

From trickle down to inclusiveness: do participatory planning and budgeting processes matter for the formulation of policy?

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ABSTRACT

Inclusiveness of the excluded is a new phenomenon in the study of governance. This is suggested in the researches that macroeconomic aggregates do not, as had been assumed, have a 'trickle-down effect. The actors including state and societal that either play a dominant role or do not play any role at all in the policy process become evident in the systematic study of the policy formulation process. In Bangladesh, the participatory policy formulation process is introduced by the Local Government (Union Parishad) Act, 2009. This study used a qualitative case-study methodology, backed by secondary documentary analysis, and assessed the process of formulation of the policy at the participatory planning and budgeting processes at the local level in six Union Parishads(UP), the lowest administrative tier of Bangladesh. Based on empirical data this paper found that citizens were able to identify their priority needs of life if they were offered the opportunity. The nexus between donors and government works as an iron triangle and as an outcome, the citizens become unwilling to participate in those processes when they are being perceived that their needs are being neglected due to resource constraints. The absence of societal actors to play a dominant role to act as a pressure group in the policy formulation process, resource constraints, and patron-client relationship are some factors that exclude the demands of the grass-root level citizens. It is suggested that governments need to explicitly consider the human development objectives of local people when formulating macroeconomic policy.

Keywords: Inclusiveness, participatory budgeting, participatory planning, civic engagement, formulation of policy

INTRODUCTION

From the economic interpretation of the concept "trickle-down", it is considered that poor people experience positive effects automatically in the growth process while rich people get more money and invest more money. Prominent economists argued for the trickle-down process. It is about equality of opportunity and wealth distribution from rich lenders to the poor and production efficiency of the middle-class borrowers. Although this process

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initially has the effect of widening inequalities it reduces this inequality later. In this process of trickle-down, there is room for government intervention (Aghion&Bolton,1997:151). On the contrary, this is suggested in the researches that macroeconomic aggregate does not have a trickle-down impact and does not improve the condition of the very poor people (Todaro, 1997: 155; United Nation, 1997; Dreze& Sen, 1990).Norton thus properly argued Todaro's argument that "some development economists contend that the 'growth processes' typically 'trickle-up' to the middle classes and 'especially the very rich' (Todaro 1997: 163 cited in Norton, 2002:263). In the process of economic growth, Norton stated that "the term 'trickle-down' is a misnomer: growth entails a cascade, not a trickle. The quality of growth may be important, but growth itself is the surest way to reduce human deprivation around the world" (Norton, 2002: 275). In these circumstances, it is important to identify those who are involved in the process of formulation of policies for the equitable growth of the economy of any country. In general, policies related to the overall development of a country or decisions on budget policy are usually made at the ministry level assisted by few officials of the central government. This is the "top-down approach" of planning that does not ensure the overall development of a country. Here comes the issue of exclusion. Inclusion of the excluded is a new phenomenon in the study of governance.

The issue of "inclusiveness" has gained its attention of the practitioner and academicians since the early 21st century as it is convinced by the World Bank that "economic growth did not necessarily improve the living standard in the developing countries" (Chou andHuque, 2018:251). The term inclusion of all irrespective of class, sex, age in the governing process is not new. The social contract theory through which we entered the 21st century with the representative government also makes demandsthe inclusion of all citizens. The problem of the representative government laid in the saying of Rousseau who stated that "who so gives himself to all gives himself to none" (Cited in Ray and Bhattacharya, 2005:76). The problem is the sovereign power of the state when delegated to its executive, judiciary and legislative bodies are sometimes difficult to relocate; especially to those who are entitled to ensure an equitable and just society. From this perspective, it is necessary to devise a channel or mechanism through which direct civic engagement can be ensured for identification of the problems that exist in the societyfor solving those problems for the betterment of overall development of all or to ensure equitable and quality growth as well. For example, in Korea, people are also participating in their decision-making process through the support of information and communication technology. In the process of agenda-setting for the formulation of policy, social capital and citizen participation management are associated with one another. Citizens participate and become more active in the participatory mechanism when they can trust the government (Lee and Kim, 2018). In Bangladesh, participation is not facilitated through information and communication technology while there are support systems from state actors (Chowdhury, 2018).

Participatory planning and budgeting (hereinafter PP and PB) are social accountability mechanisms that offer direct civic engagement with elected officials in the decision-making process. Starting in Brazilian cities, the application of PP and PB was found practicable in many Asian countries including India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal, etc. during the 1990s and the trend is continuing in Asia today. In Bangladesh, the PP and PB processes are introduced by the Local Government (*Union Parishad*) Act, 2009. Do participatory planning and budgeting processes matter for the formulation of policy? This study used a qualitative case-study methodology, backed by secondary documentary analysis. It assessed the impact of PP and PB processes in the process of formulation of the policy at the local level in six *Union Parishads*(UP), the lowest administrative tier of Bangladesh. Direct observations were made on the participatory planning and budgeting process of six UPs of three different districts of Bangladesh. These include the *Hariyan* and the *Gogram* UPs of the Rajshahi district, the *Hatikumrul* and the *Ghurka* UPs of the Sirajganj district, and the *Kakina* and the *Vadai* UP of Lalmonirhat district.

INCLUSIVENESS AND INCLUSIVE GROWTH IN BANGLADESH

The Oxford Dictionary defines “inclusive” as “including or covering all the services, facilities, or items normally expected or required,” “not excluding any section of society,” “to cover both men and women,” and so on. It is argued that for inclusive development, “analysis must go beyond the macro to the micro and look at the lack of services for the most marginalized” (Kashyap, 2018:245). The imbalance between the high rise of growth and income inequality “has led to the evolution of the concept of inclusive development”(cited in Chou and Huque, 2018:253). This is argued that the concept “inclusive development” was proposed as a policy recipe to overcome many of the inequalities and social problems including gender discrimination, poverty, and the problem of unemployment, diseases & illness, and to address the problem of environmental pollution. Inclusive development means the allocation of resources generated by economic growth to thesectors including education, public health, and poverty reduction for people’s well-being, instead of allocation on military hardware and infrastructure as per the choice of any particular regime(Chou and Huque, 2018:253). Kashyap (2018) thus properly argued that inclusive governance at both the national and local level means that benefits of development should be shared by all and should not be concerned of the few. For this, equality of all-including a marginalized and disadvantaged group of people of the society- should be maintained in the decision-making process. According to Kashyap(2018:246),

Equitable development and distribution and reducing the widening gulf between the rich and the poor are possible only under inclusive governance....What is needed is participatory inclusive governance aiming at reducing poverty and social and economic inequalities by

increasing ordinary citizen's role in decision making and ensuring social accountability of governance.

In the trickle-down process, quality of growth is an important issue—especially in the process of resource flow from rich to poor or poor to rich. In social science researches measuring quality is a difficult task. This is difficult when measuring/ranking the quality of people's happiness with Gini Index, growth, or Human Development Index (HDI). Bangladesh placed 125 among 156 countries in the World Happiness Report (WHR). This is regarded as a new economic paradigm to evaluate the economic growth process and its impact on the dimensions that support well-being including basic human needs and rights (Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, 2019). The Gini index is a statistical measure. It, usually, is used widely in analyzing income inequality. There exists a set of values to measure the degree of variation in various income groups. It is a scale of distribution of nations' income and wealth. On this scale, "0" represents complete equality while "100" represents complete inequality. Income or wealth inequality harms people's life: it incurs a loss in human development. The World Bank observed data for a total of nine times from 1983 to 2016 of Bangladesh. The estimated data on the Gini coefficient reached a high of 33.40% in 2000 while a record low of 25.90% in 1983 while it is 32.40% in 2016.

Figure-1: Bangladesh Gini Coefficient: World Bank estimate from 1983 to 2016 in the chart



Source: World Bank (2020)

In Bangladesh, 58.3 percent (from 0.388 to 0.614) of the HDI value is increased from 1990 to 2018 and this has transformed the country into the medium human development category. Three basic dimensions are measured while measuring of HDI of any country. These are life span, level of education, and amount of per capita income. In the year 2019, Bangladesh is in the 135th position among 189 countries according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). However, the data on inequality has shown the true picture of growth that is not desirable at all. A loss of 24.3 percent of the HDI value (0.465) happens when the value of inequality is

discounted with the value of the HDI value. It means addressing the challenges of inequalities and equal distribution of wealth could lead Bangladesh to climb up to upper rank (Molla, 2019).

INCLUSIVENESS IN POLICY FORMULATION PROCESS: A CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDING

Public Policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do (Dye, 1976). The process of making public policy has been disaggregated into a series of stages referred to as a policy cycle. It involves (i) agenda-setting (ii) policy formulation and adoption (iii) policy implementation and (iv) policy evaluation (Chowdhury, 2011:135). In every society, many issues/problems are felt by all to be resolved. Agenda setting is a process by which some issues get considered by the government whereas others do not to be resolved through government institutions. Charles Jones (1984:77) stated, "The distinguishing characteristics of policy formulation is simply that means are proposed to resolve somebody's perception of the needs that exist in society". The concept "somebody's perception of the needs" that is said by Jones is analogous to the concept of "will of all" propounded by Rousseau. Simply, people's perception about his/her need or expression of his/her needs are when proposed to resolve may fall under the purview of the policy formulation process. For this legitimacy of programs, budgeting (key issue of policy process), implementation of those programs, and evaluation (analysis of effects) are necessary steps.

Although there exists confusion among academicians and practitioners on the type of institution suitable for, it is observed from Indian experiences that a democratic organization that provides direct civic engagement is necessary for economic and human development (Chou and Huque, 2018:253; Dreze and Sen, 2013, 2002). The theoretical model of "Iron Triangles" in the United States of America (USA) i.e. interaction among interest group, government agencies, and the congressional committee are not applicable for inclusiveness in the policy formulation process as this model does not offer civic engagement (Howlett and Ramesh, 2003). Moreover, there is an allegation for distortion of the right of civic participation in the policy formulation process. In the model of "Issue Network," it was observed by Hugh Hecló that in the process of formulation of policies of USA, the process is much institutionalized with the interaction of the public interest group but it also does not allow much participation. It is not stable and low institutionalized than the iron triangle (Howlett and Ramesh, 1995). Paul Sabatier and his colleagues have developed a complex model of "Advocacy Coalition" for studying the activities of policy actors in policy subsystems. This is stated by Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1993:5),

An advocacy coalition consists of actors from a variety of public and private institutions at all levels of government who share a set of basic beliefs (policy goals plus causal and other perceptions) and who seek to

manipulate the rules, budgets, and personnel of government institutions to achieve these goals over time.

This model is applicable for inclusiveness since Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier argued that “an advocacy coalition includes both state and societal actors at the national, sub-national, and local levels of government. The actors come together for reasons of common beliefs, often based on their knowledge of the public problem they share and their common interest (Cited in Howlett and Ramesh, 1995:126). For the inclusive policy formulation process, the participatory mechanisms for the policy formulation process can be compared with the model of Van Waarden and others. The policy network of this model as set out in Figure -2 is developed based on members and type of participant. In this model, there are a total of eight basic types of policy networks. In the “bureaucratic extreme”, members within the state institution make interact on policy issues. On the contrary of the bureaucratic extreme, according to Hecló, a large number of societal actors interact in the “issue network”. In the “participatory statist networks,” two groups of people interact: state actors and societal members. In this network-dominated by some unorganized societal members- state actors play important role in the policy formulation process. In the “pluralist networks”- among many actors including societal and state- the state actors play a major role in the policy formulation process. In the “clientelistic networks,” the actors from the government, dominates the societal actors, while in the “captured networks” societal actors dominate the state actors. In a “triadic network,” there is the involvement of two actors in the policy formulation process: societal and state actors. In this process, two or more societal actors interact with the actors of the state but the state dominates the subsystem while in a “traditional corporatist network” the societal actors dominate the state.

Figure-2: A taxonomy of policy networks.

		Number/ Type of Network Participants			
		State Agencies	One major societal group	Two major societal group	Three or more groups
State/ Societal Relations Within Network	State Directed	Bureaucratic network	Clientelistic Network	Triadic Network	Pluralistic Network
	Society Dominated	Participatory Statist Network	Captured Network	Corporatist Network	Issue Network

Source: Modified by Howlett and Ramesh (1995) after Frans van Waarden (1992)

Thus, which policy will be taken for consideration for implementation is a matter of the role the key actors will play in the policy formulation process. Formulation of a policy thus largely depends on the nature and motivation of

the actors involved in the process. If an analysis is made on the notion of inclusiveness in the participatory planning and budgeting process i.e. policy formulation process it will depict mainly two aspects: first, dominant actors those are involved in the networks in the policymaking process and secondly, an evaluation of the participatory mechanism of participatory planning and budgeting processes as a mechanism for the inclusive policy-making process. Here, participatory policy formulation will be inclusive if this process is followed by three key necessary steps: legitimacy, resource allocation, implementation of plans/programs, and evaluation of the programs.

The framework of policy formulation in Bangladesh at the local level

Bangladesh is a unitary state and the central government shares its power with organized local government institutions. There are three tiers of local government: the UP is the lowest unit at the local level, the Upazila (UZP), at the sub-district level, and *Zilla Parishad* (ZP) at the district level. The present *Awami League* Government came to power in 2008 and enacted laws that provided for the comprehensive participation of people in the planning process. Among these the UP Act, 2009 offers people the opportunity of direct engagement to identify problems, related to their livelihoods, at the Ward level. According to sections 9 and 10 of the UP Act, 2009, each UP is divided into nine wards. Each UP consists of one elected chair and twelve elected members, of whom nine are elected from the nine Wards and three women members are elected from three reserved seats (one for every three wards) exclusively for women.

There are provisions for an open forum where general people are directly involved in making policy decisions. The processes of planning and budgeting depicted below are completely cyclical. The members of the Ward Committee (WC) are involved in the formulation of annual plans at *Ward Shava* (meeting with voters hereinafter WS) level. The members of the Planning Committee (PC) are responsible for sending sector-wise plans to respective Standing Committees (SC) while the members of the SCs are responsible for prioritized the demands/schemes based on the availability of resources and prepare a five-year plan. The members of the SCs then distribute those plans for year-wise implementation. Prioritized plans are then supposed to be implemented in the first year. Thus, a budget statement is formulated with probably estimated expenditure. The year wise-plan and a budget statement is then sent to Union Development Coordination Committee (UDCC) and UP for final approval. In the meeting of UDCC, the government officers of the UPZ level are supposed to present and provide approval of the projects that were taken at the WS.

All prioritized plans of all UPs under the jurisdiction of a certain UPZ are also made watchable for public opinion as these are sent to the *Upazilla Nirbahi Officer* (UNO- administrative head of UPZ) for final approval. Section 14 of the UPZ Act, 2009 requires that a copy of the draft of the UPZ's budget has to be sent to the Member of Parliament (MP) of that UPZ, the UPs, municipalities, etc., and uploaded to the UPZ's websites for

public comment. It also outlines that, after distribution and publication of the draft copy of the budget statement of a UPZ, discussion on the same will be held in presence of the UP members, councilors of the municipalities, heads of schools, private organizations, bank, entrepreneur and civil society of that respective UPZ². The UNO is responsible for sending all cumulative plans of all UP's under that UPZ to the District Commissioner (DC), who is the administrative head of ZP. The utilization of the mechanism intends to ensure people's access in each step of the planning and budgeting activities. It is noticeable that voters of a certain locality get the opportunity to access the processes of PP and PB three times; firstly at ward level, secondly at the UP level, and thirdly at UPZ level. It can be said that formal space for social accountability has been created in the processes of PP and PB both at the UP and UPZ level. Members of various committees can make the UP official accountable for their responsibilities relating to PP and PB. Besides, general people can also make the UP functionaries answerable to the voters at the open forum as well. Since this study is confined to exploring the effectiveness of social accountability; the following discussion is confined to the activity of two forums:

Participatory Planning at Ward Shava

In the planning stage at WS, people are given their right to have access to the decision-making process. All the enlisted voters are members of WS (Sections 4 and 5 of the UP Act of 2009). The presence of 5% of voters is made obligatory for organizing a meeting with the members of WS. They are obliged to meet at least twice a year through the meeting of WS. Respective Female Ward Member (hereinafter FWM) and Ward member (WM) along with other WC members are responsible for organizing the meeting of WS while the UP secretary is responsible for taking notes of the decision of the meeting as resolution.

Participatory Budgeting at Open Budget System

The PC, SC, and UDCC are responsible for conducting scrutiny, allocation of resources, and approval of local plans and budgets. The approved plans are then supposed to be published and displayed in an open place in the concerned UP (Section 57). This Open Budget Meeting (OBM) is termed as PB. In the system of PB, the members of the SC, concerned WM, FWM and voters come closer. The meeting of OBM is bound to be held a minimum of 60 (sixty) days before the financial year of a UP. This is a formal space where people can evaluate whether the plans of WS have been incorporated for implementation or not. They can raise questions or demand answers from their concerned FWM and WM about any. Along with the budget statement, the UP is responsible for presenting the real income and expenditure statement before the standing committee and general people.

² Section 14 (1,2,3,4,5) of the UPZ Act, 2009.

INCLUSIVENESS IN THE POLICY FORMULATION PROCESS: DO PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES MATTER?

There are mainly two actors that play a dominant role in the policy formulation processes: state actors and societal actors. In the analysis of the formation of the committees involved in the planning process, it is found that there are three or more actors from societal groups are supposed to involve in the decision-making process. In the ward committee, for each ward, at least seven persons of the concerned ward including the respective ward member, social worker, beneficiary, school teacher, technical experts, etc. are supposed to be included. A member of the UP would act as convener or chair of the PC for each UP. The other UP members, the UP secretary, and the head of the government transferred officers who are supposed to work in UP would act as a member of that committee. Anyone expert in development planning can be included as a member of that committee.

There are thirteen standing committees in each UP. Each standing committee is supposed to compose of the UP members and chair, UP women members; co-opt members, experts, and general people for providing specific policy instruction and service to the locality. According to section 95 of the UP Act, 2009 and UP circular, a UDCC would be formed with the leadership of the UP chair. The UP members, all Upazilla officers, UP officers, representatives from a social worker, NGO officials, and school teacher are also a member of Union Development Coordination Committee (UP Circular, 2011).

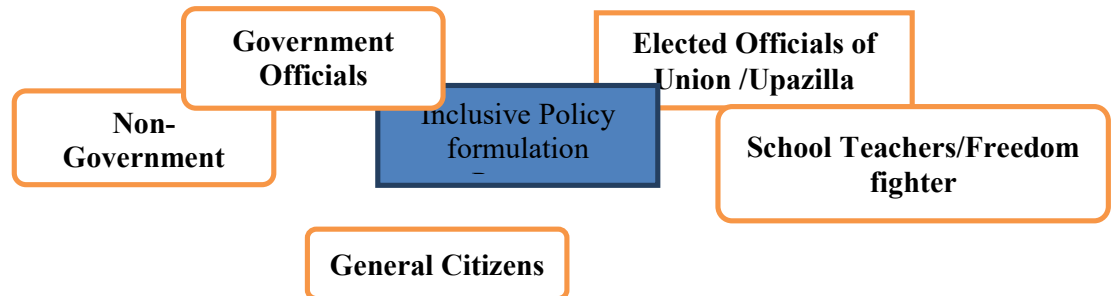
Role of state actors: An analysis of the nexus of the iron triangle at the local level

In this process of the policy formulation process, it was observed that although citizens are competent to identify the issues that are to be resolved, this, in turn, did not get a place as agenda for implementation due to the dominant role played by state actors including government and donors. The UP Act, 2009 played an important role to lay a solid foundation of policy formulation with direct civic engagement. Enactment of the Act, 2009 is the reflection of the political will of the government. It acted as a determinant factor that offered scope to engage citizens in their decision-making process. Observation of the WS meeting showed that both male and female voters identified their problems there. Among the 79 general people who participated in either participatory planning or budgeting processes were of opinion that they have expressed their demand at the participatory planning and budgeting process. These included: development and infrastructural programs (61.54%); public welfare services (64.10%); Social Safety Net Programs benefits (23.08%) and; self-employment (7.69%). The findings of this study suggest that people are not yet conversant with the entire process of planning and budgeting process of UPs. Although people have been able to identify and prioritize their demands, those projects have not been implemented properly due to non-compliance

with the “Bottom-Up” planning policy of the Government of Bangladesh (GoB). On the other hand, it has also been evident that the process of planning and budgeting through WS and OBM has lost its effectiveness due to lack of resource mobilization from UPs’ sources and dependency on the central government. Control and management of resources is another determinant that influences policy formulation and implementation (Aminuzzaman, 2013:220). The finding suggests that field-level government officials, including Deputy Commissioner, Deputy Director Local Governance (DDLG), the *Upazila Nirbahi* Officer (Chief Executive Officer at sub-district level), and the heads of different government departments use to control local government bodies. Rather, no attempt was found to activate the process of formulation of policy from the roots. Apart from the control of the government officials, local government bodies are also controlled by the central government through circulars and office orders. In addition to these mechanisms, the law has provided the central government the right to conduct inquiries into the affairs of the local government and to impose a suspension on the functioning of the local government if they are found unable to carry out their functions. Along with different problems arising out of an authoritative central-local relationship, lack of administrative staff, interference of Member of Parliament (MP)/ *Upazilla* (sub-district) Chair in the planning process of *Upazilla*, negligence of duties of government officers, lack of co-ordination with UP officials, etc. have been creating impediments in the process of the functioning of various committees like Standing Committees (SC), Union Development and Coordination Committee (UDCC) and the working of the planning and budgeting as well. Donors’ technical assistance in the preparation of planning and budgeting statements, financial statements, keeping a record of attendance list of participatory processes were some good initiatives. Although it was observed through direct observation that people expressed and made demand a range of needs, data revealed through document review that project funds are only allocated to those projects those are conditions set out by the donors.

Lack of involvement of societal actors other than NGO officials

It is thus apparent that societal actors of more than three groups are associated with the planning and budgeting process. Who does play a dominant role in these processes? Inclusiveness of the policies that are placed from all segments of people for the betterment of all is determined by the answer to this question. It is revealed that the NGO officials and elected UP officials played a dominant role in effecting those participatory mechanisms in the Hariyan UP of Rajshahi district and Kakina UP of Lalmonirhat district respectively. When people were given the scope to raise demands they were able to do so. The quality of growth is supposed to be inclusive if, all those needs that are placed by the citizens at the grass-root level are implemented. The government officials remained absent in the processes. Many of the plans of the participatory process were not implemented due to resource constraints.

Figure -2: Actors involved in the policy formulation process

Source: Developed by author

Although it is observed that NGOs played important role in the process of organizing participatory forum where the citizen can express their needs it was evident that although the names included in the committees the members other than NGO officials i.e. school teacher, freedom fighter, experts in any field of planning, general citizens did not participate in the meeting process. Thus the policy formulation process lacks expertise from those formal committees.

Existing unequal economic status: Patron client relationship

The finding of the study again corroborates with the arguments of Rousseau, who believed that, in an economically equal society, people's participation in political activities will ensure people's political equality (Cooper 1983). Here, political equality means people's equal participation and enjoyment of equal civil rights. In the context of this study, the reality is that people are living in an asymmetric economic society based on their occupations, possession of assets, and income ranges. The existing patriarchal attitude, of both men and women, towards women has also made for the restriction of their mobility in the planning and budgeting process. However, this study finds that people with more land, education, earnings, and connection with central level politicians have become the elected Chairs of UPs. In the final service delivery process of UPs, the influence of politics, corruption, negligence of duties of the UP functionaries, power and patron-client have been observed at the local level. It was found that local MPS, UPZ Chair were invited in the participatory spaces as chief guests and the program became a platform of politicians rather than a platform where people could express their needs.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The participatory policy formulation process can challenge the exclusion as the idea of inclusive development is set out in the introductory section. Inclusive development means an equal distribution of resources. From the economics' point of view, tax cut from the rich was invested in asset

building and the rich became richer. In the participatory spaces at the local government, it is also observed that the economic influential people are also capturing the participatory spaces. While donors and NGOs are trying to activate the participatory process of policy formulation, the other actors of policy networks including the state actors are not that active in activating the participatory spaces.

These participatory processes were important for building trust in the elected officials since some of the needs of citizens were met up. But citizens become unwilling to participate in those processes when they are being perceived that their needs are being neglected due to resource constraints. However, disjoining planning and budgeting processes of the local and central government, resource constraints, and local political interference, etc. challenge the bottom-up approach of policy formulation (Panday and Chowdhury, 2020). It is suggested that governments need to explicitly consider the human development objectives of local people when formulating macroeconomic policy.

The preceding discussion leads us to conclude that the planning and budgeting processes are important aspects of the overall governing situation of the local government bodies that could ensure inclusiveness of the excluded poor in the overall development activities. Thus, to ensure inclusiveness of the excluded in the decision-making process, large-scale capacity building programs for the UP functionaries need to be implemented. These programs include training on village-based social mapping, utilization of IT, dissemination of necessary information, target setting and performance-based rewards in terms of organizing PP and PB, social mapping through a comprehensive analysis of resources and problems, which is necessary before the preparation of plans at the WS. In the preparatory meeting of WS, the selection of the Ward Committee members should be made following the guidelines of the UP operational manual-2012. It must also be ensured that the members of the ward committee must take responsibility to get the social mapping done. A comprehensive survey on subjects/sectors has to be undertaken to assess the condition of the people of the respective Wards. As such, the needs of different groups of the society will be compiled. At the same time, this survey will identify the excluded women and other disadvantaged groups who do not attend the participatory spaces. The coordination mechanisms, in terms of social mapping, with NGOs, have to be ensured for this purpose. Thus, a public-private partnership in social mapping will bring about a better outcome. The policy formulation process is a matter of networking of many state and societal actors and it solely depends on the variable social capital. It is argued that there is no clear definition of social capital. Trust, social networks, and civic norms are three important dimensions of social capital (Coleman 1990; Putnam 2000). Thus, further studies can be taken into those aspects.

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