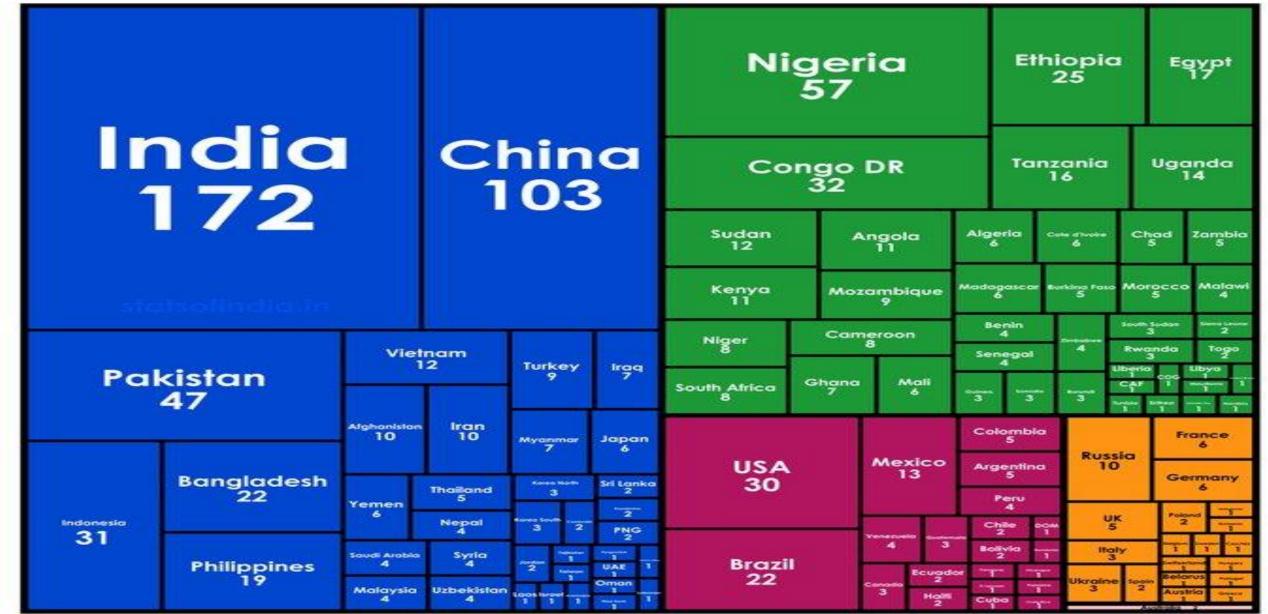
• An important public policy issue likely to figure prominently is population policy.

Next slide shows number of babies born in next four minutes by countries.

• India has the highest number at 172. What does this imply?

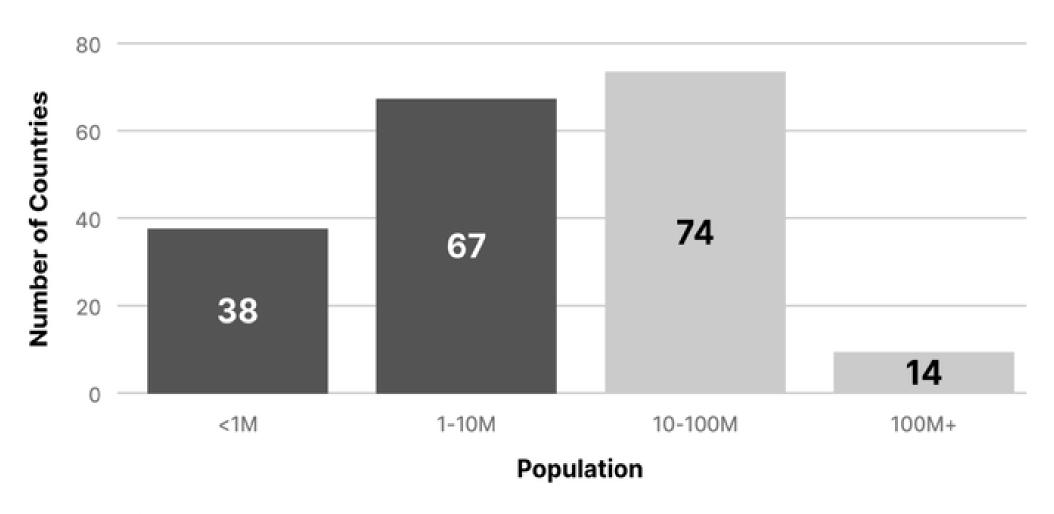
How can skilling ,employability of the population be achieved?

What trade-offs are needed?



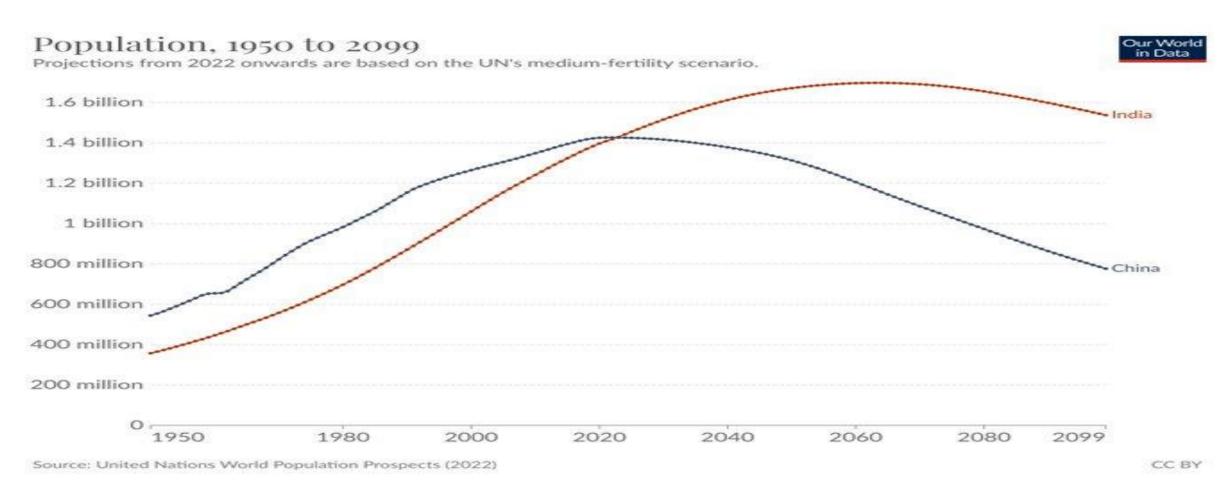
Calculations based on estimated population and birth rates Showing countries with >= 1 baby statsofindia.in Source: CIA World Factbook

#### Countries by population size



Source: https://archive.ph/Dhepn

# Population As Public Policy Issue Implications of the graph below?

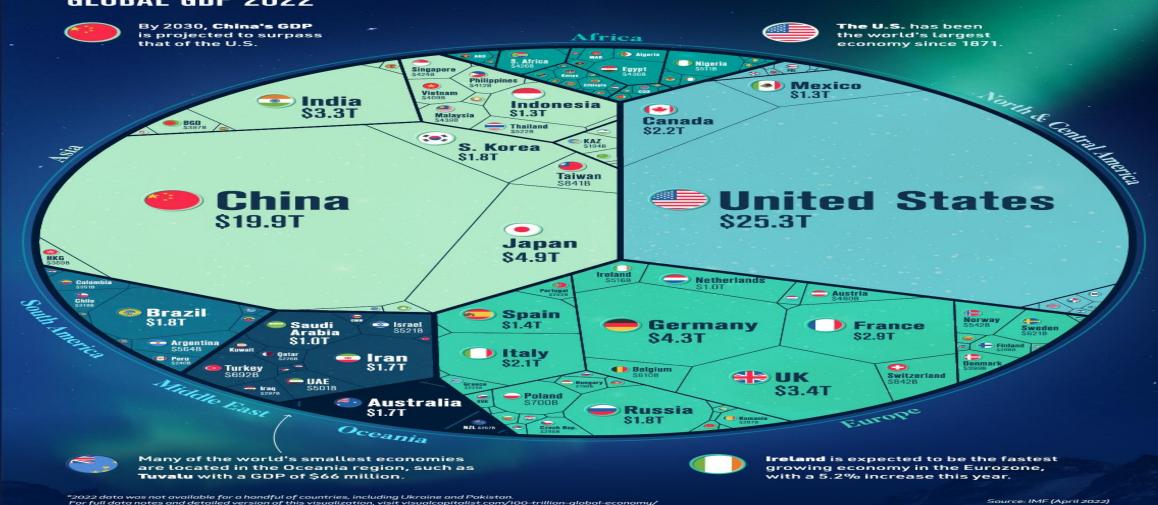


- Note the key figure in <u>#UN</u> report: <u>#China</u>'s population is projected to collapse to half from 1.42 billion in 2023 to 0.76 billion in 2100.
- Mohandas Pai has stated that the geopolitical & geo-economic ramifications of the above can not be overstated.

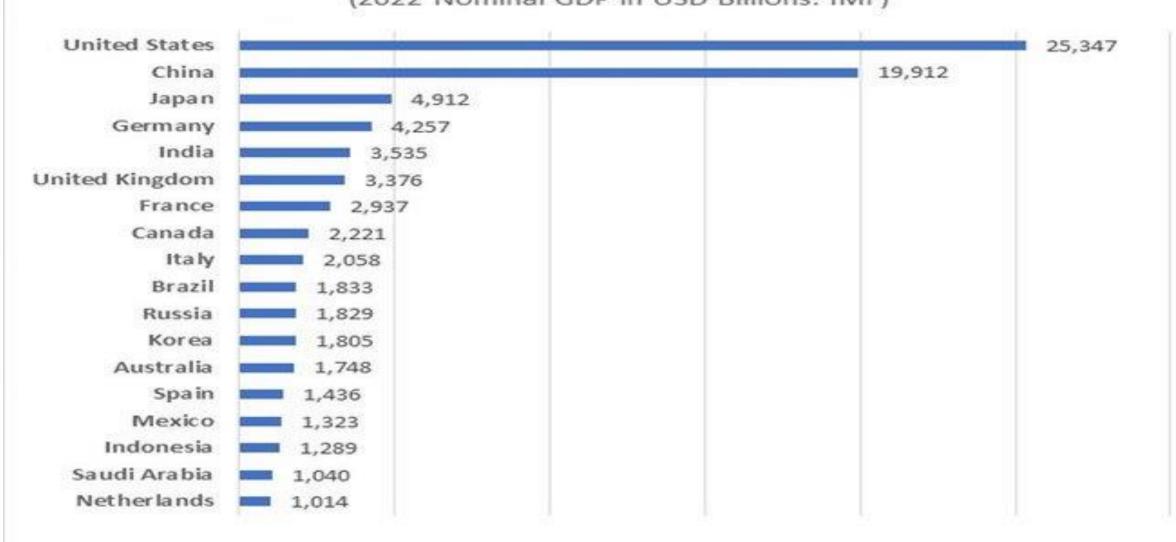
## The \$100 Trillion World Economy

Despite conflict and looming stagflation, the global economy will hit an impressive new milestone, reaching \$104 trillion, according to the latest IMF projections for end of year.

(f) (r) /visualcapitalist (r) (r) @visualcap (k) visualcapitalist.com

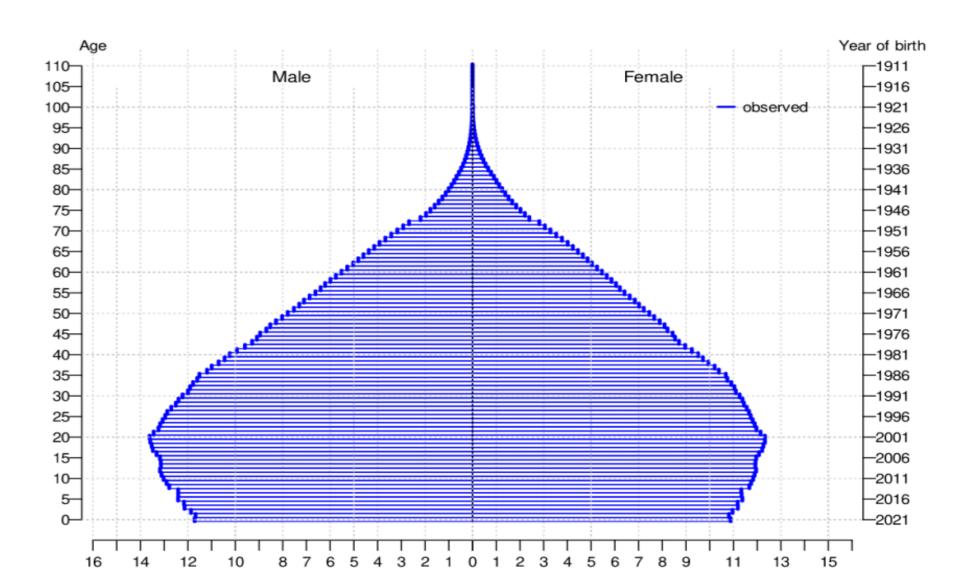


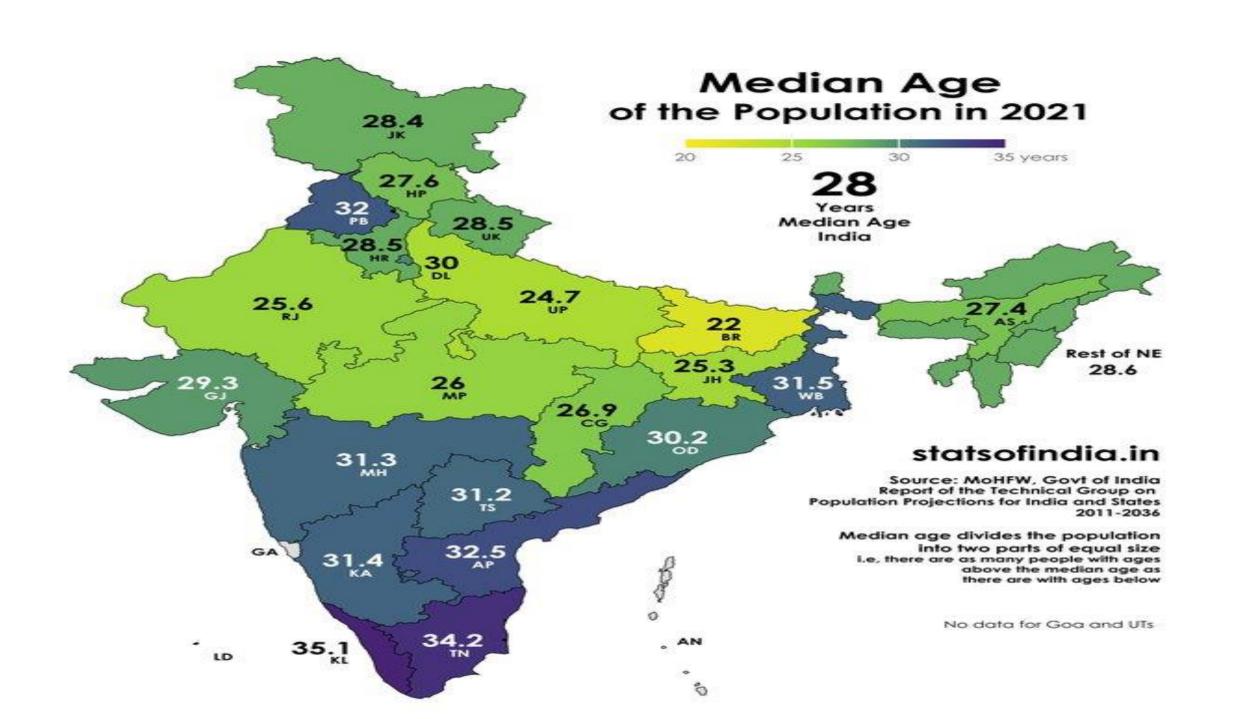
## 18 Largest Economies with GDP > \$1 trillion account for 80% of the \$103 trillion global economy (2022 Nominal GDP in USD Billions: IMF)



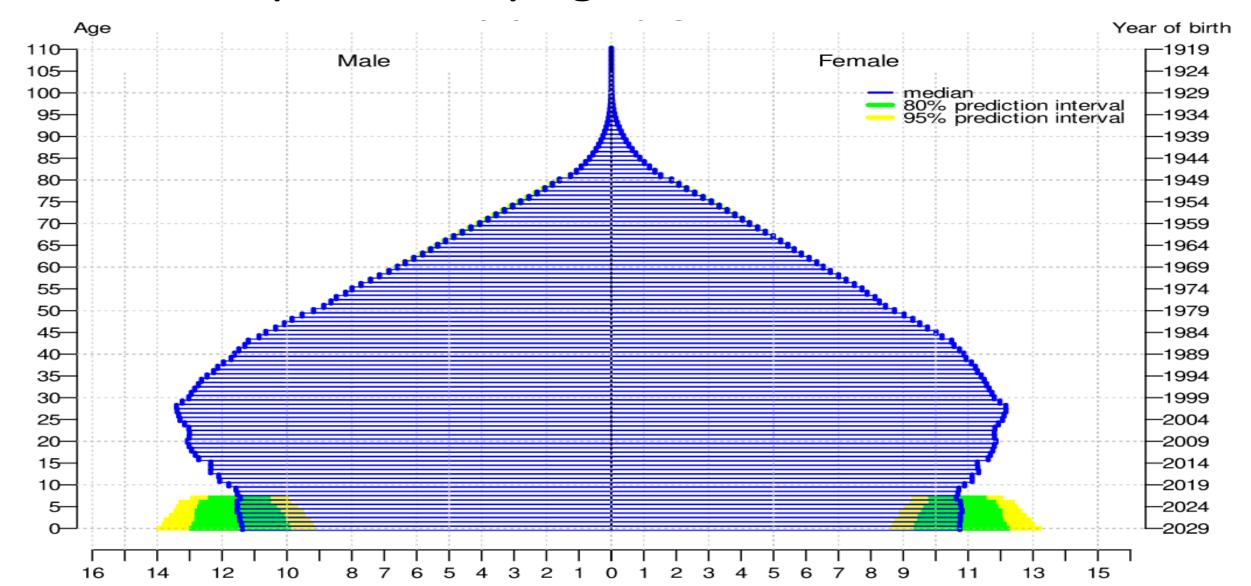
- Given the three previous slides, If a regression using crosscountry/panel data includes all these countries, can nuanced conclusions be drawn? But this method is used routinely.
- Panel data, also known as longitudinal data or cross-sectional time series data in some special cases, is data that is derived from a (usually small) number of observations over time on a (usually large) number of cross-sectional units like individuals, households, firms, or governments.
- <a href="https://www.thoughtco.com/panel-data-definition-in-economic-research-1147034">https://www.thoughtco.com/panel-data-definition-in-economic-research-1147034</a>
- Accessed on 15 July 2022

## India Population by age and sex: 2022

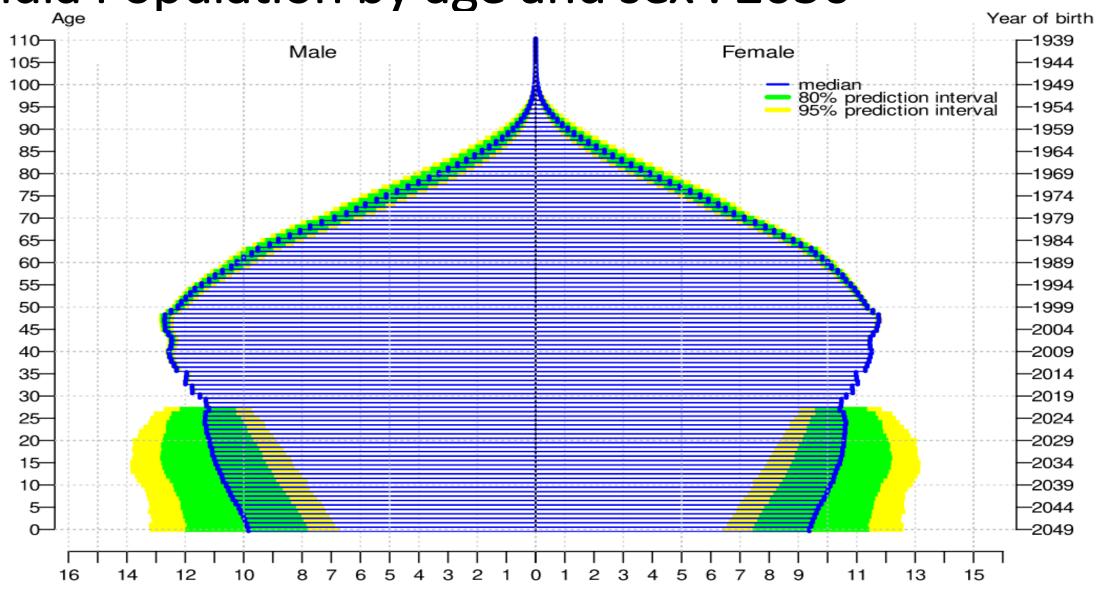




## India Population by age and sex: 2030



India Population by age and sex: 2050



## Public Policies Towards Population

#### Facilities for Ageing Population

In addition to elderly friendly infrastructure (has been recognized in newer infrastructure projects), another example of changing needs towards the elderly. अगले दो वर्षों में देश के प्रत्येक ज़िले में एक वृद्धाश्रम खोला जाएगा। संयुक्त परिवारों के विघटन का यह दुष्परिणाम है कि वृद्धावस्था में देखभाल के लिए वृद्धाश्रम का आश्रय लेना पड़ रहा है।

#### Why Countries/Regions Regress?

Where capitalism is less dynamic, the explanation might be that:

- János Kornai. 2013. Dynamism, Rivalry, and the Surplus Economy: Two Essays on the Nature of Capitalism. Oxford:
  Oxford University Press.
- Dolores Augustine. 2013. 'Innovation and Ideology: Werner Hartmann and the Failure of the East German Electronics Industry'. In The East German Economy, 1945–2010: Falling behind or Catching Up? Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Private property is not secure: There is weak enforcement of the rule of law and of contracts, or expropriation either by criminal elements or by government bodies.
- Markets are not competitive: They fail to offer the carrots and wield the sticks that make a capitalist economy dynamic.
   Competent regulatory bodies are not needed, but this is a difficult task.
- Firms are owned and managed by people who survive because of their connections to government or their privileged birth: They did not become owners or managers because they were good at delivering high-quality goods and services at a competitive price. The other two failures would make this more likely to occur.
- Combinations of failures of the three basic institutions of capitalism mean that individuals and groups often have more
  to gain by spending time and resources in lobbying, criminal activity, and other ways of shifting the distribution of
  income in their favor. They have less to gain from the direct creation of economic value.
- Failure to reward merit; and create conditions to retain and attract talent

#### **Concluding Remarks**

- A well designed multi-disciplinary public policy program, which is rooted in Indian conditions, and which is skills-based, could play an important role in helping to improve public policy debates and scholarship in India.
- Both technical tangible aspects, and intangible aspects (such as NIYAT, and trust) need to be emphasized in the public policy program.
- Where numbers come from (GDP, inflation, FDI etc), and numerical literacy, how to interpret numbers should be an integral part of public policy curriculum.
- Teaching and research in public policy go together. These should not be separated.
- A sound public policy program requires organizational structure to communicate research undertaken; and to network and create an outreach with various stakeholders.

### References

- Dasgupta, P. (2007). Economics: A very Short Introduction, Oxford University Press
- Debroy, Bibek , (2021). "On reforms and public expenditures, let's not forget to scrutinize states".
   https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/reforms-and-public-expenditures-lets-not-forget-to-scrutinise-states-7351650/
- Madhusudan, Harsh, and Rajeev Mantri, (2020), A New Idea Of India: Individual rights in a Civilizational State, Westland Publishers.
- Srinivasan, Balaji, (2022), The network State, <a href="https://thenetworkstate.com/">https://thenetworkstate.com/</a>