Typological Discourses on the Policy Thinking

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Abstract

This paper is bounded to ideological discourses by the introduction of a conceptual typology of policy thinking that comprises five classifications: statism, the precursor principle for policy leading to the right or good path, the principle of non-division among all beings, the principle of balance, and practicalism. Such policy thinking can be a theoretical underpinning leading to disciplinary identity, maturity, and practical relevance of policy studies. Statism can be defined by the state leading to righteousness and goodness of policymaking (this is the second type of policy thinking, the principle of precursor) through policy intervention into individuals' free will and autonomy. These two types of policy thinking interconnect ideologically and theoretically the dialectical or dichotomous divisions between subjective and objective policy analysis and argument, ego and non-ego policy interest, and physical and mental policy causations. This logical argument supports an ideological discourse on the principle of non-division among all beings by employing the oriental philosophies of Madhyamika and Hwa-yen. It demonstrates that the dichotomous approach to policy studies is altogether fallacious because these two ideologies originated and are practised interdependently. The physical and mental causations of policy can be balanced through dynamic shifts in actions taken with regard to competing policy values and arguments between policy process versus space and policy cost versus benefit. Practicalism is bounded to practical wisdom and knowledge by the philosophical deliberation on and understanding of the applications of policy theories in policy practices. However, this article's arguments for developing policy thinking methodologically demand more comparative studies that conduct philosophical inquiries for practical and scientific justifications.

Keywords: Policy thinking, statism, policy interventionism, the principle of precursor, the principle of non-division among all beings, the principle of balance, practicalism

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บทคัดย่อ

บทความนี้มีจุดมุ่งหมายเพื่อแสวงหากรอบความคิดในการจำแนกรูปแบบการคิดเชิงนโยบาย (policy thinking) ซึ่งประกอบด้วยห้าประเภทคือ รัฐนิยม (statism) หลักความสอดคล้องกับหลักการเบื้องต้น (precursor) เพื่อเส้นทางที่ถูกต้องและเหมาะสม หลักไม่แบ่งแยกสรรพสิ่ง (non-division among all beings) หลักความสมดุล (balance) และความเป็นไปได้จริง (practicalism) ซึ่งการคิดเชิงนโยบายนี้สามารถใช้เป็นกรอบทฤษฎีเพื่อนำไปสู่กำหนดขอบเขตเนื้อหา การพัฒนาและการปฏิบัติที่สอดคล้องกับการศึกษานโยบาย (policy studies) ต่อไป หลักรัฐนิยมเป็นหลักนำพารัฐไปสู่ความชอบธรรมและความดีงามในการจัดทำนโยบาย (ซึ่งเป็นการคิดเชิงนโยบายประเภทที่สองคือ หลักความสอดคล้องกับหลักการเบื้องต้น) ผ่านการแทรกแซงเชิงนโยบายไปสู่เจตจำนงอิสระส่วนบุคคล การคิดเชิงนโยบายของทั้งสองประเภทนี้เชื่อมโยงตรรกะทางอุดมคติและทฤษฎีระหว่างการวิเคราะห์นโยบายที่เป็นนามธรรมกับรูปธรรม ผลประโยชน์ส่วนตนและส่วนรวม และความเป็นเหตุเป็นผลเชิงกายภาพและจิตใจ สอดคล้องกับวาทกรรมเรื่องหลักการไม่แบ่งแยกสรรพสิ่งตามปรัชญาตะวันออกของพุทธศาสนานิกายมหายาน (Madhyamika) และฮัวเยน (Hwa-yen) ซึ่งแสดงให้เห็นถึงแนวทางคู่ขนานในการศึกษานโยบายโดยพิจารณาจากบรรดาความผิดพลาดที่มี เพราะแนวคิดทั้งสองต่างมีรากฐานและแนวปฏิบัติที่พึ่งพาซึ่งกันและกัน สำหรับการผสานมุมมองระหว่างกายภาพกับจิตใจนั้นสามารถสร้างความสมดุลได้ผ่านการดำเนินการที่เป็นพลวัตร การยกระดับและเปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างต่อเนื่องโดยการสร้างดุลยภาพระหว่างกระบวนการนโยบายกับพื้นที่ และผลประโยชน์กับต้นทุน ประเภทสุดท้ายหลักความเป็นไปได้จริงมีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อนำปัญญาและองค์ความรู้ไปใช้โดยการถกแถลงบนความเข้าใจในการประยุกต์ทฤษฎีไปสู่การปฏิบัติ อย่างไรก็ตาม บทความนี้ยังได้เสนอแนะว่าควรมีการพัฒนาการคิดเชิงนโยบายอย่างมีระเบียบวิธี ต้องการการศึกษาเชิงเปรียบเทียบเพื่อแสวงหาการนำปรัชญาไปสู่การปฏิบัติและปรับปรุงให้ถูกต้องอย่างเป็นวิทยาศาสตร์

คำสำคัญ: การคิดเชิงนโยบาย รัฐนิยม การแทรกแซงเชิงนโยบาย หลักความสอดคล้องกับหลักการเบื้องต้น หลักไม่แบ่งแยกสรรพสิ่ง หลักความสมดุล ความเป็นไปได้จริง

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Introduction

Policy thinking in policy studies has been widely recognized in the policy community in order to identify a social science and determine its practical and disciplinary relevance. In fact, from the onset of the foundation of policy studies, policy thinking has been issued systematically and critically.

As typical examples, the Harold Lasswellian policy sciences describe policy thinking as well-being, affection, respect, power, wealth, skill, and rectitude for the specification of human dignity, and as the utmost value in the structure of decision in a free and democratic society (Lasswell, 1971: 18-23; Lasswell & McDougal, 1992). Yehezkel Dror (1971: preface; 28-29; 1994: 1-30) defined basic concepts for the intellectual and moral challenges of prescriptive policy thinking, such as philosophical judgment and action, together with cognitive and meta policy studies. Even the founder of policy analysis, Edward Quade (1970: 1), acknowledged that the policy sciences has paradigmatically changed the concept of 'policy' as a value-driven judgment of governmental actions.

However, questions and doubts regarding the definitions and theoretical underpinnings of policy thinking have remained (Pielke, Jr. 2004; Wallace, 2004; Meier, 2009: 5): How we can understand policy thinking in academic and practical terms? If policy thinking has been developed and if we can search and find typological, logical and practical theories, how can we configure and make policy thinking one of the primary policy theories?

Even though 'policy sciences' driven by the Lasswellian circle has developed and matured into one of the social science disciplines (Doron, 1992: 306; Farr, Hacker & Kazee, 2008), policy studies has invited some criticism and even cynicism over its weak academic identity and practical invalidity. This includes criticism of the uselessness of policy theories (Webber, 1986), the policy sciences crisis (Conway, 1990), policy paradox and self-contradiction (Rivlin, 1984; Stone, 1997), continuous challenges to and reinventing or revision of policy studies (Deleon, 1994; Fischer, 1992; 2003; de la Mothe, 2003), and the restoration of the Lasswellian policy sciences focusing on policy knowledge in the decision-making process (Hur, 2002).

These criticisms originated and have evolved from the lack of policy thinking based on the prime theories of policy (Deleon, 1994; Meier, 2009: 5). Thus interdisciplinary policy theories (Klein, 1996; Brown, 2004: 207-208), policy scholars' self-examination to understand the rise and avoid the fall (Asher, 1986: 365-389), and sustainable strategies for the policy sciences (Pelletier, 2004) have continually been considered as alternatives to policy thinking. Nevertheless, these alternatives may not be necessary as policy thinking is able to achieve the disciplinary identity of policy studies.

This literature review disclosed the limited extent of disciplinary and/or multidisciplinary studies on policy thinking. The Lasswellian policy values of human dignity, democracy, and contextual problem-solution paradigm can be considered policy thinking, but their ability to function as a typology of policy thinking remains controversial. Consequently, this article suggests one type of the policy thinking1 focusing on the philosophical discourses reviewed by the Confucian and Buddhist Madhyamika and Hwa-yen theories that can be applied to both the disciplinary and practical nature of policy studies; i.e., statism focusing on state intervention, precursor thinking for policy leading to the right or good path, non-division among all beings, the principle of balance, and practicalism.

Admittedly, the typological discourses on the types of policy thinking presented herein are not yet mature and serve as an invitation to the policy community to further arguments and criticisms regarding the philosophical and practical inquiries into policy thinking. However, theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of the policy thinking in this paper can serve as a premise for the intellectual identity and policy-relevant knowledge in policy studies as the policy thinking has been a systemic ideology for academic development and maturity of policy studies by providing and explaining philosophical and critical reasoning of policy theories and models.

Typology of the Policy Thinking

Semantic and practical definitions of policy thinking have not been clearly determined or agreed on. Furthermore, definitions for the terms of thinking, philosophy, and ideology are also still debated despite being universally accepted terminologies in the policy studies as well as in philosophical arguments. In this article, policy thinking can be understood as the intellectual underpinning for justifying the disciplinary characteristics of policy studies. This working definition resolves the differences between the understanding of policy ideology as the dominant and stable belief and/or faith system espoused by policy individuals and/or groups (Ball, 1999: 391-396; Van Dijk, 2006: 116-120; Gash, 2016: 177-187), and the policy philosophy as the normative evaluation and judgment on policy goodness, righteousness, ethics, and justice (Dimock, 1958: 4; Meehan, 1973: 43-47; Galston, 2003: ix; Lee, 2010: 20-27). In practical terms, this terminology of policy thinking can be conceptualized as the core belief for pursing ideas underlined in policy. In addition, it can be considered one of the philosophical understandings (Lee, 2016).

From this working definition and perception of policy thinking, three logical premises can be traced. First, the traditional and textbook-written policy thinking such as democracy, human dignity, pragmatism, and behaviorism is also the central, not the peripheral, policy philosophy. However, this policy thinking can be explained and accommodated in the

typology of policy thinking here. As examples, practicalism can account for the practical thinking of pragmatism and behaviorism, and statism explains democracy because of the semantic connotation of the term 'policy' as political decision-making, while human dignity can be discussed through the principle of non-division among all beings because humans coexist with all things in nature.

The second premise is that policy thinking and its typology have connected with and evolved from the core theories of policy studies. Nonetheless, this premise invokes the following arguments: what are the primary policy theories, and can they even be academically developed and categorized? In addition, it might be controversial to define and defend both policy theories and policy thinking, because the core policy theories and types of policy thinking cannot easily be found and shared (Deleon, 1994: 81; Meier, 2009: 5-11).

Regardless, we can leave for further research the issue of what constitutes basic policy theory and how to develop basic policy theories. The second precondition for the policy thinking based on basic policy theories can be adapted from past studies mostly focused on the interdisciplinarities of policy studies (Keyfitz, 1995: 21-38; Brewer, 1999: 327; Newell & Bull, 2009: 1-3; Campbell, 2016: 248-260), such as studies about policy and politics, policy philosophy, policy balancing theory, policy leadership, policy and democracy, comparative policy studies, and policy process and analysis theories (Lee, Shin & Kim, 2009a: 117-137; 2009b: 243-264).

As the third premise, this policy thinking typology can accommodate policy philosophies and ideologies as a more workable paradigm for the studies of policy thinking: philosophy in action (Hodgkinson, 1996: 6-7; O'Conaill, 2012: 298-303), critical thinking in policy (Watkins, 2007: 121-128; Vaidya, 2013: 533-556), practical wisdom (Conroy, Davis & Enslin, 2008: 165-182; Lai, 2015: 69-80), and public deliberation in doing philosophy (Park, 2007: 94-98; Ney & Verweij, 2014: 620-643).

Statism

State and statism are difficult subjects because of the diverse definitions and understandings in political and philosophical science (White, 2007: 2; Robinson, 2013: 557-560). In policy studies, however, the state has been considered the predominant policy agent because policy is the political strategy for administering public interests and publicness. Statism has been defined as state intervention into the individual's choice and decision for national and public interests as well as his/her own benefits. Thus, statism is widely accepted as state interventionism into the citizens' autonomous decisions through policies, political instruments and devices. Consequently, the main and core type of policy thinking can be statism, or state interventionism.

This definition of statism has been described as state centralism, where policymaking abilities and capabilities concentrate into the state (Tweedie, 1994: 651-672; Steinberg, 1998: 81; Anderson et al., 2014: 1305-1307), state monopolism, where the state has a monopoly on the policymaking power (Akhmeduev, 1991: 47-56; Thomas, 2013: 393-420), and state supremacy, where the state makes judgments and decisions for both social and individual goodness (Hanna, 2007: 251-268; Verrax, 2014: 41-51).

In policy domains, state interventionism has been studied more intensively and critically in the fields of economic, welfare, and social policies. State interventionism has been reviewed by policy justification theories through individual citizens' agreement and acceptance (for instance, the harm principle, individual maturity, and the thank-you principle) as well as social and public interests such as social goodness and justice, social order, health and happiness, and national security.

In terms of policy thinking, statism originated from the *Subject-Begat Thought* rooted in the oriental Prince theory in Confucian philosophy. The state intervenes in and interferes with its subjects' decision-making and autonomy for their economic wellbeing and happiness, exactly as in the parent-child relationship. As parents chaperon their child, the king and prince oversee their subjects.[2] The ancient Chinese political philosopher, Mencius (or Mengzi in Chinese) (372-289 BC) stated that "the world and the state coexist to the one dimension; the root of the world is the state; the root of the state is the family; and the root of the family is the individual citizen."[3]

The king as the ruler of the state acts as the parent for the individual people, the subjects. This is the beginning point for statism as policy thinking. As much as the parents produce, nurture, and educate their children, the king does the same for his subjects. Also, morally and legally, as the parents' rights and authority guide children, so does the king's authority govern his subjects. Therefore, parents intervene in their children's decisions and choices – that is *parens patriae* or patriarchy;[4] the king does the same with his subjects – that is statism. Thus, the fundamental idea of statism has developed into a social thought that the state is identical to the family scheme.

The *Subject-Begat Thought* describes explicitly and implicitly the king's policymaking power and qualifications. To develop and train a qualified, talented, and wise king, Confucian philosophy taught *the King Theory, or Kingship*, which states that the king must rule and make policies for the interests and greater good of his subjects as much as parents care for and protect their family members. As the heads of the household discover and develop the needs and desires of their family members, the king balances the national and public interests with his subjects' wishes and desires. Thus, statism as the practical terminology

for policy thinking depends on the ruler's moral achievement and policymaking power and talents for policy leadership.

The Principle of Precursor

Policy is the political strategy for not only solving social problems but also making philosophical judgments on social goodness, righteousness, and justice. These judgmental decisions and teleological values are materialized by physical or material causations of policy goals and means. In reality, however, policy value and philosophy can be fully developed by mental or mind causations (Kim, 2005: 8-13; Kim, 2016: 37-42; Moore, 2016: 390-404). This policy mentalism closely links to the policymakers' thinking on the desirability, possibilities, goodness, and moral determinations of politically agreed and approved decisions.

For example, a fashion designer displays his/her ideas and thinking in a showroom or on stage using models, while 'Go' (Baduk) game players reveal their ideas and strategies by putting white or black stones on the board. Another example is the student precursor team that monitors and checks pupils' correct behavior and attire at the gate in the morning at many Korean secondary schools.[5]

In the same way, policymakers and analysts introduce and emphasize their philosophical positions in the policymaking process for social and public goodness and justice, not just leading and insisting on others following. Precursor thinking advocates and fulfills social goodness, justice, and public interests of policy axiology by helping others along the right path to policy success (De Zeeuw, 2003: 496-503; Belle, 2013: 661-663; Oarga, Stavrova & Fetchenhauer, 2015: 242-254).

This precursor principle has advocated and prescribed socially declared public goodness. The precursor principle might be explained by policy advocacy leadership in initiating policy agenda and programs (Silkenat, 2014: 1; Lessels, 2015: 10-11). However, the precursor principle devises and structures policy procedures and strategies for harmonizing conflicting interests of policy stakeholders. It exerts power and skill to confine policy priorities by motivating resources and support for policy success. In addition, it controls and steers policy variables such as participants, technology, implementers, and policy environments by accommodating trade-offs between policy cost and benefit, in which it tries to produce policy utilities democratically and ethically by balancing physical and mental causations.

Critically, however, the policy precursors are always correct and justifiable in leading to the correct policymaking paths. Taking the example of the school precursor team in the Korean education system, some may doubt the monitors' honorable and exemplary behavior is enough to lead others. Yet, the student-precursor's intervention to peers'

freedom and autonomy can be justified by their success in achieving the school policy goals of disciplined schooling. In this case, the precursor thinking displays its attributes as the student precursors seek their role-model under the banner of ethical and moral advocacy and promotion of the school policy.

The Principle of Balance

As policy practice is becoming more complex and multifaceted, balanced thinking is necessary to coordinate and harmonize conflicting interests produced from diverse policy practices. Thus, the distribution of policy-related costs and benefits should be justified practically and theoretically. Yet, the question remains of how to elaborate on knowledge and techniques to balance policy burdens and outcomes accrued from both policymaking processes and policies themselves.

Policy balancing is suggested to develop policy thinking based on the definitions of balance and balanced-sense, the theoretical underpinnings of which have roots in the Confucian and Buddhist *'Madhyamika'* theory.[6] The concept of balance is defined as both physical and mental; physical balance is a harmony in conflicting and vexing power relations, while mental balance is achieved by a measured and composed psychological status that is impartial to either side, aiming at rational and reasonable decisions and behavior. This mental balance has been taught via the *Madhyamika* philosophy of ethical virtue by maintaining physical and mental impartiality and fairness to each side. Its peaceful and calm configuration of our continuous self-disciplined and well-ordered life is the key factor in reaching reasonable and ethical validity and appropriateness. In this impartiality, a balanced-sense can be achieved. This sense is equal to the balance of nature which is the pursuit of a harmony in time and space in both the physical and mental worlds.

Based on this understanding of balance and balanced-sense, the balanced policy thinking can be defined such that policy can be balanced by dynamic and multiple shifts and changes in policy costs and benefits. These balanced positions can be reached by the balanced-sense embodied by policymakers. In practice, policymaking refers to both ex post and ex ante activities for correcting, coordinating, and compensating unbalanced or unjustified burdens and benefits by informed judgment of mental and physical policy causations, advanced by precursor thinking.

Furthermore, this balanced thinking includes the ongoing activities continuously adjusted to meet the balanced policy positions. Thus, if policy imbalance develops in the policy arena, the policy itself modifies, remakes, and changes the balanced positions by correcting and compensating the unbalanced causations and injustice.

This balanced distribution of policy causations can be explained by the Hwa-yen Buddhist Theory.[7] Specifically, the mutual identity in Hwa-yen teaches that every policy has its unique functions and objectives, thus each policy cannot deny or ignore but rather must appreciate its identity. The effects of each policy have an equal power and distribution. The mutual interdependence illustrated by *Hwa-yen* is that all policies coexist in mutual dependence, i.e., reciprocal existence. The policy causations can be accepted on the basis of their fairness, mutual cooperation and differences in the policy reality. Thus policy in itself is interconnected rather than having evolved from thesis and anti-thesis of materialistic dialectic. It comes into being from initial interrelated situations.

Given the fact of mutual dependence, mutually dependent policy cannot be intrusive and obstructive because every policy has its mutually recognized and appreciated identity in the policy causations as policy itself has reciprocal activities constructed to achieve the desired ideas and goals.

These arguments can be combined and interconnected harmoniously by mutual interpenetration for policy balance. Diverse and conflicted policy interests, and even policy itself, can jointly proceed into the world of mutual interpenetration, in which the causations of all policies are in harmony.

Practicalism

Practicalism refers to the practical possibilities and values in policymaking, whereas realism or actualism is the belief that daily activities and experiences are the core concept to understand subject-matter descriptions avoiding any judgment on artistic values and feelings. This is ontologically independent of our conceptual scheme and perceptions in arts, social-political philosophy and even in metaphysics (Hetherington & Lai, 2012: 375-393; Mita, 2014: 10; Bereiter, 2015: 187-192).

For policy thinking, practicalism or practicality denotes the practical implication and efficacy for diagnosis of the issued policy problems and goals. Thus, it can be defined as the practical wisdom and knowledge through philosophical deliberations and articulations in the policy worlds (Rooney & McMenna, 2008; Hacker-Wright, 2015: 983-993). With this definition, the other policy thinking typology such statism, precursor, and non-division iterate the practical feasibilities of the policy reality rather than practical ignorance and denial. Practicalism is related to policy actions.

Policy theories and knowledge are valid in the policy reality and also verified for the disciplinary identity and system in which policy studies has its original theories and methodologies. Practicalism seeks policy disciplinarity by overcoming and harmonizing the

dichotomous gaps between policy theory and practice. Furthermore, practicalism does not turn away pragmatism and behaviorism of the scientific policy theories. In addition, this thinking reveals that policy success and failure in the policymaking system and process can be understood and explained by diverse approaches and methods because policy and its effects result from humans' sensibility and judgment of the policy's practical possibilities and abilities (Penders, 2016: 136-138; Scharaschkin & McBride, 2016: 39-40).

Practicalism does not insist on ineffectual policy theories and thinking if they are not practically verified and evidenced, nor does it question scientism (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 166-168; Virdi, 2011: 541-545). It stresses that the social sciences should not engage in unconditional theory-building, but rather emphasizes practical and reasonable judgment and rationality based on the living world and its experiences (Brooke, 2009: 183-184).

An example is found in Confucius' (Kongzi in Chinese) (551-479BC) teaching of *the Analects*[8]. Taking a question from his disciple who asked, "why is the Master[9] not involved in politics rather than teaching and talking about politics every day?", the Master replied, "I am practicing politics through filial behavior for parents and by keeping loving relations with siblings; this is the practice of politics."[10] It can be argued that the everyday practices of friendship and warm relations with family members put politics into practice as much as do the practices of policy theories and thinking in a policy context.

The Principle of Non-Division Among All Beings

Human beings are not always the sole ruler in the universe, but rather coexist with other beings. This ideological concept that human beings are created equally and live harmoniously among other beings in the world can provide a philosophical foundation for policy thinking. By that inference to policy thinking, the principle of non-division among all beings can be discussed.

This type of policy thinking can interconnect dialectical and/or dichotomous divisions[11] between subjective and objective policy analysis and arguments, ego and non-ego interest conflicts, and physical and mental policy causations, in which precursor thinking on teleological decrees can converge on the publicly shared and declared goodness and justice.

The concept of non-division among all beings originated in the Atman of the Vedanta school of Hinduism. The Atman describes the spiritual self as an actor in the physical world who is surrounded by other atman and is seen as multi-faceted, multi-voiced, and multi-leveled, and can move beyond the dichotomous classifications (Saraswathi, 2005: 43-45; Frazier, 2015: 1-15; Webster, 2015: 16-20).

Ideologically, *the Atman* teaches that human beings must acquire self-knowledge about their transcendent true reality. However, the policy thinking of the atman is bounded to the mental or psychological world and is limited to formatting the policy thinking of the non-division typology. Thus, to understand human beings, *the Atman* philosophy is extended to both the mental and physical worlds. The individual human being is closely interrelated and embedded mentally and physically with other beings. Therefore, all beings in the universe can be analogically interpreted as having evolved from the same root.

In policy thinking, non-division does not differentiate material ontology from mental egoism to determine policy values. Rather the policy thinking is structured by one dimension that the individual appreciates in the policy environment such as SOCs, artifacts, creations, human-made organizations, and even bureaucracy as the totality for the policy itself. That is the non-division interpretation of the Atman. Humanism is centered on the self, but the whole world of the policy itself is identical with the self because policy is a moving creature surrounded by the policy environment.

In policy practices, non-division thinking can develop more clearly into environmental, agricultural and life science policies. Humans seek to coexistence with nature because the root of all living creatures is the same. In particular, environment-friendly policy assumes the sacred value of existence of all creatures.

Furthermore, non-division thinking can lead the policy advocate to integrating the thinking of precursor norms into this method, even if they are selected by their qualities and intellect. Even though they are supporters and justice-referees for the better policy, they might fail to realize that policy advocacy for social goodness and justice is conditional on contingency, contextual valuation, and human cognition. Thus all beings in the policy world are harmonized and coexist with each other. This non-division thinking reiterates the practical directions for precursor thinking.

Interconnectedness of the Typology Cycle

The five classifications of the policy thinking typology suggested and discussed in this paper are theoretically and logically interconnected with each ramification as a cyclical proposition. As illustrated in Figure 1, statism featuring state monopoly and policy interventionism becomes involved in the principle of precursor that leads to the state interventions' righteousness and goodness of policymaking through social and individual justifications of the policy intervention in citizen's free will and autonomy.

The second principle of precursor can be conceptualized and actualized by policy leadership, in which policy serves as a channel and institution for the operations of social goodness and justice developed by moral policymakers. Policy leadership as the precursor will lead to policy thinking shaped by balanced philosophies and actions regarding competing policy values including arguments between policy process versus space, policy target versus policy maker, and policy cost versus benefit as articulated by physical and mental policy causations. This is the principle of balance.

Whether these balanced arguments and causations surrounding policymaking can be achieved in terms of policy success or failure is dependent on policymakers' practical wisdom and philosophical deliberation on and understanding of the applications of the policy thinking principles in policy practice. This practical principle, or practicalism, can be explained by evidence-based policymaking (factual as well as judgmental evidence), by policy knowledge (scientific and empirical knowledge, reasoned and logically argued knowledge, and politically accepted knowledge), and by policy doctrine or ideology (metaphorically, the river for the development and formulation of the policy thinking and ideals).

Finally, the practical principle for actualization of the policy thinking cycles to the principle of non-division among all beings, in which it informs the concept of interconnectedness between dichotomous policy theories and arguments. This principle of coexistence and/or compatibility within the environment cycles back to statism, the state communitarianism justified by the citizens' self-governance and control to their will, goals, and destinies.
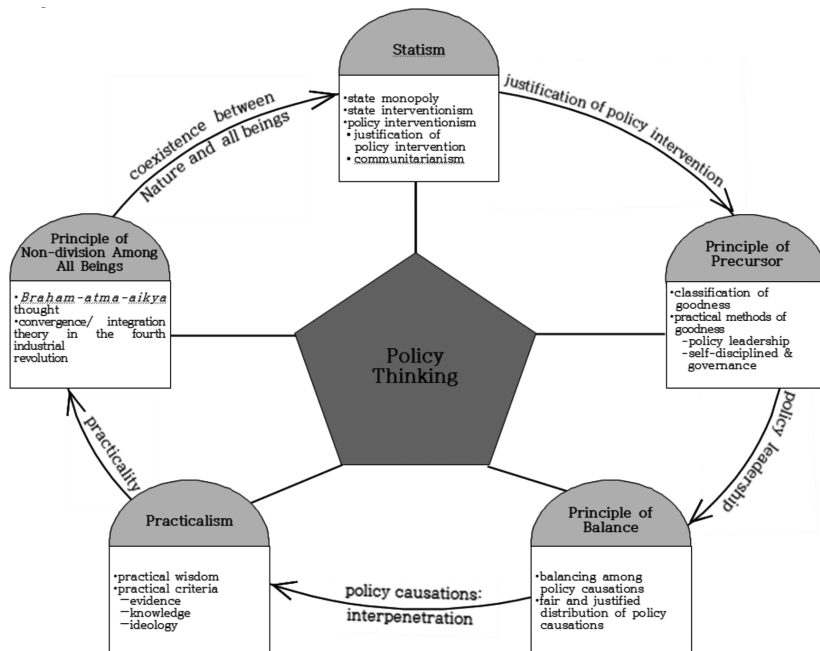

Figure 1. The Interconnectedness of the Policy Thinking

Conclusions and Further Reflections

This paper has attempted to review the ideological discourses of Confucian and Buddhist Madhyamika and Hwa-yen philosophies in order to propose a typology of policy thinking, defined as the intellectual underpinnings for justifying the disciplinary identities of policy studies. As a preliminary study, five conceptual classifications of policy thinking were outlined: statism, the principle of precursor, the principle of non-division among all beings, the principle of balance, and practicalism.

This typology of the policy thinking is theoretically and logically interconnected as a cyclical proposition. The first principle of statism as state policy interventionism is attributed to the principle of precursor because it leads to the state interventions' righteousness and goodness of statism. The precursor principle is reciprocally actualized by policy leadership, in which it can be balanced by philosophies as well as actions on competing policy values and arguments, namely, the principle of balance. The balance principle can be channeled by practical wisdom and knowledge. This practical principle is demonstrated by policy evidence and knowledge, and by policy ideology, whereby it continues to the final principle of non-division among all beings. The four principles conclude at statism, not state monopoly but state communitarianism.

As for further questions to policy thinking, firstly, this typology needs to be refined by more critical reviews on the comparative perspectives between oriental and western philosophies. Secondly, conceptual and typological arguments on policy thinking will be further advanced by reviewing the criteria and measurement methodologies for policy thinking typology and its policy studies' disciplinary identity within the circles of policy philosophy. Thirdly, the policy thinking typology interlined and interconnected above must be explained and verified in policy cases and reality for the more scientific and general theory of policy studies

Endnotes

[1] With regards to terminology, 'the' policy thinking denotes the limited definition and connotation used in this paper for developing a typology and arguments on "policy thinking" in policy studies.

[2] *Shijing (Book of Odes)* (the oldest existing collection of Chinese Confucian poetry): chapter 2, part 3 (major court hymns).

[3] *The Mencius* (the book of Mencius's conversations with kings of the time has explained the core of orthodox Confucian thought): chapter 7.

[4] As an interesting example of state intervention into the individual's autonomy, paternalism has translated into *parens patriae*, or patriarchy, parent of the fatherland, and even familism and patronism in Confucian societies such as China, Japan, and Korea.

[5] The policy mental and physical causations have been reviewed in my published paper, Preliminary debate on mental causation in policy theory. *Korean Public Administration Quarterly, 19*(3), 527-553 (in Korean).

[6] The *Madhyamika* philosophical approach may seem strange to western readers with its highly unfamiliar vocabulary and metaphysical and negative dialectics. To get a better understanding of the doctrine of this theory, I introduce two books: (one of the superb texts in the *Madhyamika* school and in political thought), *The Fundamental Wisdom of the Middle Way: Nagarjuna's Mulamsdhyamakakarika,* New York: Oxford University Press by Jay Garfield (1995) and *Confucian Political Ethics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press edited by Daniel Bell (2007).

[7] Hwa-yen philosophy originates from the *Mahavaiplya-buddha-ganda-vyuha-sutra* (means the flower-ornament (decoration) or garland sutra), an intricate, top grade doctrine discussed in Buddhism. The central idea of this philosophy is the four *Dharmadhatus* (law-realms) which explain the existence of realms in the world by using the concepts of simultaneous arising and non-obstruction. The four Dharmadhatus correspond to each other and are mutually interrelated and dependent. To be more familiar with Hwa-yen philosophy, readers may find more information in a classical book by Garma Chang (1971), *The Buddhist Teaching of Totality: The Philosophy of Hwa Yen Buddhism*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.

[8] *The Analects or the Analects of Confucius* was widely known and transmitted throughout Asian countries in a mostly complete form as the collection of Confucius' teachings on political philosophy and human character developed by practice and education for wise men, the morally and intelligently disciplined scholars who participated and changed government and politics.

[9] *Within the Analects*, Confucius is referred to the Master.

[10] *The Analects*, chapter 2 (the practice of government).

[11] Traditionally, the algebras in genetics refers to non-division algebra, which illustrates genetic significance of non-invertible elements. In policy thinking, the non-division theory can adopt a more scientific approach by applying this genetic classification and construction (Ganikhodjaev & Dustmuradova, 2013: 26-30; Darpo & Izquierdo, 2015: 2691-2745). Also the non-division doctrine can be refined by borrowing lessons from the Stoic division of philosophy (Ierodiakonou, 1993: 57-74) and Machiavellian philosophy (Stacy, 2014: 189-212).

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