



**PERSPECTIVES ON
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**



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Indira Gandhi National Open University**

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This Course is titled **Perspectives on Public Administration**. It is very important for you all to understand the nature of public administration as an academic discipline. In order to get a hold of any discipline's epistemological strength, it should be seen through its various perspectives or approaches. So, this Course assimilates the major approaches to public administration and presents them to you in a lucid manner. Starting from the Classical Approaches to the Neo-Classical and the more Contemporary Approaches of Feminism and Postmodernism, the Course deals with them all. The first four Units of the Course under Block 1 on **Conceptual and Classical Perspectives** deal with meaning, nature and scope of public administration and the different Classical Approaches. The Introductory Unit on 'Concept and Significance of Public Administration' traces the evolution of public administration till the present times by underlining the concepts of Competition State, Contracting Out, Debureaucratisation, Downsizing and so on. It discusses the relationship between public and private administration and explains the significance of public administration in developing countries.

The Block further deals with the Classical Approaches that regard workers as mere instruments towards organisational output in Units 2, 3 and 4. Scientific Management and Bureaucracy are its major components. Unit 2 on Scientific Management Approach lays focus on quality assurance and quality control as methods to improve processes and make them operationalised and standardised. Mental Revolution, Time and Motion Studies, and Centralised Hierarchy are the major concepts discussed. 'Administrative Management Approach' is Unit 3. It describes the principles of administration as enunciated by Henri Fayol, Luther Gulick, Lyndal Urwick, and Mary Parker Follet. The Unit lays emphasis on the fact that the principles propagated by Classical Theorists provided a solid foundation for modern public administration. Unit 4 titled 'Bureaucratic Approach' discusses both Pre-Weberian and Post-Weberian narratives on Bureaucracy. It talks of Weberian Approach to Bureaucracy in detail by underlining the major characteristics of Legal-rational Bureaucracy as an ideal type, as against traditional and charismatic.

Block 2 of the Course is on **Behavioural, Systems and Socio-Psychological Perspectives**. It describes the nature of Behavioural Approaches, which focus on individual needs, group behaviour, rational decision-making, organisational design and environment or context of organisations. Early experiments of Elton Mayo are explained in the Unit 5, which also critically appraises the Human Relations Approach for being confined to a few experiments and not looking at the complexity of human behaviour. Simon's value and fact dichotomy in Decision Making is described in Unit 6. It explains the different types of Decision Making such as Programmed, Non-Programmed, Organisational, Personal, Generic and Unique, as well as Routine and Strategic. It also examines the different Models of Decision-Making, which are Simon's Bounded Rationality Model, Lindblom's Incremental Model, Etzioni's Mixed Scanning Model and Dror's Optimal Model. The various Theories of Motivation and their connect with organisational outcome are described in Unit 7. It talks of organisation as a system. The views of Chester Barnard on Closed and Open Systems are discussed. The Unit analyses Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Approach, Douglas Mc Gregor's Theory 'X' and Theory 'Y' and Herzberg's Two-Factor Theory.

Block 3 is on **Public Policy Perspective**. Unit 8 of the Block explains the meaning of Public Policy Approach. It describes the different types of Public Policy Approaches propagated by Harold Lasswell, Herbert Simon, David Easton and Yehezkel Dror. The Unit talks of the different Models of Public Policy. These are Institutional, Rational

Policy Making, Group, Elite-Mass, Political Public Policy, Strategic Planning. Unit 9 on 'Policy Science Approach' examines its nature, scope and expansion. It brings forth Lasswell's vision of Policy Sciences by discussing its multi-disciplinary, contextual, problem-oriented and normative perspectives. It also explains the new directions in Policy Sciences namely continuity of values, sustenance of relevance, policy enquiry, social network analysis and democratisation of Policy Sciences.

In Block 4 on **Political and Social Perspectives**, Units 10 to 14 deal with the environment in which public administration functions. The 'Ecological Approach' is Unit 10. Its focus is on studying the ecology of various environments of countries and designing conducive policies thereof. It explains the concept of ecology. It brings out the nature of Agraria and Industria Models that preceded the Riggisian Fused-Prismatic-Diffracted Models. Unit 11 on 'New Public Administration Approach' discusses the evolution and phases of public administration in order to position New Public Administration in its trajectory. The focus is on the outcome of deliberations of all Minnowbrook Conferences and the need for a public-oriented, goal-oriented, change-oriented and normative administration. Unit 12 on 'Public Choice Approach' describes the concepts of Methodological Individualism, Politics-as-Exchange, Institutional Pluralism, Rational Choice, Rent-Seeking, and Economic Constitutionalism. 'Public Interest Approach' is Unit 13 that elaborates the concept of Public Interest by elucidating the views of different scholars on it. It describes the current and future responsibilities towards Public Interest. It also deals with the question as to the manner in which Public Interest is pursued practically by State, judiciary and civil society in the way of Policies, Acts and Public Interest Litigation.

The last Block of the Course, that is Block 5 on **Contemporary Perspectives** talks of more recent approaches of New Public Management (NPM), Good Governance, Post-modernism and Feminism. The focus of Unit 14 titled 'New Public Management Approach' in the Block is on NPM as a reform strategy. The Unit focuses on debureaucratisation and delivering of tasks in organisation through decentralisation, delegation of authority, responsibility to various teams, customer orientation and satisfaction. As the nature of State is changing, new actors have joined hands in governance processes. Unit 15 on 'Good Governance Approach' focuses on new parametres of governance such as Participation, Rule of Law, Transparency, Responsiveness, Equity, Effectiveness, Efficiency, Accountability, and Predictability.

The central point of Unit 16 on 'Postmodern Approach' is to familiarise the learners with concepts of Modernity, Organisational Humanism, Public Administration Theory Network, Dialectic Method, Deconstruction, Deterritorialisation, Imagination, and Alterity to counter the concept of standard bureaucratic efficiency. It deals with Post-modern ideas and practices such as the Phenomenological Approach on lived experiences, Interpretive Theory, Hermeneutics, Ethnomethodology, Symbolic Interactionism, Feminist Epistemologies, and Post-structuralism, Critical Perspective, and Discourse Analysis. Unit 17 is the last Unit of the Course. Titled 'Feminist Approach', it deals with the hitherto neglected narratives of 'governance of gender' and 'gender of governance'. It elucidates the much needed debates on Gender Equality, Ethics and Justice, Patriarchal Thought Patterns, Participation of Women in Administration and Women-friendly Policies in Governance.

BLOCK 1
CONCEPTUAL AND
CLASSICAL PERSPECTIVES



Shaheed Suhrawardy
UNIVERSITY
THE PEOPLE'S
UNIVERSITY

UNIT 1 CONCEPT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION*

Structure

- 1.1 Objectives
- 1.2 Introduction
- 1.3 Meaning of Public Administration
- 1.4 Public Administration: Nature and Scope
- 1.5 Relationship between Public and Private Administration
- 1.6 Significance of Public Administration
- 1.7 Conclusion
- 1.8 Glossary
- 1.9 References
- 1.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

1.1 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the meaning, nature and scope of public administration;
- Bring out the difference between public and private administration; and
- Examine the significance of public administration.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Public administration is vital to efficient running of the government. As a specialised academic field, it deals essentially with the machinery and procedures of government. It is the *action* part of the government. It is both an *institution* of public service and a *centre of power*. As an institution of public service, it provides services to the people and promotes public interest. As a centre of power, public bureaucracy tends to be concerned with its own privileges. In recent years, the discipline has been undergoing rapid changes and has vastly expanded its frontiers. It has evolved and is still evolving to respond to the challenges of changing times.

The onset of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation (LPG) has led to significant changes in the roles of individuals and institutions, and public administration is no exception. It represents a *paradigm shift* from the traditional model of public administration to New Public Management (NPM) model, which favours a dominant presence of market forces over the State, for effective governance and efficient delivery of goods and services.

Concepts like Competition State, managerial orientation, contracting out, debureaucratisation, downsizing etc., have started gaining prominence in many countries. The new perspective has emerged as a *management tool* for achieving developmental

* Contributed by Dr. Sweta Misra, Senior Associate Professor, Gargi College, New Delhi.

goals. It has brought in reforms, which have attempted to create a new entrepreneurial, user-oriented culture in public organisations, with focus on performance measurement and autonomy to the organisations and individuals in contrast to the traditional model. In fact, *managerialism* is a 'determined effort to implement the "3Es" of Economy, Efficiency and Effectiveness at all levels of government activities'.

Public administration, in present times, has thus become complex and is slowly moving towards enlightened public governance. In this Unit, an attempt will be made to *define* the terms 'administration' and 'public administration'. It will discuss the nature, scope and significance of public administration. The Unit will analyse the *relationship* between public and private administration and bring out the significance of public administration.

1.3 MEANING OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Public administration is an aspect of a more *generic* concept of administration. Therefore, before understanding the meaning of public administration, it is necessary to understand the meaning of the word 'administration'. Let us see what the term 'administration' means:

- ***Defining Administration***

The English word 'administer' is derived from Latin word *ad + ministrare*, which means 'to care for or to look after people, to manage affairs'. In its literal sense, the term 'administration' means "management of affairs"; public or private affairs. Administration is a process *permeating* all collective efforts, be it public or private, civil or military, large-scale or otherwise, and is thus universal in nature. Administration is a cooperative effort through which the laid down goals and objectives are fulfilled. E.N. Gladden in his book, '*An Introduction to Public Administration*' defined administration as : a long and slightly pompous word, but it has a humble meaning, for it means, to care for or look after people, to manage affairs ... is determined action taken in pursuit of a conscious purpose"(Gladden, 1952).

Administration means organising and using men and material in order to accomplish a purpose or a goal. Administration joins groups of people who coordinate and cooperate so that the desired goals are achieved. In other words, in order to achieve the desired goals and objectives, we need to organise and direct human and material resources. It is a universal process and occurs in diverse institutional settings. Based on these settings, administration is divided into public administration and private administration. The former refers to administration, which operates in a governmental setting, while the latter refers to the administration, which operates in non-governmental setting, that is, business enterprises.

In short, administration, thus, means a cooperative effort by a group of people in order to achieve a common objective. It is the specialised vocation of managers who have skills of organising and directing men and material just as definitely as an engineer has the skill of building structures or a doctor has the skill of understanding human ailments (Sharma and Sadana,1998). In other words, it is a goal-oriented, purposive, coordinative and co-operative activity, which is undertaken by a group of people in pursuit of some common goal or goals.

Thus, there are certain distinct objectives of 'administration'. These are:

- Goal-orientation.

- Pursuit of conscious purpose.
- Direction of human and material resources.
- Determined action.
- Cooperation for accomplishment of common goals.
- Systematic ordering of affairs.
- Calculated use of resources.
- Coordination and control of persons.
- Getting things done.

Public administration is a segment of the larger field of administration. It is simply regarded as bureaucracy, heedless to the fact that bureaucracy as a particular organisational form is not only found in the government, but also in private and third-sector organisations (Dhameja, 2003). Public administration is a discipline, which is concerned with the organisation and the formulation and implementation of public policies for the welfare of the people. It functions in a political setting in order to accomplish the goals and objectives, which are formulated by the political decision makers. It is also called governmental administration as the adjective 'public' in the word 'public administration' means 'government'. The focus of public administration, thus, is on public bureaucracy, i.e., bureaucratic or *administrative organisation* of the government.

Features of public administration are:

- Bureaucratic decision making.
- Organisation and procedures of policy process.
- Detailed/systematic execution of law.
- Enforcement of public policy.
- Performance of civilian functions.
- Operation of administrative branch.
- Art and science of management as applied to State affairs.
- 'What and 'how' of government.

On the whole, it can be said that public administration is nothing less than the whole government in action. It is an instrument through which the goals and objectives of the government are fulfilled. In other words, it is "the action part of government, the means by which the purposes and goals of government are realised" (Chakrabarty and Bhattacharya, 2003). In fact, public administration lends itself to *two* usages: it is an activity; and it also refers to the discipline (*or subject*) of intellectual inquiry and study. Before proceeding to the nature of public administration, it becomes pertinent to define the three terms, viz., administration, organisation and management, which are used interchangeably. Though the *three* terms are used interchangeably, yet there is a specific difference in their meanings.

This *distinction* is made clear by William Schulze. According to him, "administration is the force which lays down the object for which an organisation and its management

are to strive and the broad policies under which they are to operate. An organisation is a combination of the necessary human beings, materials, tools, equipment and working space, appurtenances brought together in systematic and effective co-relation to accomplish some desired object. Management is that which leads, guides and directs an organisation for the accomplishment of a pre-determined object". Administration, thus, is a broader concept and includes within its fold both organisation and management.

1.4 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: NATURE AND SCOPE

There are two broad views with regard to the **nature** of Public Administration, viz. (a) *the Managerial View*, and (b) *the Integral View*.

- **The Managerial View**

Public administration, in this context, *encompasses* only the managerial activities and not the technical, clerical and manual activities, which are non-managerial in nature. Thus, administration, according to this view, constitutes the activities of only the top persons. Herbert Simon and Luther Gulick among others support this view. Administration, according to this view is same in *all* the spheres as the managerial techniques are same in all the fields of activities. Administration has to do with getting things done with the accomplishment of defined objectives.

- **The Integral View**

According to this view, public administration encompasses within its fold all the activities, which are undertaken to accomplish the given objective. In other words, public administration is the sum total of managerial, technical, clerical and manual activities. Thus, administration, according to this view, constitutes the activities of all persons from top to bottom. Thinkers like L.D. White and Marshall E. Dimock subscribe to this view. Administration, according to this view, depends upon the subject matter of the concerned agency, that is, it differs from one sphere to another sphere.

There are two views regarding the **scope** of public administration, viz., (a) *POSDCORB View* and (b) *Subject Matter View*:

- **The POSDCORB View**

This view of the scope of public administration was advocated by Luther Gulick. He believed that administration consisted of seven elements. He summed up these elements in the acronym 'POSDCORB', each letter of which implies one element of administration. Luther Gulick explains these *seven* elements of administration (or functions of the chief executive) in the following way:

P — *Planning*: working out in broad outline the things that need to be done and the methods to be adopted for accomplishing the purpose in hand.

O — *Organising*: building up the structure of authority through which the entire work to be done, is arranged into well-defined subdivisions and co-ordination.

S — *Staffing*: appointing suitable persons to the various posts under the organisation, and the whole of personnel management.

D — *Directing*: making decisions and issuing orders and instructions embodying them for the guidance of the staff.

Co — Coordinating: interrelating the various parts of the work and eliminating overlapping and conflict.

R — Reporting: keeping superiors and subordinates informed of what is going on, and arranging for the collection of such information through inspection, research and records; and

B — Budgeting: all that goes with budgeting in the form of fiscal planning, accounting and control (Sharma and Sadana, *op.cit.*).

● **The Subject Matter View**

Though the POSDCORB view of scope of public administration was acceptable for quite a long time, there arose a reaction, in the course of time, against this view. It was then realised that the POSDCORB activities (techniques) can neither be the whole of public administration nor even the significant part of it. This view advocates that the problems of administration are same in all the agencies regardless of the peculiar nature of the functions they perform. Thus, it overlooks the fact that different administrative agencies are faced with different problems.

Moreover, the POSDCORB represents only the *tools* of administration, whereas the *substance* of administration is something different. The real core of administration consists of the various services performed for the people like defense, health, agriculture, education, social security, etc. These services have their own specialised techniques, which are not covered by the common POSDCORB techniques. In other words, each administrative agency has its own ‘local POSDCORB’ because of the subject matter with which it is concerned. Further, Gulick’s common POSDCORB techniques are also influenced by the subject matter of the administration.

Thus, the POSDCORB view is ‘technique-oriented’ rather than ‘subject-oriented’. It ignores the essential element involved in public administration, namely ‘knowledge of the subject matter’. This is the reason why the subject matter view of the scope of public administration arose. It lays emphasis on the services rendered and the functions performed by an administrative agency. It advocates that the substantive problems of an agency depend upon the subject matter (*i.e., services and functions*) with which it is concerned.

Therefore, the study of public administration does not only include the techniques of administration but also the substantive concerns of administration. However, the POSDCORB view and subject matter view are not mutually exclusive, but *complement* each other. They together *constitute* the proper scope of the study of public administration. As has been rightly observed, POSDCORB and subject matter are two blades of the scissors, of the instrument called public administration.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Discuss the meaning of public administration.

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2) Explain the nature and scope of public administration.

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1.5 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ADMINISTRATION

Public administration refers to the business of the State and is concerned with the ends and strategies of government policies, programmes and decisions. It operates in a political/ governmental setting. Private administration, on the other hand, refers to the management of business owned and operated by private individuals. It operates in the non-governmental setting, that is, business enterprises. Hence, they are also known as governmental administration and business administration respectively.

Difference between Public and Private Administration

Paul H. Appleby, Sir Josia Stamp, Herbert A. Simon and Peter Drucker are of the view that public and private administrations are two different things. The *two* types of administration can be differentiated on the following grounds:

- Public administration is public in nature. Hence, the main aim of public administration is to serve the public and to promote community welfare. It is characterised by *service motive*. The private administration, in contrast, is characterised by *profit motive*, not social service. Its objective is to maximise profit. All their efforts are directed to this end. Also, the public administration carries a greater social prestige than the private administration because of its social role.
- Public administration operates strictly according to *laws, rules and regulations*. The administrators cannot do anything contrary to, or in excess of legal power. In private administration there are *general laws*, which regulate the business. Individual business firms have considerable flexibility.
- Public administration is subjected to political direction in most *policy matters*. It is the minister who lays down the broad policy outlines under which the bureaucrats have to implement the policy. In private administration, there is no such political direction. Only in emergency situations, such political direction can be exercised. The ends which it pursues are its own and its objectives *do not* depend upon political decisions.
- Public administration has to be consistent in its treatment. In other words, the principle of *consistency of treatment* is the watch word of public administration. Its acts and decisions are regulated by uniform laws, rules and regulations. It means that in public administration, any show of discrimination, bias or partiality

will evoke public censure or legislative commotion. Administrators have to be very consistent and impartial while dealing with the public. They must give equal treatment to all the citizens without any favour or prejudice. Private administration, on the other hand, can practice *preferential treatment*. In private administration, discrimination is freely practiced in the selling of products, choice of products and in fixing the prices of the products.

- Being public, public administration is open to constant public scrutiny. The actions of the administrators are much more exposed to the *public gaze*. The achievements of administrators rarely get publicity but a little fault hits the newspaper headlines in no time. A public administrator is accountable for all the acts and the decisions through legislative oversight and judicial review. In other words, the moral and ethical standards in public administration are much higher as compared to private administration. Public gaze is minimal in private administration and it is *not* so closely watched by the media.
- The tenure of the administrators is quite *secure* as compared to the private sector employees. Apart from this, they enjoy many benefits and privileges while in job and even after retirement. This kind of privilege is *not* available to the private sector employees.
- In public administration, there is *monopoly* of government and it does not allow private parties to compete. Services like post and telegraph, railways, currency and coinage are exclusively provided by the government. Monopolism in private sector is missing. Several organisations *compete* with each other to supply the same commodity and product.
- Public administration is subjected to *external financial control*. It means that finances of public administration are controlled by the legislature. In other words, legislature authorises the income and expenditure of the executive branch. The executive cannot collect or spend money of its own will. Thus, we see that the administration and finance are separated in public administration. Private administration, on the other hand, is not subject to the principle of external financial control. It is free to manage its finances as it likes.
- The nature of functions performed by public and private administration is also different. Public administration is more *comprehensive*. It deals with the various types of needs of the people. It carries out functions, which are more urgent and vital for the very existence of the society, for example, defence and maintenance of law and order. Private administration, on the other hand, carries out less vital functions, like manufacture of cloth, supply of sugar, etc.
- Public administrators function *anonymously*. In other words, the functioning of civil service in government is characterised by the doctrine of anonymity which is the counterpart of the principle of ministerial responsibility. Thus, the minister assumes *responsibility* for the actions of the civil servants working under him. This is not so in private administration.
- Public administration differs from private administration in the *measurement of efficiency* as well. Private administration functions on a level of efficiency superior to that of public administration. Since the motive is to make profit, individuals are whole-heartedly devoted to their work and business. In other words, the resource use or profit earning (i.e., input-output relationship) is the criterion of measuring efficiency in private administration. But the same criterion cannot be applied while measuring efficiency in public administration.

Thus, public administration has acquired certain distinctive features which distinguish it from private administration. Public accountability is its hallmark; consistency of treatment its watchword; and consciousness of community service, its ideal.

Similarities between Public and Private Administration

Even though, they differ in certain respects, there are many *similarities* between public and private administration. In fact, a group of administrative thinkers like Henry Fayol, M.P. Follet, Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick do not make a distinction between public and private administration. They are of the view that all administration, whether public or private, is one and possess the same basic features and it is *undesirable* to separate public from private administration. There is much in common between the *two* and the difference is only of degree not of kind.

The specific *similarities* between public and private administration are as below:

- The *managerial techniques* and skills of planning, organising, coordinating, controlling, and so on are the same in both.
- Both are organised on the basis of the principles of *hierarchy*.
- Both have *uniformity in accounting*, office management and procedures, purchases, disposals, statistics, stocking, and so on.
- Both are being influenced by the *practices and standards of each other*. Thus, Pfiffner and Presthus have described the emergence of public corporation as “a halfway house between its commercial prototype and the traditional governmental department.” (Pfiffner and Presthus, *op.cit.*).
- Both have similarities so far as the *problems of organisation*, personnel and finance are concerned. The similarity between them is demonstrated by the fact that there is a mutual exchange and rotation of personnel between the two. In India, we have seen that the Administrative Staff College of India located at Hyderabad organises common training programmes for the personnel of both public and private sectors.

With the onset of globalisation and the new management perspective, the boundaries between public and private administration are getting blurred. The public sector is expected to work on the lines of the private sector. In other words, it is expected to follow the principles of three ‘E’s’ i.e, Efficiency, Economy and Effectiveness along with profitability. The informal organs such as people’s associations, community-based organisations along with formal organs of the State participate and discharge activities that were earlier in the public domain.

Apart from this, the private sector, functioning along market lines and the regulatory framework of government, undertakes functions that have been the prerogative of the public sector (Medury, 2010). We can, thus, conclude that in many ways, the differences between public and private administration are diminishing. They complement and supplement each other.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Public administration has become an essential segment of modern society, which has witnessed the emergence of what administrative thinkers call as ‘Administrative State’. This means that every activity of individuals from ‘Womb to Tomb’ is regulated and

controlled by the State agencies, that is, administrative agencies. The significance of public administration is expanding day by day. The functions, which it performs have expanded in scale, range and nature and is still increasing. It is necessary for not only maintaining public order, social security, welfare and economic infrastructure but also for the delivery of goods in terms of services like safety, utilities and enforcement of contractual obligations as also for ensuring the rule of law and treating all the citizens equally. Its nature, contents and scope – all go to make it the ‘heart of the problem of modern governments’ (White, 1958).

Public administration is of utmost importance for the developing countries, which have laid down for themselves numerous plans and programmes of social and economic development. In developing democracies like India, which is striving hard to provide happiness and prosperity to its large number of grieving and impoverished population, public administration has become the instrument of *change and development* and a powerful agency for achieving national integration.

As an instrument of change, especially in countries like India, public administration has successfully implemented various development programmes like community development, poverty eradication, employment guarantee schemes, housing schemes, rural connectivity, rural electrification, health care schemes and so on. As a result, “public administration has definitely changed the face of rural India by providing the basic minimum facilities to the rural poor and improving their living conditions. As an instrument of national integration, it has played a very important role in rehabilitating the refugees after partition as also integrating the princely states with the Indian territory” (Chakrabarty and Chand, 2012).

Public administration is a great stabilising force in a society. Governments come and go but administration does not change. In this way, it provides *continuity and linkages* between the old and new programmes. In a diverse country like India, public administration becomes all the more important because it acts as a harmonising and integrating force. It has brought the people of different caste, class, community and religion on a common platform. In other words, it has created an environment where people with varied backgrounds can live together. In a way, it has also provided stability and strength to Indian democracy.

Public administration is all about *governance*. It is the heart of development. It is the interface between the market and the civil society. In the words of Frederickson (1999), public administration is moving towards theories of cooperation, networking, governance and institution — building and maintenance in response to the declining relationship between jurisdiction and public management in a ‘fragmented and disarticulated State’.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Bring out the relationship between public and private administration.

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2) Examine the significance of public administration.

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1.7 CONCLUSION

The role of the State is undergoing a sea change. The Welfare State has been transformed to a Corporatist State. The market forces have entered in the domain, which was earlier the exclusive jurisdiction of the State bringing about a change in the role of the State. From a ‘doer’ it has become a ‘facilitator’ and a ‘regulator’. Public administration, has thus, assumed a very important role in modern society. Public administration is the basis of government, whether in monarchy or in democracy or in a dictatorship. It is the instrument for executing the laws, policies and programmes formulated by the State. It is the instrument of social change and economic development, especially in the so-called ‘Third World’ (i.e., developing countries), which are engaged in the process of social-welding and nation-building and an instrument of national integration particularly in the developing countries, which are facing the challenges of sub-nationalism, secessionism, class wars, and so on. This Unit discussed the significance of public administration by contrasting it with private administration. It also described the various perspectives/viewpoints on its meaning, nature and scope.

1.8 GLOSSARY

- Liberalisation Privatisation Globalisation (LPG)** : In 1991, India took up many steps to improve its balance of payments situation in the form of internal and external liberalisation, a fillip to privatisation and globalisation means integration of economy with the rest of world by allowing Foreign Direct Investment in economy. It calls for Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation; together called LPG to tackle problems of growing inefficiency, mismanagement, rising inflation and public sector losses. Libaralisation means removal of subsidies and restriction on the flow of goods and services. Privatisation means transfer of ownership and management from public sector to private sector.
- Consistency of Treatment** : The principle of consistency of treatment is the corner stone of any organisation. If one employee is treated in a manner in a particular case, the rest of the employees in that particular case should be treated in the same manner, considering the fairness and merits of the case.

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1.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Public administration is a segment of the larger field of administration.
 - It is regarded as bureaucracy.
 - It is concerned with formulation and implementation of public policies.
 - It is an organisation of the government that entails goal orientation and determined action.
 - It means getting things done.
 - It includes cooperation and systematic ordering of affairs.
 - It means what and how of government.
 - It refers to operation of administrative branch.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - The managerial new of public administration includes managerial activities and not the technical, clerical and manual activities.
 - Administration has to do with getting things done.
 - Integral view encompasses its fold all activities undertaken to accomplish the given objective.
 - Scope of public administration includes POSDCORB view and subject matter view.
 - POSDCORB view focuses on planning, organising, coordinating, reporting type of techniques.
 - Subject matter view focuses on the fact that different administrative agencies are faced with different problems.
 - The real core or administration consists of various services performed by specialised experts which go beyond POSDCORB techniques.
 - Both POSDCORB and integral views complement each other.

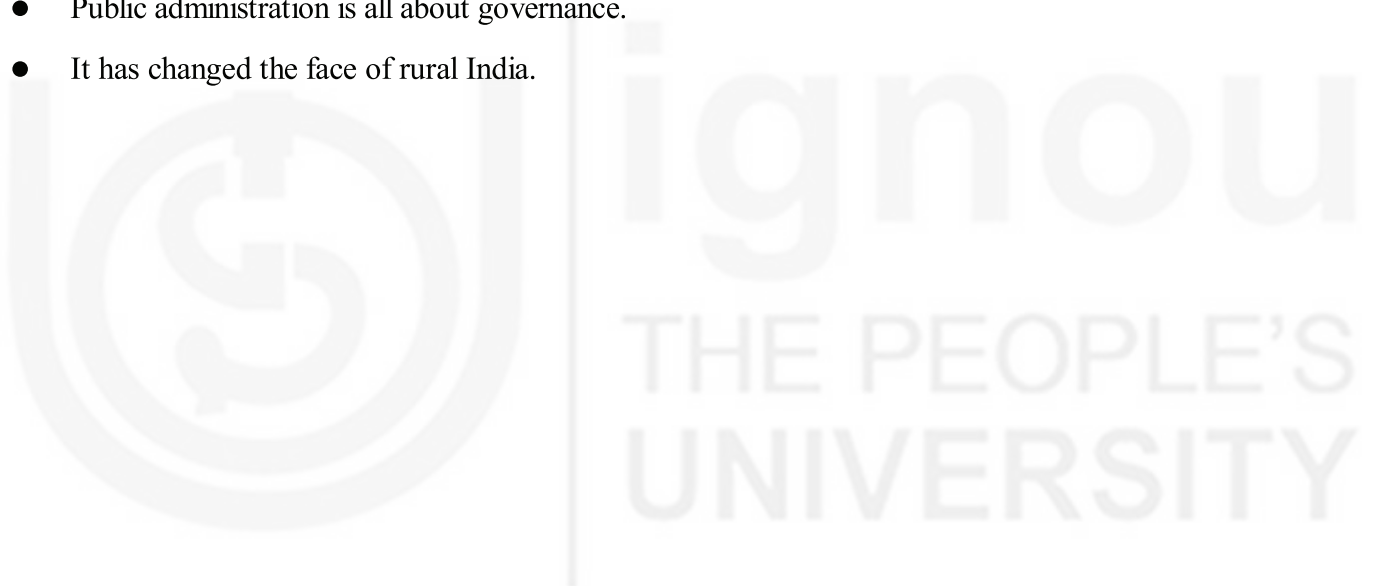
Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Public and private administration are different.
 - Public administration is oriented towards welfare.
 - It has a service motive.
 - It follows strict rules and laws.
 - Public administration is subjected to political direction in policy matters.
 - It has to be consistent in treatment.

- Being public, public administration is under public gaze.
- The tenure of public administrators is secure.
- Public administrators function anonymously.
- Public administration and private administration is also similar.
- Managerial skills and techniques are common to both.
- Both have similarity in accounting.
- Both are influenced by practices and standards of each other.
- Both face similar problems of organisation.

2) Your answer should include the following points:

- Every activity of an individual 'from womb to tomb' is regulated by Administrative State.
- Public administration is an instrument of change and development.
- It is a stabilising force in society.
- Public administration is all about governance.
- It has changed the face of rural India.



UNIT 2 SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT APPROACH*

Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 F.W. Taylor: A Biographical Sketch
- 2.3 Principles of Scientific Management
- 2.4 Characteristics of Scientific Management
- 2.5 Taylor: An Appraisal
- 2.6 Conclusion
- 2.7 Glossary
- 2.8 References
- 2.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Define the term ‘Scientific Management’;
- Discuss the principles of Scientific Management;
- Explain the characteristics of Scientific Management and bring out its role in organisations; and
- Examine the advantages and drawbacks of Scientific Management.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The theory or approach of Scientific Management emerged in the 20th century under the leadership of Fredrick Winslow Taylor. This Theory is often described as a movement, which began to influence the administration and management of organisations in those times. This is a theory, which analyses and synthesises workflows in an organisation. Even though Taylor is said to have propounded the Scientific Theory, in years to come Charles Babbage, Henry R. Towne, Fredrick Halsey and Henry Metcalfe extensively used Scientific Management methods and techniques in an organisation. The term Scientific Management was coined by Louis Brandies (1910) and was used by Taylor to give scientific techniques to make the working of an organisation efficient.

Scientific Theory of Management is also known as “Taylorism.” The Scientific Theory had a significant impact on administrative thought and practice in both industrial and government organisations. Taylor’s contribution to the Scientific Theory of Management are contained in the following books: ‘A Piece Rate System’, ‘Shop Management’, ‘Art of Cutting Metals’ and ‘Principles of Scientific Management. This Unit would

deal with the principles and characteristics of Scientific Management. It would also critically examine its advantages and drawbacks.

2.2 F.W. TAYLOR: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Frederick Winslow Taylor was born in Germantown Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1856. His first job as an apprentice was at Hydraulic Works, Philadelphia. Later, at Midvale Steel Company, F.W Taylor worked in various capacities, as a labourer, gang boss, research director and chief engineer. The birth place of Taylor's Scientific Theory of Management can be traced to 'Midvale Steel Company', which was one of the armour plates company in America. Taylor began to work in this Company at the age of 22 in 1877. Taylor observed that the workers consistently failed to give the required output of their work. He observed that there was a need to devise scientific methods for the workers to ensure required output.

In 1884, Taylor received his degree in Mechanical Engineering. In 1890, Taylor worked as General Manager of Manufacturing Investment Company in Philadelphia. He even served as Professor at The Tuck School of Business at Dartmouth College.

Papers published by Taylor are as follows:

- Piece Rate System, 1895
- Shop Management, 1903
- Art of Cutting Metals, 1906
- Principles of Scientific Management, 1911

2.3 PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT

Taylor, while laying the foundation of the Scientific Theory of Management, believed that the principles of management of an organisation should be based on fixed laws and Scientific Theory in an organisation focused on studying the relationship between the physical nature and the physiological nature of a worker. Scientific Approach focused on lowest level of organisation (Shop Floor). In his view, there existed 'one best way' of doing and designing the tasks. So the Theory focused on empirical analyses of various processes and at the same time worked to ensure results with efficiency and effectiveness. Taylor believed that in order to move towards effectiveness, there was a need to develop technical competence, rationalisation and specialisation in the working of an organisation.

As Taylor carried on with his study of organisation and its management, he observed that there was a tendency on the part of workers to neglect work and restrict the output. This he called "soldiering". He referred to this phenomenon on the part of workers to reduce the output when they are paid the same amount even on giving large outputs. Taylor classified soldiering into *two* types; natural soldiering and systematic soldiering, where the former referred to a habit of workers to take it easy, not being over-ambitious and the latter referred to social and organisational factors, which led to restricting of the output by workers. Taylor believed that the way to increase output of the organisation was to reduce soldiering through scientific techniques. So, Taylor in his Scientific Theory of Management believed that in order to improve the functioning of the organisation, scientific principles needed to be applied. They were also relevant to motivate the workers for increasing output.

The keystone of Taylor's managerial thought was looking into the work methods

and managerialism. Taylor, while working in his steel plant, observed that the workers decided on the output and the methods to conduct various operations. The workers, he observed, were not being managed and were selecting their own tools and techniques to conduct and carry out operations. The managerial and supervisory roles as we know of now were totally absent. The workers followed the 'Rule of Thumb' methods. These were methods, which were developed over years of experience and trade practices. The supervisors could only urge the workers to do more work, but could not urge or encourage their initiative towards largest output. Taylor described this method to be irrational and an inefficient arrangement towards work output. Therefore, he emphasised that there was a need to rationalise the methods of working.

F.W. Taylor observed that there was science in every work that was being done in organisations those days. The work done by the workers could be scientifically structured. This scientific understanding of the work would come to the best worker with the help of those working over him. Therefore, the workers (shop floor) with their experience required the "brain" of the foreman to conduct a task to the highest output level. Hence, Taylor emphasised on the role of management and supervisors to attain efficiency, which was a revolutionary idea in that period. His idea of inclusion of the supervisors aroused a lot of suspicion amongst the labour. It led to an emphasis on area of expertise, training and preparation of managers towards efficiency.

The Scientific Approach to Management by Taylor was a way forward to modern managerial thought and practices. In his Approach towards goal accomplishment with empirical research and evaluation, the focus was on controlled experiments with Scientific Management. The Scientific Approach in itself was considered a way towards investigation. It called for investigation into all endeavours scientifically. Thus, working towards goal accomplishment was governed by systematic methods.

Taylor and the various scientists who supported the Scientific Management Approach designed experiments directed to discover the best methods to carry out a specific task in an organisation. The Scientific Management Approach went beyond designing of technical system towards training. The focus was on devising efficient procedures. Taylor was of the view that once efficient procedures were devised, it was management's responsibility to apply appropriate methods towards training in order to put in place the set procedures. Training focused on optimal physical and physiological conditions of workers to gain maximum output.

While laying down the approach to Scientific Management, Taylor gave the following principles of Scientific Theory of Management:

- i) The 'rule of thumb' needs to be replaced with science for each element of the work to be done by the worker.
- ii) 'One best way' of doing a particular task needs to be determined, so that it would help to determine the standard output.
- iii) As the best methods are decided scientifically, we should train, teach and develop the workers towards output.
- iv) In order to attain the required output, management should cooperate with the workers.
- v) The work should be equally divided amongst the managers and the workers. The burden of responsibility for greater output lies with both of them.

As Taylor identified these characteristics of Scientific Management, we can summarise them as follows:

- Science and not ‘rule of thumb’.
- Working together.
- Cooperation and not just individual role and responsibility.
- Maximum output in place of restricted output.
- Encouraging the development of each worker to greatest efficiency and output.

Therefore, Scientific Management, according to Taylor, involves a complete change on the part of workers, fellow workers, employees, managers and supervisors. It is important that both the workers and the managers have no conflict amongst them and that they should work towards same goals with cooperation. Thus, cooperation and not conflict is the essence of scientific management, as it aims to secure maximum output and prosperity for each employee or worker.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Give a brief sketch of Taylor’s early life.

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2) Define ‘Soldiering’.

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3) Discuss the factors that gave rise to Scientific Approach of Management.

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4) What are the principles of the Scientific Management Approach?

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2.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT

While giving the characteristics of Scientific Management, Taylor devised certain techniques (methods) of Scientific Management. These techniques are applications, which could help an organisation to move towards the Scientific Principles. These are:

- **Functional Foremanship**

Taylor’s notion of Functional Foremanship advocated that each worker be supervised and guided by eight functional foremen (i.e. specialised supervisor). Under the idea of Functional Foremanship, Taylor observed that there was a need to have planners and planning unit. He rejected the idea of single foremanship i.e., Unity of Command under which the workers would receive orders from only one superior. So, when he gave the idea of *eight* foremen, he classified them as: (i) Order -of-Work and Route Clerk, (ii) Instruction- Card- Clerk, (iii) Time - and - Cost- Clerk; and (iv) Shop Disciplinarian. These functionaries worked with the workers. The other functionaries were responsible for execution and supervision at the shop floor. They were classified as : (i) Gang Boss, (ii) Speed Boss, (iii) Repair Boss, and (iv) Inspector. So each worker would have eight functional bosses which would smoothen the progress towards specialisation, as well as separation of planning and executive processes.

Planning Bosses	Execution Bosses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Order-of-Work and Route Clerk ● Instruction-Card-Clerk ● Time and Cost Clerk ● Shop Disciplinarian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Gang Boss ● Repair Boss ● Speed Boss ● Inspector

Source : Dhameja & Mishra, 2016.

- **Motion Study**

This was a technique devised towards standardisation of methods. This involved observation of all motions (processes) in a particular job and through this to determine the best set of motion. Thus, through the method of motion study, the objective was to design a preferable work method with proper techniques, tools, equipments, raw material in order to facilitate quick hand and body motion. Therefore, this method was directed to devise ‘one best way’ to do the work.

- ***Time Study***

This technique was devised to determine standard time for completion of work through time and motion studies. It facilitated planning of daily tasks.

- ***Differential Piece Rate System***

Having devised the time and motion studies, Taylor worked towards devising the methods of payment with these parameters. He suggested payment to workers by piece-meal, on the bases of standards set by the time and motion study. So, the piece rate system was guided towards motivation of workers to make more money with higher income and profits for those who worked hard. So, both the workers and the supervisors were to work with the mutuality of interest to gain economic rewards. So workers were paid a low piece rate up to a standard, a large bonus on the standard and a higher piece rate above the standard. Taylor emphasised that a worker, who after scientific selection, training and initiatives, was unable to achieve the standards should not be made to continue with work.

- ***Exceptional Principle***

Under this Principle, Taylor stated that as standards have been set for work and rewards for achieving targets; the managers had to encourage exceptional work and not just focus on standard performance.

- ***Other Methods***

In addition to above techniques, Taylor focused on the following techniques to serve the Principles of Scientific Management:

- i) Standardisation of all tools and methods used in trade.
- ii) Separate planning cell or department.
- iii) Instruction card for workers.
- iv) Cost saving system.

2.5 TAYLOR: AN APPRAISAL

The Scientific Approach of Management had a great impact on managerial methods and thinking, but somewhere it lacked in giving a complete theory of organisation. The main points of criticism are:

- The main focus of the Scientific Theory or Approach was on shop floor and reformulation of supervisory concept for various activities. Little attention was paid to overall administrative structures of an organisation. The focus on decision making was restricted only to shop floor level.
- The Approach viewed organisation as a mechanical system and overlooked the human element to it. It focused on efficiency of the organisation and perceived the worker as a machine. This perspective was opposed by the workers.
- The conception of motivation was also perceived and understood in terms of economic factors. It focused on material rewards for motivation away from physiological and psychological factors. This was carried forward by thinkers like Elton Mayo, Chester Bernard, M. P. Follet, who focused on behaviour of workers and their role in the organisation.

- The Approach received widespread criticism from workers and trade unions. Taylor emphasised on cooperation between workers and supervisors, which the trade unions perceived as a threat to unionism and workers’ rights.
- Scientific Management Approach was also opposed by managers. They believed that the adoption of scientific method left little space for judgement of managers. It also increased the responsibility of workers.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Describe the efficiency-driven mechanism of Scientific Management.

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2) Critically appraise the Scientific Management Approach.

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2.6 CONCLUSION

Even though Scientific Management Approach had some obvious limitations, it made a significant contribution to the growth of public administration as a field of study. It is this Approach, which led to the widespread acceptance of efficiency as the main purpose and goal of an organisation. The Scientific Management Approach contributed to the orientation of practitioners, executives and government officials. Various reforms such as centralisation of administrative authority, merit system, accountability and the conduct of activities of public administration blended easily with the values of Scientific Management. This Unit described all these aspects. Scientific Management movement was accepted and taken forward by management and organisations at various levels. This led to quality assurance and quality control as methods focussed on how to improve processes and make them operationalised and standardised. This Unit focussed on all these aspects.

2.7 GLOSSARY

Piece Rate Wage System : ‘Piece rate’ literally means that for each unit produced, the worker is paid separately. This wage system is based on decreasing piece rate

- as the higher productivity also contributed towards restricting productivity.
- Rule of Thumb** : It refers to following of methods by the workers devised on the bases of their experience.
- Shop Floor** : This refers to the level of the organisation comprising of junior level workers.
- Soldiering** : Methods adopted by workers to reduce output.

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2.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - F.W. Taylor was born in a German town Philadelphia.
 - His first job was that of an apprentice at Hydraulic Works, Philadelphia.
 - He worked at all hierarchical levels at Midvale Steel Company.
 - He received his degree in mechanical engineering.
 - He served as Professor at Tuck School of Business at Dartmouth College.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points :
 - Workers exhibited soldiering as they were casual towards their work.
 - Workers thought that their productive nature would force management to eliminate them.
 - Non-productive wage system made workers demotivated.
 - Workers linked high productivity with low wages.
 - Taylor described two types of soldiering; natural and systematic.
 - Taylor believed that use of scientific techniques to increase output was the only way of reducing soldiering.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:

**Conceptual and
Classical Perspectives**

- Taylor systematically worked towards standardising procedures in an organisation.
 - He came up with scientific principles of management that aimed at training workers, motivating them and selecting them on merit.
 - He created a science of work by bringing scientifically trained workers closer to work in an organisation.
 - He focussed on harmony, cooperation, division of work, higher wages, functional foremanship and mental revolution to increase work output most efficiently.
- 4) Your answer should include the following points:
- Application of scientific methods to work solutions.
 - Standardisation of working conditions and processes.
 - Science; not rule of thumb.
 - Harmony; not discord.
 - Development of workers to highest level of efficiency.
 - Maximum prosperity to employer.
 - Higher wages to worker.
 - Development of true science of work.
 - Scientific selection of workers.
 - Division of work and authority.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points :
- Functional Foremanship.
 - Motion Study.
 - Time Study.
 - Differential Piece Rate System.
 - Exceptional Principle.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points :
- Taylor's principles improved the production processes.
 - He was criticised for giving more importance to production than people.
 - Trade unions felt threatened as they thought workers' rights would be violated.
 - Taylor's division of work between planning and execution was criticised.
 - Taylor's Functional Foremanship was criticised for its confusing command system.

UNIT 3 ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGEMENT APPROACH*

Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Evolution of Administrative Management Approach
- 3.3 Major Contributors to the Administrative Management Approach
 - 3.3.1 Views of Henri Fayol
 - 3.3.2 Contribution of Lyndal Urwick
 - 3.3.3 Principles of Luther Gulick
 - 3.3.4 Mooney's and Reiley's Views on Principles of Administration
 - 3.3.5 M.P Follett on Principles of Administration
- 3.4 Administrative Management Approach: An Appraisal
- 3.5 Relevance of the Administrative Management Approach
- 3.6 Conclusion
- 3.7 Glossary
- 3.8 References
- 3.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

3.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the perspective and the background of Administrative Management Approach;
- Explain the major features and assumptions of the Approach;
- Describe the principles of administration as enunciated by Henri Fayol, Luther Gulick, Lyndal Urwick, James D. Mooney and Alan C. Reiley, as well as the views of Mary Parker Follet;
- Bring out the relevance of Administrative Management Approach; and
- Critically appraise the relevance of the Administrative Management Approach.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Woodrow Wilson laid the foundations of the study of public administration as a separate discipline. This started as a part of the search for reforms in public administration in the United States. Since then many scholars and practitioners of public administration have made attempts to find out the ways and means to improve the performance of those engaged in the task of public service delivery in an efficient and economic manner. Several administrative thinkers opted for different approaches

* Contributed by Dr. Rajvir Sharma, Former Senior Consultant, Faculty of Public Administration, SOSS, IGNOU, New Delhi.

to the study of public administration. These approaches may be broadly classified into Classical, Neo-classical, Modern and Postmodern. In this Unit, we shall discuss one of the Classical Approaches, that is, Administrative Management Approach, which is also known as the ‘mechanical approach’, or the ‘principles of administration approach’.

As stated earlier, it was the reformist movement in the USA that culminated in the initiation of the studies in the field of public administration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a response, developed Scientific Management Approach, mainly led by Fredrick Winslow Taylor. Some books also appeared on the theme and principles of public administration. Falling in the same tradition, began attempts for developing certain principles that would not only make public administration more efficient and cost-effective in its orientation, but also in universal application. Administrative Management Approach, an important stage in the evolution of public administration as a scientific field, attempts to find a rational way to design an organisation as a whole. It generally calls for a formalised administrative structure. In this Unit, we will trace the evolution of Administrative Management Approach. We will bring out the different perspectives as given by different scholars on this Administrative Management Approach. The Unit will also evaluate the focus and relevance of the Approach.

3.2 EVOLUTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGEMENT APPROACH

The principles of Administrative Management Approach formed a logical compliment to the Scientific Management movement. Whereas the focus of scientific management was on the performance of physical tasks, that of Administrative Management Approach was on the formal organisation structure. Accordingly, while the basic tool of analysis of Scientific Management was the time and motion study, that of the Administrative Management Approach was the formal organisation chart. The general problem addressed by the Administrative Management Approach theorists was the identification of the tasks necessary to accomplish organisational objectives and the grouping and coordination of these tasks in such a way that one maximises organisational efficiency.

The theorists sought to establish a science of administration equally applicable in the public as well as private sectors. Their analysis was of course not as systematic as that of Scientific Management. They attempted to drive specific applications from pre-ordained general principles rather than rely on generalisations built inductively. The classical model of public administration was founded on a number of conventions. Respect for the rule of law, a strict separation of politics and administration and a meritorious public service adhering to the principles of anonymity and political neutrality were a part of it.

“Efficiency was privileged at the beginning of the field as progressive era reforms sought to systematise and rationalise the administration of the public’s business” (The Efficient Public Administration by Pereto and a Well-Rounded Approach to Public Administration by Christopher Grandy). In administration science, whether public or private, the primordial goal is efficiency (Gulick, 1937; Denhardt, 2012). The search for Logical Positivism made the Administrative Management scholars believe that efficiency was a neutral quest necessary for the improvement of organisations. So, the predominant outlook in the 1920s and 1930s was the effort to achieve efficiency in the employment of resources (Silva and De Mattia, 2016).

The Administrative Management Approach evolved out of the discussion and debates about the nature of public administration, particularly with reference to its character as a Science or an Art. Are there some principles of administration or aspects of governance, which can be taken as universal or in sum can there be a scientific basis of the elements or processes that is predictable and verifiable? To provide answers to such questions, some practitioners and empiricists of administration concluded that there are or can be developed some principles that can be applied universally, irrespective of time, space or nature of government in order to ensure efficiency and economy in administration. The authors in support of this thought, points out Denhardt (2003), have stated that the basic interests in management are the same in any organisation.

Therefore, we should expect that lessons learned in one sector could be easily communicated to another or that the lessons learned in one context could contribute to general theory of organisations and this view is still predominant in studies of public administration. This Model and its definition has been widely accepted and used in the Western countries and mainly in continental Europe during the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. A principle objective of a public organisation has been taken as efficiency and economy. So, administrative reforms were imperative for the achievement of that purpose. In its concern for these twin objectives, the public administration theorists focused on the questions of formal organisation in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

This School of Thought was led or represented by administrative thinkers like Luther Gulick, Lyndal Urwick, Henri Fayol and Mary Parker Follet. This Approach is also known as Structuralist Theory of administration. It does not discriminate between public and private administration in so far as the application of the principles is concerned. This School of Thought or Approach believes that no organisation can function without a formal structure, in where there is a clear-cut specification of the functions, responsibility and powers along with the relations of the employees with each other. Since administration is the expression of collective will and responsibilities of the people in the organisation to achieve its goals, it is the structure of the organisation that determines/regulates/moulds the behaviour and performance of the persons engaged in the organisational work in accordance with the organisational needs.

The Administrative Management Approach, as has been observed in social sciences encyclopedia, takes a deterministic view of social action since the underlying assumption is that individuals will maximise organisational efficiency independently of their own welfare and with no thought for the relationship between the collective goal and their own particular purposes. In the opinion of Urwick , the absence of organisation design will make things illogical, cruel, meaningless and inefficient. Secondly, the propounders of this Approach assume that there are some principles that can be developed and are of universal applicability. These principles are developed and evolved on the basis of long experience and experimentation in industry and in army.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit.

1) Discuss the context and the background of the Administrative Management Approach.

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3.3 MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGEMENT APPROACH

As stated in the beginning, several administrative thinkers and practitioners have contributed to the Classical Theory. We will refer to their thoughts in brief now:

3.3.1 Views of Henri Fayol

Fayol is considered as the founder of the Administrative Management Approach. He was born in 1841 and was an engineer by profession. He worked in a mining company, where he occupied the post of a managing director in 1888. It was during his tenure of managing director that the company earned huge economic gains. Fayol's theory is mainly contained in two publications, *General and Industrial Management* (1916) and *The Administrative Theory in the State* (1923).

Henry Fayol's theory of Administrative Management Approach consists of 14 important principles that can be discussed as follows:

1) *Hierarchical Structure*

This Administrative Management principle lays emphasis on the principle of hierarchical formal structure of an organisation. According to this arrangement, the organisation should be formally designed with a clear line of authority and accountability from top downwards. For instance, in a big organisation, there is at the top a Chief Executive with a number of persons immediately subordinate to him. He can, therefore, issue directions to them, and likewise, these subordinates would have the power to issue directions to their subordinates. The system would go on till it reaches the bottom.

2) *Division of Work/Labour*

The second most significant principle of organisation is a clear and well- defined division of work between different departments, branches and sections. This indicates that each unit in the organisation has a certain specific role and function to perform in order to attain the organisational goals. Take for example, a Car Manufacturing Company. The work of the organisation or company may be divided in a number of departments or divisions like Production Unit, Marketing Unit, Distribution and Maintenance Division, Finance Division and Administrative Unit. Each one of these units or divisions or departments undertakes a distinct activity leading to achieving the goals set out by the Car Manufacturing Company collectively.

The Production Department is concerned with the production of Car (including the parts and assembling of these parts), testing the structural and efficiency aspects of the car involving its operatibility and its quality is crucial so that the customers are attracted to purchase that produce more than any other cars manufactured by the other companies. Marketing Division is concerned with the Marketing and Distribution Unit with the supply of the product to the retailers/consumers. Similarly, Finance Division may be concerned with the management of finances, while Administrative Division provides administrative support to the other departments. This division of work is imperative for a focused attention by the individuals or a group on the specific tasks assigned to them.

3) **Loyalty**

Loyalty to the organisation is the basic premise. The Principle involves giving precedence to the interests of the organisation over the interests of an individual or group of individuals. The implication is that individual or sectarian interests shall always be subordinated to the goals and interests of the whole organisation.

4) **Payment of Fair Wages**

Payment of Fair Wages to the workers for the work or service they render or provide.

5) **Unity of Direction**

Each department or division of an organisation concerned with the performance of its respective activities should be directed by one manager using one plan.

6) **Unity of Command**

The meaning of the Unity of Command is that every subordinate should get orders from one and only one superior. Differently put, an employee should not be subjected to the order of more than one superior. There should be a system of mono command implying that every member of the organisation should report to one and only one leader. It is essential for avoiding confusion and manipulation in an organisation. Henry Fayol stated that “should it be violated, authority is undermined; discipline is in jeopardy, order disturbed and stability threatened.” Echoing the views of Fayol, Gulick and Urwick observed that “Man cannot serve two masters. Commenting on the relevance of Unity of Command, Gulick stated that any rigid adherence to the principle of Unity of Command may have its absurdities. But they are unimportant in comparison to the certainty of confusion, inefficiency and irresponsibility, which arise from the violation of the principle’.

7) **Discipline**

No organisation, in the opinion of Fayol, can succeed if it lacks discipline among the workers because it is discipline that creates commonality of efforts of all workers in an organisation (Mc Namara, 2011).

8) **Authority**

Authority is defined by Fayol as power to issue orders and secure compliance thereof. There is, further, a close relation between authority and responsibility. Authority and accountability go hand in hand. One who is vested with authority is also assigned with accountability.

9) **Centralisation**

In the scheme of thought of Fayol, centralisation may be seen as the reduction in the role and importance of the subordinates, whereas decentralisation has a reverse connotation, i.e, increasing the importance of the role of the subordinates. At the same time, Fayol believed that the principle of centralisation is dependent for its application on the need and culture of organisation.

10) **Order**

The principle of order implies placing people and material at the right place at the right time in order to ensure effective and efficient operation in organisation. All personnel and materials should be placed in their specific place/s.

11) *Equity*

Fayol laid emphasis on the humane behaviour of the managers towards their subordinates. This Principle indicates that there should be no discrimination between employees or to say it differently, all workers should be treated equally when it comes to the application of rules, regulations and rights. Salaries and facilities to the employees can be an exception to this principle (Shake, 2008).

12) *Stability of Tenure*

The tenure security of personnel, in the eyes of Fayol, is a condition to prevent high turnover rate. Instilling a sense of security in the minds of the employees would help them give their best to the organisation.

13) *Initiative*

It means allowing the employees to take initiative, originate ideas and carry out plans. This exerts high levels of efforts.

14) *Esprit de Corps*

Building team spirit is necessary for building harmony and unity in the organisation,. Harmony and friendly relations among workers of organisation would lead to increase in organisational performance.

Classification of Business Activities

Total activities of an industrial organisation have been put by Fayol into 6 categories, viz., Technical (2) Commercial (3) Financial (4) Accounting (5) Security, and (6) Controlling.

Fayol lists *five* elements/functions of administration as Planning, Organising, Commanding, Coordinating and Controlling, known by the acronym POCCE. Let us discuss these elements now:

- ***Planning***

Management must plan and schedule every part of industrial processes; planning is an important function as it enables the managers to define what, when and how aspects of work to be done. Planning is necessary to ensure proper utilisation of physical, financial and human resources. Planning saves organisation from confusion, uncertainties, risks, wastages etc. Fayol maintained that the most rational and efficient organisations were those, which implemented a plan that facilitated unity, continuity, flexibility, precision, command and control.

- ***Organising***

Management must also make certain that all of the necessary resources (raw materials, personnel etc.) come together at the appropriate time of production. It refers to the identification of activities and allocation of duties as well as classification or grouping of activities.

- ***Commanding***

Management must encourage and direct personnel activity.

- ***Coordinating***

Management must make certain that personnel work together in a cooperative manner.

It can also be seen as an arrangement of efforts in an order, so as to provide unity of action in the fulfillment of common objectives. Coordination, therefore, is an exercise that aims at an effective integration of efforts of all groups in organisation. In all, it is all about harmonisation of group efforts.

- **Controlling**

Manager should evaluate and ensure that personnel follow management's command. It is an act to achieve the attainment of goals of organisation through development and application of standardised measurement of the achievement or performance. It is a process that involves:

- Establishment of standards of performance.
- Measurement of actual performance.
- Comparison of actual performance with the standards and finding out deviation/s if any.
- Corrective action.

(Source : www.managementstudyguide.com/management_functions.htm)

Thus, for Fayol, the plan requires the necessary organisation of people and material, which have to be coordinated, commanded and controlled to achieve the organisational purpose. In his view, administrative ability was a very important factor in administration. Accordingly, he suggested *six* attributes to a good manager/administrator, such as: physical, mental, moral, general education, special knowledge and experience.

3.3.2 Contribution of Lyndal Urwick

Urwick completed his education from Oxford University. He was born in Japan, and served in the First World War as Lt. Col. of the British Army. Urwick was also associated with several International Management Institutes and published several books like-Management of Tomorrow, The Making of Scientific Management, Leadership in Twentieth Century Organisations, The Patterns of Management etc. He also worked as an editor of several papers on Science of Administration. He was also a well- reputed and well- renowned industrial consultant, who worked extensively for introducing Management Education in U.K, primarily in the context of the nature of administration. Urwick believed that there are *eight* principles on which an organisation can function. The important ones being:

- The Objective of the Organisation.
- Authority and Responsibility.
- Span of Control.
- Coordination; and
- Delegation among other principles.

In the scheme of thought of Urwick, an organisation is mainly a designing process. In his view, identification of activities or tasks and their classification or grouping formed the first part of that process, while the workers or personnel occupied the latter part. The principles identified by Urwick are based on his theory of organisation design. Scalar Chain or Hierarchy, he observed, formed a necessary element in the organisation structure as the lack of hierarchy would lead to "breakdown of authority". This will in turn impact the ability to get work done or receive compliance of orders

by the subordinates. In other words, the clear lines of authority running through an organisation would improve the efficiency and performance.

3.3.3 Principles of Luther Gulick

Gulick's ideas are mainly contained in the famous acronym – POSDCORB, of which each letter or alphabet explains one function. Let us discuss them now:

- **Planning**

Planning is an integral part of an organisation, since it cannot function effectively without deciding about the what, why and how of work. It is to identify as to what work has to be done along with the rationale there of and method to be applied.

- **Organising**

Gulick believed that no work can be performed without designing an organisation delineating formally the division of work, the power relationship involving authority and responsibility.

- **Staffing**

It relates to proper and effective selection of employees; development of performance appraisal system, employees development including training and promotion; determining remuneration and manpower planning etc.

- **Directing**

This function is taken as the life spark of an organisation, as it is the method by which efficient working of the employees can be ensured. Direction therefore involves supervision, motivation, leadership and communication.

- **Coordination**

Coordination is the process by which unity of purpose and unity of action can be achieved in an organisation. It is an activity towards removal of grievances apart from establishing an environment of harmony and cooperation between employees. Coordination is also an instrument of ensuring environment free from conflict and contraction between the organisational units and individuals.

- **Reporting**

It means keeping records, preparation of reports and conducting inspections in order to provide information upwards. This system implies also putting in place a good communication system.

- **Budgeting**

It involves a vast number of exercise encompassing preparation and execution of budget, accounting, as well as audit for exercising control over budget.

Gulick examined the concept of departmentalisation and suggested *four* basis of organisation viz., (1) purpose required to be served or achieved, (2) process (3) people or clientele; and (4) place or territory where the work is to be executed or performed.

3.3.4 Mooney and Reiley's Views on Principles of Administration

Mooney and Reiley published their Book named 'Onward Industry' in 1931 and again republished it in 1939 under a different name of Principles of Organisation. Mooney and Reiley contributed *four* principles of organisation known as: (a) Coordinative Principle, (b) the Scalar Principle, (c) the Functional Principle; and (d) the Staff-Line Principle. However, they laid major emphasis on coordination and hierarchy in the organisation as the most deterministic principles.

3.3.5 M.P Follett on Principles of Administration

Mary Parker Follett is another significant name among the community of management thinkers. She was born in Boston, USA in 1868 and received her education from Radcliffe College, Boston and Newnham College, Cambridge, England. Her first paper was read at Newnham under the title, 'The Speaker of the House Representatives'. Her two books, 'The New State (1920) and 'Creative Experience' (1924) became quite famous. Though she was primarily a political scientist, she ventured into the other fields like social work, philosophy, organisation management, economics and law. However, most of her ideas flew from her vast experience and study of the poor and the impoverished. She addressed the organisational management issues not merely from the viewpoint of increasing efficiency through a mechanically designed structure and through the mechanical application of rules and regulations. Rather she seems to have carried the idea of humane and social-psychological dimensions of the employees in an organisation.

She devoted her mind to the issues of conflict resolution, power, authority and responsibility and leadership. She opined that in order to enhance employees' efficiency and productivity, focus of the manager needs to be on conflict resolution and giving orders. She further invested her attention in the analysis of the concept of power, which she defined as 'the ability to make things happen, to be a causal agent, to initiate change'. Differentiating between power-over and power-with, she asserted that the former implies forcing one's will over others and asserting one's right to get compliance from others. In the opinion of Follett, this method has a risk of resentment and reaction. Yet, she recognised the fact that managers use the power-over even though it has weaknesses. Interpreting it further, she observed that "power is a self-developing capacity" and can neither be delegated nor conferred.

Follett also does not treat power and authority as synonyms. Distinguishing the *two*, she defines authority as one related to the function or the job and not the position. Thus, she believed that authority is pluralistic or functional in nature. She argued that authority has to be interwoven at various levels of the organisation and, hence, authority and responsibility goes with the task or function one undertakes. Authority is defined by her as the right to exercise power. She does not favour the idea of over-concentration of authority while accepting the importance of central authority in an organisation.

Speaking about responsibility, she said that like authority, there is nothing like final responsibility. It is also functionally related and is to be seen in terms of inter-dependent, instead of isolationist, nature of tasks. No manager can pass on his functional responsibility to the other higher up in the ladder. She observed in this regard that instead of 'always running up and down a ladder of authority, adequate organisational arrangements for interweaving of responsibility are necessary, especially at the lower levels. Strand should weave with strand and then we shall not have the clumsy task of trying to patch together finished webs'.

Mary Parker Follett recognised the importance and relevance of leadership in an organisation. She observed that a good leader is one who influences and is influenced by his group. For her views on leadership, one can refer to her two published papers on leadership: 'Leader and Expert' and 'Some Discrepancies in Leadership Theory and Practice'. A real leader is one, she averred, who can convince that 'the order is integral to the situation', instead of showing status or position by virtue of which he is to exercise power and order or command his subordinates. "Control will go", she wrote, "to the man with the largest knowledge of that situation, to him who can grasp and organise its essential elements, who understands its total significance, who can see it through-who can see length as well as breadth-rather than to one with merely a dominating personality or in virtue of his position"(Follett, *op.cit.*) For her, a person is considered as a genuine leader is apt in solving the problems rather than being merely assertive. A leader is one who has the ability to guide and direct. In the words of Follett, "We look to him to open up new paths, new opportunities for the development of individuals, or groups, or the whole plant. He should see not only larger situations, but situations of greater value to all concerned"(*Ibid.*).

Besides the issues discussed above, Follett gave adequate attention to the importance of coordination in an organisation. Coordination, according to Mary Parker Follett, is one of the most important functions of a leader. Though coordination has to be effected at each level down the ladder of management, the task of the chief executive is to perform a role of a critic, judge and a participant. She observed if purchasing agent and production manager bring him different conclusions, his task is not to decide between them, but to try to unite the three different kind of experience involved –that of purchasing agent, and of production manager and his own" (*Ibid.*). The task of coordination involves *three* acts:

- Clear definition of objectives.
- Relating the immediate purpose to the larger one; and
- Relating separate plan to the general one.

Follett asserts that a leader should teach and train his subordinates how to control a situation themselves. Elaborating her idea of coordination, it has been observed in Dhameja and Mishra (2016) that Follett gave *four* dimensions of coordination, which involved:

- 1) Direct contact among managers, somewhat on the lines of Gangplank of Fayol.
- 2) Way of including the viewpoints by all managers and taking into view their divergence of opinion towards integration of differences or conflict through reconciliation.
- 3) A manner of relating managerial decisions to situations, clearly indicating that authority is connected to the job and not people or situations.
- 4) A continuous process, hinting at the need for organisations to change along with the changing situation.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain the POSDCORB view of Gulick.

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2) Examine some of the principles of public administration as enunciated by Fayol.

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3) Explain the views of Mary Parker Follett on Coordination.

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3.4 ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGEMENT APPROACH: AN APPRAISAL

The Administrative Management School of Study has become a subject of scrutiny and criticism at the hands of the modern management thinkers. Chiefly, it has been questioned by the Human Relations theorists, the Behaviouralist thinkers including Elton Mayo, Richard M. Cyert, Herbert Simon, Robert Dahl, Denhardt and all. The Human Relations thinkers have argued that it is not only the formal organisation chart, distribution of functions and system of work measurement, which are important, but also the feelings, values, informal group norms and family and social background of workers, which help determine organisation performance. The main elements of their objections, as observed, have been the following:

- 1) Management oriented theory does not give adequate attention to the problems of workers.
- 2) Lack of importance to informal organisation.
- 3) Concepts borrowed from military science.

- 4) Mechanical approach.
- 5) The School does not consider sociology, biology, psychology, economics etc., as relevant and included within the preview.
- 6) These principles are based on the assumptions that organisations are closed systems.
- 7) Rigid structures created by these principles do not work well under unstable condition.

The Behaviouralists like Herbert Simon have called these principles mere proverbs of administration instead of principles. The grounds on which Simon questioned this School were that there was no consistency and predictability in the so-called principles. Many of the principles are contradictory and suffer from inherent dilemmas. For example, the principle of Unity of Command contradicts the principle of Specialisation or Division of Labour and the principle of limited Span of Control contradict the principle that the number of organisational levels should be kept at a minimum. Further, the principle of specialisation is internally inconsistent; for purpose, process and place are competing modes of specialisation and to secure the advantages of any one mode, the organiser must sacrifice the advantages of the other three modes. All modes cannot be followed simultaneously while pursuing specialisation.

Denhardt and Denhardt (2012) have criticised this Approach on the following grounds:

- The Approach is limited by the positivist thought and fails to recognise alternative ways of looking at public organisations.
- The meaning of experiences or the impact that they have on society's values means inaugurating a complex study, an effort that suggests we heed to not only empirical matters associated with management of change in complex systems, but also the larger social, political and ethical contexts that involve public administration.
- The creation of a theory of public administration is not merely a matter of gathering a set of techniques applicable to specific situations.
- Despite the predominance of conventional approach, there are works with important arguments that introduce a counter point in the field. However, he admits that during roughly a century, private management has served as a model for public administration.

According to Robert Dahl, these principles are based on a few case studies, and they are not empirically tested. Robert Dahl argues that for public administration science, it is imperative that : (1) its normative values are clear; (2) Man's nature in the field of public administration is better understood and their conduct more predictable; (3) there is a corpus of comparative studies from which it is possible to identify principles and generalisations that transcend national frontiers and peculiar historical experiences (*Cited from C. Silva and De Mottia, 2016*).

These principles are stated as unconditional statements and valid under all circumstances, which is not practicable. More and more conditional principles of management are needed. Robert Dahl does not agree with the view that a principle of public administration is also valid in any other state or that the practices of public administration in a country will necessarily be successful in a socially, economically and politically different environment. So, in his view, the linkage between public

administration and its social configuration must be understood in order to understand the administrative man. Echoing the views of Robert Dahl, Dwight Waldo (Administrative State: A Study of the Political Theory of American Public Administration) contended that the values of efficiency and economy dominating the thinking of the field at that time were too narrow to give a correct view of public administration.

A principal objective of a public organisation and of administrative reforms as well, has been taken as efficiency and economy. In its concern with efficiency and economy, public administration theorists in the late 19th and early 20th century focused on the questions of formal organisation. Many organisational principles focused their origin in military and private businesses. It is maintained by some critics of that the principles of public administration are useful only as rough criteria for given organisational situations. Organisational problems differ and the applicability of rules to various situations also differs.

The Classical Theory to public administration is further criticised on the ground that it 'crowds out 'the contribution of citizens (Ostrom, 2000) in many ways'. It undervalues the role that people, families and the communities play in producing public results and creating a society worth living in. In current contemporary times, citizenship has taken a broader definition and meaning in which it is viewed as an integrating concept (Denhardt and Denhardt, *op.cit.*). According to classical thinkers, the political representative determines and carries out the political will as citizen's play no direct role once the political representatives are legitimately elected by them. However as Stone (1999) has observed, 'public interest' can be best described today as a collective enterprise involving government and many other actors. There is wide dispersal of power and authority involving the public sector, private sector and citizens.

Control and Hierarchy

Writing about Control and Hierarchy, Bourgon (2011) has remarked, 'increasingly, it is quite clear that no government controls all the level of State power that are designed to address the complex problems that people really care about. Coordinating vast operations that extend beyond the control of government is one of the trademarks of public administration in the 21st century. 'Over the last 30 years, a recurring theme in public sector reforms has been the growth of non-traditional, non- hierarchical and non-governmental approaches to service delivery'(Kettle, 2000).

Most scholars and practitioners in the classical administration period not only accepted Wilsonian propositions, they also suggested several principles of public administration keeping in mind the improvement in the efficiency and economy of operation in the public sphere.

However, the politics- administration dichotomy framework appeared to be giving way to politics-administration integration. The boundaries between politics and administration became blurred. Gulick (1937) agreed that administration has something more to do than merely implementing the policy decided by the political executive and legislature- that partake in policy making process by way of tendering expert advice and making necessary data and information available to the policy makers.

It was during the 19th and early 20th centuries that rationalism, efficiency and productivity were the main concerns of the intellectual tradition of public administration.

Beginning with Scientific Management theory developed by F. W. Taylor, the focus was on the discovery and implementation of some basic principles leading to the most efficient performance of the tasks in an organisation.

Along with Taylor's Scientific Management model, evolved another approach to public administration known as 'principles of administration' originating in the works of Fayol, Urwick, Gulick, Follet and Mooney. This school of thought like Taylor's also has as its focus in the goal of enhancing efficiency. Fayol's theory was well-received in US and France and influenced the writings of Gulick and Urwick, prominent members of the committee constituted by President Roosevelt on administrative sciences. This is reflected in their famous work, 'Papers on the Science of Administration' (1937).

3.5 RELEVANCE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGEMENT APPROACH

In spite of the criticism of the Mechanical or Classical Theory on various grounds, it cannot be denied that that this Theory remained relevant to administration and management alike not only at the time of its prescription, but holds value even after the emergence of a number of other theoretical propositions in the field of public administration. It has been revived in the New Public Management (NPM) Approach, which has come to consolidate the theory of public administration as chiefly focused on satisfying a neo-liberal perspective. Paes de Paula (2002) has stated that although post-modern administrative theories are called new, they are branches of the old schools of administration. One can see that the new organisational arrangements are actually reproductions of "administrative harmonies". In similar vein, Denhardt has argued that although there are different theories of public organisations, the predominant work is focused on the "rational model of administration", as well as on a dichotomous view of politics and administration. Further, the popularity of the theory is also sought for the following other reasons:

- It has provided a solid foundation for modern public administration.
- It includes the primacy of the rule of law, a commitment to due process in serving the public good.
- It includes a concern for efficiency in service delivery.
- It emphasises probity in the use of public funds.
- It lays down the basis for a strong system of accountability that runs through every level of public administration.
- Classical Theory framework has proven remarkably stable in different circumstances.
- Public organisations inherited from the 20th century were built to mass-produce the public services and achieve pre-determined results. They were not expected to adapt to rapid changing circumstances and therefore were all prepared to innovate or discover new ways of fulfilling their missions.

While the ambit and the scope of the principles of administration might have expanded to include reliability and predictability; openness and transparency; effectiveness etc, in order to serve the needs of modern period, it cannot be denied that economy, efficiency and accountability form an integral part of good administration even today.

Thus, the importance and relevance of the principles might be summarised as follows:

- *Management Training, Education and Research:* These principles stress on scientific judgments and logical thinking. They serve as the basis of research and development in management studies.
- *Fulfilling Social Responsibilities:* Management principles not only act as guidelines for achieving organisational objectives but these principles also guide the managers to perform social responsibilities. For example, the principle of fair remuneration insists on adequate salary to employees and takes care of the interests of the employees.
- *Effective Administration:* Principles make the administration more effective. The efficacy of the principles of Unity of Command, Scalar Chain and Unity of Direction contributes a lot in ensuring a systematic and smooth functioning of the organisation.
- *Utility in meeting the Changing Environment:* Administrative principles train the employees at the higher level in implementing the changes in right direction and at right level in the organisation.
- *Optimum Utilisation of Resources:* The basic focus of the administrative school is on efficiency and economy in administration. Therefore, the application of the principles would bring into the functioning of the organisation the element of maximum gains with minimum costs; and
- They provide administrators/managers with useful insights into reality.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Thus, we can conclude that Administrative Theory Approach insists on formal organisation in which work is divided, arranged in order and coordinated for a given purpose. This Theory also underlines that there is no difference between public and private administration with reference to the principles and processes. These theorists believe that the principles of administration are universalistic in nature. The underlying philosophy makes the Approach atomistic, mechanistic, static, voluntaristic, rationalistic and the one that is oblivious of the impact of non- economic factors on the individual's behaviour. It may, in the end, also be pointed out that though this Theory has been subject to a number of criticisms at the hands of many scholars, it has had an impact on the studies of public administration and is relevant in the present contexts of administrative organisation even now.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit.

1) Discuss the major grounds of criticism of Administrative Management Approach by Human Relations theorists.

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3.7 GLOSSARY

- Efficiency** : It refers to competency to achieve the task or perform a function with a minimum expenditure of time, effort and resource.
- Formal Organisation** : It refers to a cleanly designed formal structure containing well-identified role distribution between various units and branches of the organisation; a clear-cut line of authority and responsibility from top to bottom and Unity of Command and Direction.
- Inductive Method** : It is usually called the Scientific Method. Inductive inference is based on observations and goes from the specific to the general.
- Primordial** : The term is derived from Latin words, *primus* and *ordiri*, which mean first and to begin respectively. So primordial means first of all or original.
- Scientific Management** : This is a Theory mainly developed by F.W Taylor highlighting the application of scientific principles and methods of doing a particular task efficiently and economically.

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3.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points :
 - The need for a study of public administration as a separate field or discipline and to develop a science of administration.
 - The belief that there are some principles that can be developed that are universally valid for application in any organisation; public or private.
 - Focus on efficiency and economy in administration.
 - Debate regarding the nature of public administration, i.e., whether it is a Science or Art.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Refer to Sub-section 3.3.1 containing the explanation of POSDCORB view of Gulick.
- 2) Your answers should include the following points.
 - Enlist the 14 principles and then discuss some of them in detail like division of labour, unity of command, equity order etc.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points.
 - The answer should refer to the fact that Follett considered coordination as one of the most important functions of leadership and mentioned the three acts involved in coordination. Viz., clear definition of objectives; relating the immediate purpose to the larger one; and relating each separate plan to the general one.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - The answer should include points mentioned in Section 3.4.
 - Refer to the matter given in the Section 3.5.

UNIT 4 BUREAUCRATIC APPROACH*

Structure

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Nature of Bureaucracy
- 4.3 Pre-Weberian Bureaucratic Narratives
 - 4.3.1 J.S. Mill: Considerations on Bureaucracy
 - 4.3.2 Hegel's Perspectives on Bureaucracy
 - 4.3.3 Marx's Views on Bureaucracy
 - 4.3.4 The Power-Elite Concept
- 4.4 The Bureaucratic Approach of Max Weber
- 4.5 Post-Weberian Bureaucratic Narratives
- 4.6 The Way Forward
- 4.7 Conclusion
- 4.8 Glossary
- 4.9 References
- 4.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

4.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the bureaucratic approach in Pre-Weberian context with reference to modern society;
- Describe the relevance of Max Weber's Ideal type in understanding bureaucracy;
- Explain the key assumptions of Public Choice Approach to bureaucracy; and
- Examine the importance of bureaucracy in a democratic system.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Every day citizens across the world interact with bureaucratic structures to pay remittances or renew their licenses or passports or to make an enquiry either online or offline. In contemporary society, bureaucracy has become an indispensable institution for implementing public policies; however, bureaucracy has been a fundamental institution of the State for several years, especially, in Asia and Europe. For instance, some of the traditional empires like Mauryan, Chinese, Roman and Ottoman, and pre-modern kingdoms of Mughals, Japan, China, developed a system of 'bureaucracy' that served the requirement of the ruler. Riggs (1997) points out that "...as hierarchies of appointed officials, bureaucracies were never democratic in structure or purpose, rather, they were designed to enable monarchs to administer domains under their authority, to expand those domains, and to protect them from aggressive neighbouring countries". With the emergence of representative governments, the existing functions

shifted its focus ‘*From ruler to the ruled*’. Unlike pre-modern bureaucracy that was obsessed with ‘personal loyalty’, the modern bureaucracy had been designed on the basis of ‘*impersonality*’, which is, uninfluenced by political and social power.

Bureaucracy is a social entity that constantly interacts with politics and society. Indeed, bureaucracy is equated with public administration and organisation and management of bureaucracy have always been the foundational premise of the discipline. The core concern of literature on bureaucracy was to conceptualise its role in relation to State, society, and economy. Initially, the study of bureaucracy was to analyse the working of administrative agencies as organisations within a governmental system with reference to two dimensions: the *external* and the *internal*. The *external* dimension includes inter-institutional relationships with chief executives, legislatures and judiciary and the *internal* dimension includes intra-institutional activities related to organisation structure and functioning of administrative agencies.

Later, with the rise of industrialised societies, there was a corresponding need to have an effective organisation that could match with the changes brought in by ‘modernity’ in terms of logic, technical efficiency, precision, authority, and rules. Many scholars like J.S Mill, Georg W.F. Hegel, Karl Marx, and Gaetano Mosca, have deliberated about bureaucracy, however, it was Max Weber who made a systematic attempt to understand its meaning in the light of capitalism. In this Unit, we shall examine the concept of bureaucracy as discussed by various thinkers and how it has helped shape the organisation, especially, public sector in contemporary times.

4.2 NATURE OF BUREAUCRACY

The study of bureaucracy as an academic pursuit finds its roots in the works of Max Weber, Woodrow Wilson, Frank Goodnow, Luther Gulick, F.W. Taylor etc. Indeed, Meier and Krause (2003) find that there has been a line of inquiry to develop generalisable theoretical principles and subsequent empirical understanding on the ‘what’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ of bureaucratic agencies. Initially, the line of inquiry was around the question: how to operate bureaucracies for a capitalist society. In the post-Second World War, the prime concern was to explore the role of bureaucratic agencies in democratic settings. In this Unit, the growth and development of bureaucracy as a social entity will be discussed along the continuum of public administration. Before studying the various perspectives of bureaucracy, let us first understand the nature of bureaucracy in brief.

Public Administration scholars, while examining the literature on bureaucracy, find *two* points of view on its nature. The *First* viewpoint recognises bureaucracy as an instrument or a mechanism that is created for efficient implementation of goals. This point of view considers bureaucracy as an epitome of rationality and as a public administration tool that specialises in service provisions. In order to perform the services that it offers to citizens (services like Aadhaar Card, ration allowance, water supply etc.), it has a cadre of qualified staff members who have been appointed for the position as prescribed by rule of law. The *second* viewpoint explores bureaucracy mainly as an instrument of power to exert control over its members or citizens either in the interest of the bureaucratic system or in favour of any vested interest. In fact, the second point of view intends to decode the process of bureaucratisation. Eisensdadt (1959) interprets bureaucratisation as “*the extension of the power of a bureaucratic organisation over many areas beyond its initial purpose*” and indicates that the two-fold aspects of bureaucracy cannot be viewed as separate and contradictory,

but rather they reveal the possibilities inherent in bureaucracy. Therefore, the problem seems to be not in determining which viewpoint is worth consideration, rather, the focus and locus could be on identifying the circumstances under which inherent tendencies like ‘bureaucratisation’ manifest in organisations.

On the organisational side, based on empirical studies, Andler (1996) presents *two* conflicting views of the attitudinal outcomes of bureaucracy with reference to Positive View (Enabler) and Negative View (Coercive). According to the Positive View, it provides adequate guidance and clarifies job responsibilities to the employees. As a result, it eases role stress and supports individuals, be and feel more effective in organisational setting. According to the Negative View (Coercive), the bureaucratic form of organisation quashes creativity due to its rigid functioning, which eventually makes the employee feel dissatisfied and demotivated. While the former (Enabler) keeps in mind the employee well-being as essential to achieve organisational goals, the latter (Coercive) uses force and punishment towards their employees. Andler (*ibid.*) finds that the bureaucratic organisation, which has less or no scope for guidance and support may be counterproductive in achieving their goals.

The above mentioned views on bureaucracy vis-à-vis Two-fold and Enabler-Coercive perspectives reveal the need to explore this phenomena through two pertinent questions; first, “*how bureaucracies can shift from inert to innovative bureaucracy?*”; and second, “*how bureaucratic organisations can shift from coercive to enabling types of bureaucracy?*”. These questions were predominant among the academia too that scholars from different intellectual streams started sharing their narratives to explore this phenomena. It is to be noted that within this intellectual stream, there was also a parallel drive to fit bureaucracy into the democratic institutions after the Second World War. In the subsequent sections, we will be discussing about Pre-Weberian, Weberian, and Post-Weberian bureaucratic narratives. Further, we will look into the implications of Bureaucratic Theory and the need for reinventing bureaucracies in today’s context. In this Unit, the terms ‘Theory’, ‘Approach’, and ‘Model’ are used interchangeably.

4.3 PRE-WEBERIAN BUREAUCRATIC NARRATIVES

It has been often cited in public administration literature that Max Weber was the foremost thinker of modern bureaucracy. But it has to be noted that prior to Weber, there were many scholars like J.S. Mill, G.W.F. Hegel, Karl Marx, etc. who had set the stage for a comprehensive discussion on bureaucracy and in examining its role in capitalist economy. In the following sub-sections, we will study some of these Pre-Weberian perspectives in brief. This will enable you to have a background understanding on the intellectual roots of bureaucracy.

4.3.1 J.S. Mill: Considerations on Bureaucracy

J.S. Mills’ Essay titled ‘Considerations on Representative Government’ (1861) was written about half a century before Weber’s publication on Bureaucracy. According to Mill, the term Bureaucracy implies direct work of government and sometimes he refers to bureaucrats as the actual governors. Mill clarifies the meaning of bureaucracy as: “the essence and meaning of bureaucracy lies when the work of government has been in the hands of governors (in this context bureaucrat) by profession”. In terms of recruitment, Mill prefers to have recruitment based on merit (competition), where the candidates’ intelligence, education, and potential governmental skills could be

tested. Citing bureaucracy as the “permanent strength of the public service” and the bureaucratic functions as highly professional in nature, Mill recommends “tests for selecting the best officers, rules for promotion, appropriate provisions for order and convenient transaction of business, good record keeping, and proper measures for responsibility and accountability”.

While exploring the relationship between representative government and bureaucracy, Mill did not isolate bureaucracy from the policy process, but viewed it as an institution of experience, skill and knowledge. Interestingly, Mill sets limit to political executive in relation to bureaucratic interference on the grounds that they lack knowledge or experience to direct the public service. However, Mill did recognise the dangers of bureaucracy such as abuse of power and limitations on human creativity. In Mill’s view, administrators engaged in corrupt practices can be removed by political executives or elected members as they are responsible for the people and scrutinising the work of administrators.

Nevertheless, in those days seldom a bureaucrat got removed from position on moral grounds. Unlike, positivist view, Mill did not consider bureaucracy as a ‘value free’ entity, rather considered its role as a ‘neutral entity’ in partisan politics. Here ‘being neutral’ is not to be mistaken as staying inert but standing out with exceptional qualities like stability, skill, knowledge and experience to mediate the process of democratic decision making. It is with this reference to bureaucracy’s role in democracy, Mill, identifies a potential role for bureaucracy in the states’ progress and citizen development. His work tried to bring a democratic spirit in exercising governance by applying multi-stakeholder approach, which included the most educated, skilled and experienced citizens, no matter whether they were elected representatives or officials.

Warner (2001) points out that Mill had “set out a remarkably succinct yet impressively comprehensive theory of bureaucracy within representative government”. From the perspective of J.S. Mill, we can understand that public bureaucracy is not just legitimate arm, but also an essential constituent of good government. Indeed, present day governance narratives on citizenship, civic participation and community governance can be attributed to the writings of J.S. Mill.

4.3.2 Hegel’s Perspectives on Bureaucracy

One of the influential thinkers who acknowledged bureaucracy as the main governing organisation in the modern State was G.W Friedrich Hegel. In his Philosophy of Right, published in 1821, he deliberates about how liberal States can be organised, and endorses the role of civil service as an essential element of government. Interestingly, Hegel upholds the role of civil service as a “universal class” since the end of their activities is to realise universal interest. Misra (1977) points out that Hegel raised the concept of bureaucracy to a higher level by defining it as the ‘State’s will’ and considered it as “a transcendent entity, a mind above individual minds”. Indeed, Sager (2009) observes that Hegel’s political philosophy prompted Woodrow Wilson to believe in a class of educated, morally upright public servants who would serve the common will. The organisational characteristics that Hegel envisions for a modern bureaucracy include the following features: functional division of authority, principle of hierarchy, separation of office from its incumbent, merit-based recruitment through competition, fixed remuneration, and exercise of authority in compliance to common good. Hegel believed that in an egalitarian society, a bureaucratic structure that is based on the above mentioned characteristics would nevertheless be considered

as the most appropriate administrative organisation in terms of maximum simplification, speed, and efficient handling of State affairs.

Shaw (1992) observes that several authors have observed that Hegel's Philosophy of Right draws a close similarity to Weber's understanding of bureaucracy in terms of formal characteristics, such as fixed remuneration, professionalism, office as main occupation, the separation between office and official, the merit-based recruitment, rational hierarchical structure, untied to any vested interest, and centralisation. On the level of institutional analysis. Shaw (1992) points out that Hegel's characterisation of the structural attributes of bureaucratic organisation is as comprehensive as Weber's ideal type. It can be deduced that at least partially, Weber would have derived his conceptualisation on bureaucracy from Hegel. Unlike Weber's theory of bureaucracy that is characterised by technocracy and compliance to rules, Hegel's theory of bureaucratic activity is based on practical philosophy.

With regard to politics-administration dichotomy, scholars could not find any traces of this dimension in Hegel's writings, rather, could only observe his speculations on the indispensable role of bureaucracy in a modern constitutional State. Indeed, in the case of downfall of the socialist regimes proved that *sans* democracy and modern bureaucracy there will be no provision for universal (Public Value) norms. Shaw (1992) cites that "*the task of modern bureaucracy*", according to Hegel, "*is to realise the political norms in concrete situations and to subsume the latter (political) under the universal norms*". In fact, Shaw (1992) acknowledges that Hegel's theory of bureaucracy would serve as a new means of sustaining the Constitution.

4.3.3 Marx's Views on Bureaucracy

Marx's proposition on bureaucracy was set at the backdrop of capitalist society, where the status of State in general and bureaucracy in particular was far from upholding universal interests. Power is normally understood in Marx's observations as the presence of class and its relationship to economic production in society and not the State. Hence, Marx's premise on bureaucracy could be traced from his political economy view, where power manifested from the position is held by a class in the capitalist society. In this regard, Marx viewed that bureaucracy is no less than an apparatus that exhibits the repressive character of State. Marx's cynicism on bureaucracy could be better understood in his 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right' in 1843, where he openly questions Hegel's basic hypothesis on political theory and idolisation of State. Hegel conceptualised bureaucracy as an insightful institution which has the capability to reflect to public interest.

However, Marx questioned the status of bureaucracy in being vocal to the problems of the masses. To illustrate, Marx while examining the features of bureaucracy, such as hierarchical and functional differentiation, asserted that it can only lead to incompetence of the incumbents. Bhattacharya (2008) summarises Marx's observation on bureaucratic incompetence as: "the superior does not know the specifics of the case, the subordinates does not know the general principles and none can appreciate the totality of a situation". Owing to the conflicting interest in capitalist society, Marx finds that the role of State is nothing more than an egotistic interest. Dwivedi (1985) observes that Marx viewed State as a partisan instrument in the enactment of intra-societal class struggles rather than a neutral umpire of such struggles. Misra (1977) points out that for Marx 'State was not an independent entity which possessed its own intellectual, ethical, and libertarian basis' and considered bureaucracy as an

instrument and agent of State that is directed and controlled by the economically dominant class.

Indeed, Marx viewed bureaucracy through a critical lens rather than theorising State bureaucracy. In Marx's own words: "The general spirit of bureaucracy is secret, mystery, safeguarded inside itself by hierarchy and outside by its nature as a closed corporation". Undoubtedly, this perspective of Marx is worth considering in the context of top-down bureaucratic model: firstly, as information and knowledge is not uniformly accessible to the incumbents, Marx cautions about the inherent tendency of bureaucracy to manipulate knowledge into secrecy and competence into mystery; secondly, he warns about bureaucrat's obsession in "...passive obedience, faith in authority, mechanisation of fixed and formal behaviour, fixed principles, attitudes, and traditions...". In a way, Marx's views could be used as an analytical framework to understand and assess the dysfunctions of bureaucracy in developing countries.

4.3.4 The Power-Elite Concept

Unlike Marx's dominant-class theory, which is based on economically dominant class, Mosca's dominant-class theory is based on '*politically dominant class*'. Mosca held the view that bureaucracy signified rule by officials. In 'The Ruling Class' published in 1939, he differentiated governments into *two* categories, namely, feudal and bureaucratic. According to Mosca, as cited by Misra (1977), Feudal State is a political organisation, where the executive functions of the State like economic, judicial, administrative, and military would be exercised by the same individuals. In the bureaucratic State, in contrast, not all executive functions would be concentrated in the bureaucracy.

In fact, Mosca defined bureaucracy "*as a political organisation with an extensive number of public services receiving their salaries from the government for the performance of 'public duties' demanding a 'greater specialisation of functions', 'a far greater discipline in all grades of political, administrative and military service'*". Further, Mosca acknowledges the bureaucratic system as a body of public officials who formed an integral part of the ruling class. Misra (1977) observes that Mosca stood as the outstanding advocate of the power-elite concept of bureaucracy who viewed bureaucracy as one of the defining features of public administration in a modern State about eight decades earlier. However, Mosca makes observations on tendency of bureaucracies to dominate, hence, recommended the mechanism of the vote, which could reflect the diverse interests of society.

Vilfredo Pareto, one of the thinkers who elaborated Mosca's theory came out with a theory of circulation of elites, which emphasises on the theory of replacement of one group of elites by another. In fact, the principle of elite circulation was intended to bring continuous interaction and assimilation of new and persisting ideas. In this context, Misra (1977) points out that Pareto emphasises the potential role of socialism as a means to the creation of a new working class elite. Scholars like Robert Michels joined this discourse and recognised the principle of elite circulation. Nevertheless, Michels was aware of bureaucratic functioning and believed that it was an instrument in the hands of politically dominant class.

Although, the concept of oligarchy (minority rule) was used by Mosca in the study of bureaucracy within public administration, it was Michels who widened its scope to all modern organisations. Misra (1977) highlights that both Michels and Mosca limited their work only to the sociology of power, administration and authority and seldom made attempts to examine this subject of bureaucracy in depth or zooming

on its political and organisational dimensions. The cumulative effect of these developments accelerated into an in-depth study on bureaucracy by Max Weber. In the next section, we will be discussing the Bureaucratic Approach as propounded by Weber.

Check Your Progress 1

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

- 1) What is the nature of bureaucracy?
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- 2) Briefly describe Mill’s views on bureaucracy.
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- 3) Write a brief note on Hegel’s views of Bureaucracy.
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- 4) Discuss the main aspects of bureaucracy as identified by Karl Marx.
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4.4 THE BUREAUCRATIC APPROACH OF MAX WEBER

Max Weber has had an overarching influence in the development of the sociological analysis of bureaucracy in relation to its political and organisational dimensions. His conceptual and historical analysis provides a theoretical grip for establishing connection

of bureaucracy as an administrative organisation with politics and society. He asserts that the process of rationalisation was a determinant factor of modern society and finds that rationalisation had penetrated deep into the political, social, and economic life, thus, paving way for modernisation. Apparently, his observations on bureaucracy emerged out of socio-historical forces, such as the period of absolute monarchy in the West and the subsequent phase of national sovereignty, growth of industrial community and working class traditions.

- ***The Context***

Max Weber's 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' is generally considered as an outstanding work for its understanding on the emergence of modern capitalism. Nevertheless, his essays on bureaucracy may be regarded as an influential work in the relevant academic disciplines of sociology, political science, history or public administration. To begin with, the central idea in Weber's bureaucracy cannot be restricted to merely providing guidelines to managers. Indeed, Weber inclined to address a perennial debate put forth by Hegel and Marx with reference to the basic nature of domination in society.

As discussed in the previous section, Hegel recommended that the State administration serves as an instrument to achieve general will of the people (idealism). Later, Marx disagreed with this recommendation on the pretext that in a capitalist society, the State and its bureaucracy obliges to serve the interests of the economically dominant class who control the means of production (materialism). Hence, Marx speculated that the wealthy and powerful elite could exhibit control over the lower classes.

According to Weiss (1983), Weber's writings on "bureaucracy were composed as responses to the Marxian perspective" and "was roughly half way between the idealism of Hegel and the materialism of Marx". Weber agreed with Marx's contention that the State bureaucracy is no less than an apparatus that exhibits domination in society. However, Weber anticipated that domination based on knowledge including both technical knowledge and knowledge of the concrete fact as legitimate (legal-rational) and far superior than other forms of dominance. Historically, Weber identified two types of dominance, namely, traditional and charismatic. For Weber, leadership and authority gained its basis either through traditional or charismatic dominance. To illustrate, dominance based on traditional set up may be patrimonial or feudal in nature. On the other hand, dominance based on charisma indicates the traits of a leader who possesses exceptional qualities. Unlike, the other two dominance structures vis-à-vis traditional and charismatic, Weber recommended a new organisational structure based on rational principles, such as logic, efficiency and reason. In Weberian version, this is termed as 'legal-rational authority' and signifies such an organisation as the hallmark of modern civilisation.

- ***The Ideal Type Bureaucracy***

To make sense of the historical events and patterns on dominance and administration, Weber made efforts to understand bureaucracy on heuristic lines. Rudolph (1979) points out that this heuristic understanding "became the means for demonstrating historical change from traditional to modern (rational-legal) authority". Weber's methodological stand with regard to ideal types can be understood as an interpretation of human events and experiences. For Weber, human events have been governed primarily by meaning and not by laws. In this regard, Rudolph (1979) notes that ideal types are imaginary constructs or game plans to tell us how they would be put together and make it work. For purposes of understanding complex reality posed

by modernisation, Weber asserts that ideal-types could serve as a strong “conceptual instrument for *comparison* with and the *measurement* of reality”.

In his concept of bureaucracy, Weber included the following components: formality, continuity, sphere of competence, role segmentation, hierarchy, merit based recruitment, selection, career, training, and written documents. For Weber the goal of bureaucracy is to maximise efficiency for the reason that a technically sound administration will enable all employees towards optimum performance. Keeping in mind the objectives of ‘efficiency’ and ‘predictability’, Weber conceptualised his bureaucracy to cater to the complexities of modern societies. Weber believed that the organisational decisions would be more neutral and unbiased and guarded against personal, irrational, and emotional aspects. Importantly, Weber also provides scope for steady improvement of functioning through training and constant practice.

- ***Critique of Weber’s Ideal Type***

Weber points out that his ideal type cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality and has no connection at all with making value judgments. However, Weber’s bureaucracy was criticised from the standpoint of applicability of the model and is also described as huge, inert, inefficient structurally, it could lead to an increase in the hierarchical rigid structures, ambiguous rules, expenditure on structure and personnel on the other hand, behaviourally, bureaucracy is dominated by secretive functioning, alienation from public scrutiny, and over-reliance on technocracy. To illustrate, critics point out that functional maladies are ailments of organisation and cautioned that over-reliance on rigidity and secretiveness may lead to withdrawal from public interest. Critics like Warren Bennis, have contended that the traditional bureaucratic model is an outdated type of organisation in the contemporary complex, dynamic, and globalised society. Meier and Krause (2003) note that Neo-liberal critics like Gordon Tullock, Anthony Downs, William A. Niskanen etc. portray bureaucracies as huge machines that are out of control and hypothesise that if bureaucratic behaviour is not held under tight supervision in the form of rigid rules, it is likely to maximise autonomy. Misra (1977) refers to another critic Robert K. Merton, who claims that in its obsession to build rigidities and conformity to rules, bureaucracy interferes with the organisational goals. On these lines, several scholars were engaged in empirical analysis of administrative organisations and its impact on social reality.

Despite criticisms from far and wide, Weber’s ideal type of bureaucracy has remained undervalued because of misunderstandings of ideal-typical method. To illustrate, Bartel (2009) while reflecting on the criticisms of ideal types emphasises that the question whether bureaucracy is outdated, oversized or too powerful is subject to empirical research and it is invalid to make comprehensive claims on its dysfunctions without solid empirical evidence. In the ensuing sub-section, we will discuss about the implications of bureaucratic theory.

- ***Implications of Weber’s Bureaucratic Theory***

Unlike his predecessors, Weber’s writings imparted a degree of clarity and technical sophistication to the study of bureaucracy. Meier and Krause (2003) indicate that Weber’s explanations give an appropriate way to technically design organisations in terms of division of labour, specialisation and training, formal hierarchical structures, explicit rules and procedures. Weber claims that his theory of organisation is applicable not only to government bureaucracy, but to all other modern organisations either social or economic. The key feature of this organisation is that the rules and regulations

do not contradict each other; and the rules are applicable to everybody irrespective of their class or creed. It can be construed that since the authority is derived from law, there is no room for arbitrariness. In his own terms, Weber holds the view that bureaucracy can serve any master which means irrespective of the nature of the organisation his theory of bureaucracy could be considered as an 'Ideal type'. But the relevance of bureaucracy will depend on the quality of the master to whom it serves.

One of the core values of bureaucracy, as glorified by Weber is its 'neutrality' from vested interests. In this regard, Weber considered bureaucracy as an epitome of modern State, and placed a fundamental difference from feudal government, which was based on personal ties and privileges. Indeed, Weber anticipates that *"bureaucracy develops more perfectly, the more it is 'dehumanised,' the more completely it succeeds in eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotion elements"*. Nevertheless, Weber was well-aware of bureaucratic dysfunctions. To illustrate, Misra (*op.cit.*) cites that Michels was sceptical about the co-existence of bureaucracy and democracy, not to forget that Weber did suggest a number of mechanisms to limit the scope of misuse of authority, such as, collegiality, separation of powers, amateur administration, direct democracy, and representation. These mechanisms will be separately discussed in our other Course, in the Unit on Max Weber.

4.5 POST-WEBERIAN BUREAUCRATIC NARRATIVES

Although several scholars had given their appraisal on Weber's Ideal type, it is essential to understand their perspectives on bureaucracy in terms of organisational, political, and social contexts. In this regard, the following Section will focus on the following approaches, namely, Public Choice Approach and a General Theory of Bureaucracy.

- **Public Choice Approach**

Public Choice Approach (which will also be discussed in a later Unit of this Course) presents an alternative to the view that bureaucrats act as trustees of public interest. This Approach focuses on problems of control and responsiveness that is inherent in Weber's bureaucracy. The major contribution of this School was to link bureaucratic behaviour to resource optimisation and the notable thinkers in this Approach include Gordon Tullock, James M. Buchanan, William Niskanen etc. To illustrate, Niskanen (2012) while deliberating on Tullock's bureaucratic model finds its foundations based on three assumptions: (a) bureaucrats are primarily motivated by selfish pursuits; (b) public agencies are not constrained by effective competition; and (c) as the size of public sector is an unmanageable size, it is difficult to measure its performance.

Tullock asserts that the primary motivation of bureaucrats is the desire to increase their career prospects, especially, in getting oneself promoted. In pursuit of getting ahead of others, the bureaucrat maximises his attention in pleasing his/her superiors. Tullock points out that in a competitive market, merit occupies a central criterion for promotion, whereas in public sector, Tullock finds no such objective criteria for performance measurement. Consequently, he laments that the effort towards achieving organisation goals gets diluted, thus, leading to bureaucratic dysfunctions like inefficiency, inertness, inaction, corruption, rigidity etc.

One of the root causes of inefficiencies as highlighted by Tullock is their monopolistic

competition, that is, imperfect competition. Tullock adds that in an imperfect competitive environment the presence of external checks and balances to uphold law are completely absent. To put it in other words, the presence of external scrutiny ensures that no one person or department has absolute control over making decisions. Further, Meier and Krause (2003) analyse that public choice theorists strongly advocate elevating of the role of people to that of customers so that they can choose among the providers at a minimum cost. For instance, Niskanen claims that bureaucracy is preoccupied with budget maximisation and in that process tends to become monopolistic in delivering public services. Hence, he considers public service delivery as inefficient and unresponsive to citizens' preferences. Therefore, the general tone of Public Choice Approach is to decentralise government bureaucracies into agencies, which deal with each other on a user-centric basis.

● *General Theory of Bureaucracy*

Elliott Jaques, a social scientist in his Book "A General Theory of Bureaucracy", assumes bureaucratic organisation as an indispensable entity. In this Book Jaques intends to build a general theoretical construction of how social institutions and human nature influence each other with special reference to bureaucracy. Waldo (1978) points out that Jaques's views bureaucracy as a strategy to which organisation could imbibe its strengths rather than be afflicted by its dysfunctions.

Ramaswamy (1979) notes that Jaques's attempts to humanise bureaucracy and provide competitive service to the needs of the society. Based on the vast experiences gathered from Glacier Metal Project of the British Ministry of Trade, Jaques could provide a blueprint for constitutional bureaucracy. To illustrate, Jaques advocated for an interactive participation on constitutional grounds, wherein at least one source of authority at every community level vis-à-vis factories, offices, schools, government departments, hospitals, and other social institutions could engage with each other and overcome differences. In this way, he was of the view that bureaucratic power could be made more relevant and legitimate. To a large extent, Jaques believed that such exercises could lead to 'humanising bureaucracy':

i) Jaques' Classification on Competition

Jaques' classification with regard to competition has two dimensions: (a) Service-providing competition: This type of competition could be witnessed in free market societies to cater to consumer needs; (b) Labour-exploitative competition: this type of competition intends to get the cheapest labour from the existing market. Unlike labour-exploitative competition, Jaques views that service-providing competition serves the societal interests.

Needless to say, Jaques was well-aware of the discrepancies associated with the 'competition' in both capitalist and socialist systems, such as, undermining public interest (capitalist system) and the spirit of serving customer needs (socialist system) respectively. To overcome this scenario, Jaques recommends a simple solution – the state of mixed economy wherein a bureaucratic system mandated by the Rule of Law can be used as a force to check any forms of discrimination in the society. According to Jaques, the underlying idea is to liberate the humans from exploitative work, while at the same time providing quality services.

ii) Internal Organisation

In line with humanising bureaucracy, Jaques mentions about the *two* major social requirements. They are: (1) to ensure that every employee works according to his

work capacity, and (2) to ensure an equitable relationship between work and remuneration. He points out that to meet the requirements, bureaucracy is expected to delineate the criteria for individual accountability. Elliott Jaques' views that the manager-subordinate relations will be compatible if the bureaucratic structure focuses on organising these relations. For example, when the work capacity of the individual changes, they need to be relocated in the bureaucratic design so as to avoid role ambiguities.

Jaques acknowledges that no industrial society could survive in a democratic system if its bureaucracy is not rooted firmly on the principle of 'employee consensus'. He clarifies that consensus is required for organising policies and not for executive decisions. He perceives in his theory of bureaucracy that the appraisal of subordinates would be highly subjective, however, in case of any grievances, the subordinates could be provided with the provision to make an appeal to the higher-ups.

iii) Time Span Discretion

One of his Jaques' biggest contributions has been the 'time span discretion'. This is an approach to review and evaluate jobs based on the time taken for making decisions by his or her superiors. In this regard, the lower level job occupies a brief span and the job is frequently monitored, whereas at the highest level, the effectiveness of the decisions may take several years to review.

iv) Post-Weberian Perspectives

Both the above mentioned perspectives on bureaucracy enable us to have a comprehensive view on bureaucracy and make an effort to understand what motivates bureaucrats. *Firstly*, the Public Choice Approach insists on measuring performance and in fixing criteria for career prospects. Though this Approach takes weightage of merit, the critics of this Approach question the bureaucrats' tendency to maximise their self-interest over public interest.

Given the context that Public Choice Approach poses a serious problem in developing countries in terms of citizen apathy, the logic of Public Choice Theory is questionable. *Secondly*, A General Theory of Bureaucracy comes as an alternative to traditional bureaucratic system, where Jaques himself laments that "the system we have now is much more crushing to the individual". Hence, he envisions a humanising bureaucracy embedded in a democratic system. However, its relevance may have to be tested empirically in contemporary society. Ramaswamy (1979) anticipates that the validity of Jaques's theory of bureaucracy may have to be proved in a pluralistic society.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain the significance of Max Weber's Ideal type bureaucracy.

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2) What are the implications of Bureaucratic Theory?
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3) What are the assumptions of Public Choice Approach on bureaucrats?
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4) Explain Elliott Jaques' views on bureaucracy.
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4.6 THE WAY FORWARD

From the arguments that we covered in the previous sections, we can conclude that no single approach is adequate for the development of theory in bureaucracy. Bureaucracy, market, and constitutional bureaucracy are usually considered as alternatives based on the principles of hierarchy (Weber), performance measurement (Public Choice), and cooperation (A General Theory of Bureaucracy). Logically, there have been different mechanisms to achieve rationality, accountability, mobilising resources and compliance. As already indicated earlier, in pluralistic societies with diverse demands and benchmarks delivering services, it is necessary to require more complex systems that cater to citizens' needs. In retrospect, bureaucracy came as an alternative to survive in a complex system, which Weber viewed as modernisation. He regarded bureaucracy as a universal phenomenon and reiterated that a rule makes everyone clear about the outcome of any action and helps promote objectivity. It even prevents irrational action, favouritism and discrimination.

Schumpeter (1976) notes that "Bureaucracy is not an obstacle to democracy, but an inevitable complement to it". With the rise of network State, the inevitability of bureaucracy has been confirmed more than ever by the scholars. Jaques (1976) asserts that "the simplest fact is that if we decide to proceed with the development of industrialised societies, then bureaucracies on a large-scale are here to stay". As we discuss these perspectives, we need to understand the question of how effectively we could organise and fix accountability mechanisms on bureaucracies in this age of

citizen engagement. Interestingly, the more answers we find, the more questions we have. Probably, Waldo's position could be the way forward as he insists, "It hasn't been my aim to tell people what to think...I have tried, rather, to tell them how to think-specifically, of course, about public administration". Given the fact, one of the noteworthy suggestions given by Denhardt (2011) was a model of New Public Service that is based on democratic citizenship and service in tune with public interest. For Roberts (2008), this is "*the age of citizen engagement*" and confirms that "*citizen engagement is no longer hypothetical and it is real*". With the current dimension peppered by social media technologies, the way people relate to each other using citizens' surveys, panels and focus groups to voice their opinions, the interaction between government and citizens is likely to shape the wider community.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Briefly explain the nature of power-elite concept.

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2) "Bureaucracy is not an obstacle to democracy but an inevitable complement to it" Comment.

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4.7 CONCLUSION

Prior to Weber, there have been thinkers like Mill, Hegel, Marx, Michels etc., who have explored bureaucracy in relation to politics, economy and society. In the context of democracy, Mill identifies a potential role for bureaucracy in the states' progress and citizens' development. Another thinker who pointed out the structural attributes of bureaucracy as comprehensive as Weber's ideal type was Hegel. It can be construed that Weber's theory of bureaucracy is characterised by technocracy and compliance to rules, whereas Hegel's theory of bureaucratic activity is based on practical philosophy.

One of the influential thinkers who revolutionised the domain of social sciences through his power structure of society was Karl Marx. He cautioned about the inherent tendency of bureaucracy to manipulate knowledge into secrecy and competence into mystery if economically dominant class influenced the State. Indeed, Marx's

views could be used as an analytical framework to understand and assess the dysfunctions of bureaucracy in developing countries. On these lines, Michels and Mosca made attempts to study the way bureaucracy functions in the hands of politically dominant classes.

One of the core values of bureaucracy, as glorified by Weber is neutrality from vested interests. Weber advocated for a dehumanised bureaucracy on the pretext that it would deal in an impersonal and formalistic manner in their relations with others and also in the execution of their official duties. He believed that it would eliminate personal, irrational and emotional elements. However, this neutral attitude isolated bureaucracy from being human. Hence, A General Theory of Bureaucracy comes as an alternative to traditional bureaucratic system, where Jaques proposed for a humanising bureaucracy vis-à-vis community involvement, employee consensus, mixed economy. With this the content of bureaucracy deviated from Weber's legal-rational model. Public Choice thinkers strongly criticised bureaucracy for being unaccountable and irrational in making budgets.

Therefore, Public Choice recommended for measuring official performance, criteria for making promotions, and optimum utilisation of resources. In the twentieth century, the scope of both bureaucracy and civil liberties have had concurrently widened and deepened. Consequently, there have been rising networks between government-citizen-business groups, which eventually looked for an alternative in engaging citizens in every day affairs. This reoriented the focus and locus of bureaucracy towards citizens at the heart of governance vis-à-vis citizenship, civic participation and community governance.

4.8 GLOSSARY

- Heuristics** : It is an approach to problem solving to reach a solution or output within a shortest span of time. It is chosen over conventional methods as they are slow. Focus in Heuristics is on trial and error, assumption and optimality. Speed of the approach matters more in heuristic approach.
- Positivist** : It is a term that derives from Positivism, a western philosophical thought which relies on scientific knowledge and empirical evidence.
- Technocracy** : A group of elites with technical expertise.

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4.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
- Bureaucratic literature addresses two points of view about its nature.
 - The first viewpoint indicates bureaucracy as an instrument to achieve goals.
 - The second viewpoint implies that bureaucracy is an instrument of power to exert control.

- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Mill views bureaucracy as an institution of experience, skill and knowledge.
 - Mill cites that bureaucracy is the permanent strength of public service.
 - Bureaucracy should function in a neutral way.
 - Public bureaucracy is not just legitimate but essential element of good government.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Hegel upholds the role of bureaucracy as a ‘universal class’.
 - He envisions a modern bureaucracy with characteristics of merit, separation of office, hierarchy etc.
 - Hegel’s bureaucracy bears a close similarity to Max Weber views on bureaucracy.
 - Bureaucracy could serve as a new means for sustaining the Constitution.
- 4) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Marx perceived bureaucracy on the premise of reflecting the interests of economically dominant class.
 - Marx viewed bureaucracy that exhibited the repressive character of State.
 - His views on bureaucracy could be better understood in his critique on Hegel’s Philosophy.
 - Marx cautioned that bureaucracy has a tendency to be secretive and reflects a fixed attitude.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Ideal types are imaginary constructs to put things together and make it work.
 - To make sense of historical events and patterns on dominance and administration.
 - It helps us to interpret human events and experiences in an organised way.
 - It serves as an instrument to compare and measure reality.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - It helps to technically design organisations on rational lines.
 - Weber’s claim that his bureaucratic model had universal relevance.
 - Weber justified that his bureaucratic model could serve any master or any society.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Bureaucrats are primarily motivated by selfish pursuits.

- Public agencies are not constrained by effective competition.
 - As the size of public sector is unmanageable it is difficult to measure its performance.
- 4) Your answer should include the following points:
- Jaques' views on bureaucracy explores a general theoretical construction of how social institutions and human nature influence bureaucrats.
 - Humanisation of bureaucracy could be achieved through mixed economy.
 - Employee Consensus is an important principle for the internal structure of bureaucracy.
 - 'Time-span discretion' is an important contribution of Jaques to review jobs and evaluate decisions.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
- It is based on politically dominant class principle.
 - Mosca viewed that the ruling elite wields more power in the society.
 - He recommended the system of vote to reflect wider societal interests.
 - Vilfredo Pareto introduced the principle of elite circulation wherein continuous flow of ideas take place.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
- The rise of network State and social media technologies have made bureaucracies indispensable.
 - Citizens' engagement is no longer hypothetical. It is rather real.
 - New Public Service advocates the role of democratic citizenship, civic participation and community governance as inevitable.

BLOCK 2

BEHAVIOURAL, SYSTEMS AND SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

THE PEOPLE'S
UNIVERSITY

UNIT 5 HUMAN RELATIONS APPROACH*

Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Early Experiments of Mayo
- 5.3 Human Relations Studies
- 5.4 Significance of Hawthorne Studies
- 5.5 An Appraisal of Human Relations Approach
- 5.6 Conclusion
- 5.7 Glossary
- 5.8 References
- 5.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

5.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the nature of open and closed systems;
- Describe the experiments conducted by Elton Mayo;
- Bring out the significance of Hawthorne studies; and
- Analyse the achievements and failings of Human Relations Approach.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The term *Organisation*— be it government, private, non-governmental, community-based, has different connotations. Its definition varies according to the context and perspective. Chester I. Barnard defines organisation as “a system of consciously coordinated personal activities or forces of two or more persons”. An organisation is basically a structure with people working across various levels. Its framework varies depending on the form, the type of interactions the organisation has with the people, and basis of division of functions. Based on these parameters, the theorists have developed models, which are categorised as closed and open.

The closed model of organisation also termed as bureaucratic, hierarchical and formal is said to exist in a routine and stable environment. A closed model is represented by the tenets of scientific management. It has certain distinct features:

- This model of organisation is based on the principle of hierarchy.
- Specialisation of tasks – based on division of labour is the core of the closed model of organisation.

* Contributed by Prof. Uma Medury, Faculty of Public Administration, SOSS, IGNOU, New Delhi.

- Vertical interactions between people in the organisation, which are directed towards securing obedience and command.
- Emphasis is on means employed rather than on ends.

An open model of organisation is characterised by:

- A cooperative system with interactions between different parts and also with external environment.
- It focuses on the variables such as sentiments, emotions, informal norms etc.
- Emphasis is on specialised knowledge contributing to common tasks in the organisation.
- Interaction between people in the organisation across horizontal as well as vertical levels.
- Importance assigned to ends or goals rather than means.

The Classical Theory of organisation prescribed a set of pre-determined principles for organisations functioning in a hierarchical structure and in a logical and systematic manner. The main emphasis of the classical theorists has been on the structure and formal organisation. But during the 1920s, the years of Great Depression, importance began to be given to social factors at work and the behaviour of employees within an organisation.

Human Relations Theory, an outcome of the Human Relations Movement, refers to studies made to understand / analyse the effects of social relations, motivation and employee satisfaction on industrial productivity. Human Relations Approach focuses on the human aspects of the organisation, emotions, feelings, personal motivation and informal norms.

This is in contrast to the Classical Theory that laid emphasis on the structural aspects of the organisation. It brings to fore the fact that physiological or mechanical variables at work place do not contribute to increased productivity. Understanding the human psyche is very essential, which has been highlighted by the Human Relations Approach. It considered that the primacy of the organisation is to be attributed to natural human groupings, communication and leadership.

5.2 EARLY EXPERIMENTS OF MAYO

The early research conducted by Elton Mayo in 1923 in a Textile Mill near Philadelphia came to be known as the *First Enquiry*. In this, Mayo attempted to study the impact of fatigue and working conditions on production levels. He conducted work at a spinning department of a Textile Mill. This Mill provided all the facilities to the workers and yet the Mule Spinning Department of the Mill had an acute problem of labour turnover to the tune of nearly 250 per cent. Despite several incentives provided to the workers in this Department, the turnover assumed huge proportions. The financial incentives also did not provide any respite or solution to the problem.

On the basis of the study conducted, Mayo came to the conclusion that physical fatigue was the key demotivating factor for the workers that had contributed to the decrease in the industrial productivity. He experimented with giving *two* rest periods of ten minutes each, twice a day – in the morning and evening to each team of workers. This had a remarkable impact on the workers. This rest period scheme

found favour with the workers and led to gradual decline in the labour turnover, increase in production and improvement in morale. Another measure, that Mayo suggested related to the workers' earning the bonus. Under this scheme, those workers producing more than a certain percentage were to be given bonus in proportion to the extra production. Elton Mayo attempted to establish a link between the worker turnover and the emotional response of workers to the work performance. More than the monotony involved in doing the tasks, he believed that repetitive work done under conditions of isolation leads to abnormal preoccupations.

The turning point in the development of Human Relations Approach came with the well-known experiments conducted at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company near Chicago in USA between 1924 and 1932. The Hawthorne Plant had nearly 29,000 employees and it manufactured telephones, cables and transmission equipment. The studies were funded by the National Research Council of the National Academy of Science at the behest of the General Electric Company Works, the largest manufacturer of electric bulbs in the United States. The major objective was to establish the relationship between work-place lighting and individual efficiency.

5.3 HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES

During the period of two and a half years from 1924-27, a series of illumination level studies were conducted by the industrial engineers of Western Electric Company Works in Cicero, Illinois. Let us read about them now:

Great Illumination

In the first experiment, the experiments were conducted by the researchers on three different departments. Irrespective of increasing or decreasing levels of illumination, there had been increase in productivity. The illumination levels did not impact the productivity. In another study, *two* groups were formed – control and experimental. The control group continued to work with constant illumination – the level and the type with which the groups started working in the department. The experimental group was subjected to series of increasing light levels. Both the groups showed increased productivity, despite variations in illumination levels, provided to the two groups.

The researchers experimented with decreased lighting on the same groups. The control group received stable illumination, while the other experimental group got decreasing levels of illumination. Yet, both the groups steadily increased production, but finally when the experimental group got very low illumination, they protested and production decreased. The illumination experiments were gradually abandoned by the researchers and other incentives in the form of increased wage payments, rest periods, duration of working hours and so on were introduced. These also increased the production.

Later, these privileges were also withdrawn and the initial conditions were restored. This led to fall in production levels initially, but later increased to higher levels and this surprised the research team. No conclusive relationship could be established between illumination levels, incentive schemes and productivity levels. The research team concluded that increase in productivity could have been due to interest shown by the research team in the workers or retention of incentive wage plan. Mayo and his team based on the observations, further delved into a series of other experiments, investigating the factors of worker productivity.

Relay Assembly Experiments

These experiments were conducted to examine the impact of other variables on productivity. Two women were chosen as best subjects and they were asked to choose four other workers to join the test group. The two groups worked in separate rooms over a period of five years (1927-32) assembling telephone relays. It involved putting together a number of small telephone parts. The output was measured mechanically through counting the number of finished relays. They were later moved to the experiment room and there they interacted with a supervisor, who discussed changes with them and at times also put their suggestions into practice. The researchers measured the impact of different variables such as payments, breaks, refreshments, and shortening the work duration on the group and individual productivity. In general, it was observed that changing a variable increased productivity.

The researchers formed the conclusion that there were certain significant factors impacting the productivity. This included, extra attention given to the worker, having a sympathetic supervisor, and apparent interest shown towards superiors by the management. These were the main reasons contributing to higher productivity. These six individuals constituted a team and the team's participation in the experiment was wholehearted and they were working without coercion from above or limitations from below. In fact, regular medical check ups indicated no signs of cumulative fatigue and labour turnover declined by 80 per cent. Another significant observation was the innovativeness exhibited by each girl in putting the component parts of telephone relays together as they experimented with varied techniques to deal with work related monotony.

The experimental group developed a sense of responsibility and the discipline came from within the group itself. The outcome resulting from the experiment is referred to as the Hawthorne effect. It established a link between supervision, morale and productivity. The researchers hypothesised that choosing one's co-workers, working as a group, being treated as special and having a sympathetic supervisor were the actual reasons for increase in the productivity. It was interpreted that the six individuals became a team and the team gave itself wholeheartedly and spontaneously to cooperate in the experiment.

Interviewing Programme (1928-31)

Interviewing was another significant phase of the Hawthorne experiments. This was done with the basic objective of studying the human attitudes and sentiments, and their relationship to the productivity. The illumination experiment and relay assembly test room studies conducted brought to fore the form of supervision as a contributory factor to the worker's level of production. In order to gauge workers' feelings towards general working conditions and supervisors, a large interviewing programme was undertaken, wherein nearly 20,000 workers were interviewed. Initially, the workers were asked a specific set of questions by the interviewers. But this method did not yield many results as the workers' responses to the questions were vague and subjective and considered irrelevant. It was perceived that the workers intended to discuss issues other than mere supervision and working conditions. Hence, the style of interviewing was modified to a non-directive and open ended form with no set list of questions and workers were given the freedom to discuss about any aspect of their work. The approach of the interviewers was quite friendly and sympathetic. It was also impartial and non-judgmental.

This methodology was quite successful as the workers' true feelings and attitudes could be assessed by the researchers. They could secure information not just about supervision and working conditions but also about the company itself, its management, families and society in general. This also provided an opportunity to the workers to come out openly and freely express their feelings and problems and be able to "let off steam" in a friendly atmosphere. This experiment was significant in the following aspects:

- The workers being treated on par with the management in soliciting their views about the problems of the company.
- The significance given to human attitudes and sentiments, as these play an important role in work situation.
- Change in the attitude of the supervisor too, as their feelings were being observed by the research team; and
- The significance of informal social forces at work place, which makes an organisation not just an economic and technological structure, but also "an intricate web of human relations bound together by a system of sentiments".

Bank Wiring Observation Room

This was the last study undertaken by Elton Mayo and his team in Western Electric Company to observe a group of 14 people performing a task in a bank wiring room. It was observed that they formed their own informal organisation with sub-groups of cliques, and with natural leaders emerging with the consent of the members. In this experiment, wages were paid on the basis of a group incentive plan and each member got his share on the basis of the total output of the group. Despite a financial incentive scheme, where the workers would be receiving more money with more work produced, they decided on a level of output well below the level they were capable of producing. It emerged that:

- The output was restricted; the group had a standard for output, which was respected by the individuals in the group.
- The group was indifferent to the employer's financial incentive scheme.
- The group had developed a code of behaviour of its own based on solidarity in opposition to the management; and
- The output was determined by informal social groups rather than by the management.

Elton Mayo on the basis of these Hawthorne Experiments opined that workers had been unable to find suitable outlets for expressing their personal problems and dissatisfactions in the work life. The basic answer to industrial problems resided not in technical efficiency, but taking into cognisance the human feelings, social attitudes and sentiments. Mayo's experiments brought out that informal approaches and groups with base in human emotions, sentiments and interactions play a very important role. The management should strive for establishing equilibrium between the technical and human organisations and develop skills in handling human relations and situations. These can take the form of developing skills in understanding human behaviour and inter-personal skills in counselling, motivating, leading and communicating.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit.

1) Examine the experiments conducted at Western Electric Company Works, Illinois.

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5.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF HAWTHORNE STUDIES

The Human Relations Approach, which grew out of the Hawthorne Experiments emphasised the emotional aspects in human behaviour. The research conducted, had shown the impact of groups on the behaviour of individuals at work. These studies brought out that work satisfaction depended, to a large extent, on the informal social pattern of the work group. The feeling of ‘being important’, once instilled amongst the workers and norms of co-operation and higher output are established, the physical conditions or financial incentives have little motivational value. People’s work performance, he concluded, is dependent on both social issues and job context. Elton Mayo, later, after a period of reflection, concluded that:

- Job satisfaction increased as workers were given more freedom to determine the conditions of their working environment and to set their own standards of output.
- Intensified interaction and co-operation created a high level of group cohesion.
- Job satisfaction and output depended more on co-operation and a feeling of worth than on physical working conditions.

The most important discovery of the Hawthorne Experiments has been the strong need amongst the workers to co-operate and communicate with the fellow workers. The basic tenets of Human Relations Theory emanating from Elton Mayo’s experiments are:

- Individual workers cannot be treated in isolation. Since they are basically social beings, they should be seen and understood as members of a group.
- Informal groups formed at work have a strong influence on the behaviour of workers in a group.
- Productivity, to a large extent, is influenced by social and psychological factors rather than by physical work conditions.
- Conditions within the organisation exercise strong social controls over the work habits and attitudes of the individual worker; and
- Managers must be aware of the social needs and cater to them in order to ensure that employees collaborate with the official organisation rather than work against it. A good manager is one who is able to blend technical expertise with social capabilities.

The Hawthorne experiments were the bases of the emotional and intellectual well-being of the organisational behaviour perspective and modern theories of motivation. The experiments showed that complex, interactional variables such as attention paid to the workers as individuals, workers' control over their own work, difference between individuals' needs, management's willingness to listen, group norms and direct feedback play an important role in motivating people in organisations.

Elton Mayo concluded that at work, the worker-management adversarial relationship stemmed from workers' misunderstanding and distrust of management. Management contributed to this situation by giving attention only to economic efficiency rather than social cohesion. Hence, workers felt alienated. A clash between worker's 'logic of sentiment' and manager's 'logic of cost and efficiency' could lead to conflict within an organisation. People's work performance is dependent on both social issues and job content. It is the responsibility of management, according to Mayo, to align workers' interest with the organisation, and also acquire the necessary social skills to secure workers' participation.

5.5 AN APPRAISAL OF HUMAN RELATIONS APPROACH

The Hawthorne studies, the most acclaimed management research, which formed the basis of Human Relations Theory have been subjected to criticism by several scholars. These relate to the following aspects:

- The Hawthorne experiments have been questioned on the methodological basis. Carey (1967) has viewed the studies as scientifically worthless. Several scholars have identified some of its methodological limitations such as theoretical constraints, situational bias and paucity of evidence regarding worker's home life etc.
- In terms of research methodology, several scholars including Carey have opened that the sample of five to six women chosen for the experiments cannot be considered a reliable sample to make generalisations. For example, Briefs (1940) has questioned the external validity of the sample as the women formed relationships that they might not have formed if the sample size had been larger. Moore's (1947) observation related to non- inclusion of African-Americans in the study, though some consider that the large-scale migration of African – Americans to the north of USA had taken place during the later years.
- It is also said that the Human Relationists did not sufficiently appreciate the complexity of the nature of human beings and their relationship to work environment. These experiments were conducted under controlled situations and the workers were fully aware throughout the period that they were being observed.
- The Hawthorne studies did not take cognisance of the impact of technological factors in enhancing productivity.
- The emphasis was more on group decision making and did not give importance to individual decision making.
- Amitai Etzoini has observed that Human Relations theorists tended to devote more attention to informal relations among workers and between workers and supervisors, but little to formal ones.
- Human motivation is multi-dimensional and Human Relations theorists, it is said, could not explore this phenomena in totality.

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- Marxists considered Mayo's methodologies as techniques to exploit workers because they did not lay emphasis on the economic factors in organisation.
- Carey (*op.cit.*) opined that material and especially the financial rewards have been the principal influence on the worker's morale and behaviour. He considered that incentives that were provided to the workers led to increase in productivity.
- Eminent sociologist Daniel Bell criticised Mayo and other industrial sociologists for adjusting "men to machines rather than enlarging human capacity or human freedom". He termed the work of Elton Mayo and the Human Relations School as 'Cow Sociology' as it aimed to make the workers content and satisfied so that they could produce more. The United Automobile Workers' (UAW) publication 'Ammunition'(1949) labeled the Hawthorne researchers as 'Cow Sociologists' – as according to them, contented cows gave more milk. Bell focused on the exclusion of union workers in the studies. Loren Baritz has also criticised the Human Relations Theory as being pro-management and anti-unionist.
- Contemporary scholars noted that economic benefits perhaps motivated the Hawthorne workers more than the social benefits (Vitels, 1941). According to another critic (Roy, 1952), workers did not care about money, because the workers whom Mayo studied, functioned like 'calculating machines' in determining output and daily pay.
- The harshest of the critics had been Grodzine (1951), who argued that the Hawthorne studies encouraged manipulative techniques that were designed to keep workers under control. The concept developed by applied scientists including Human Relationists did not add any worth to humanity.
- Few critics considered that the underlying assumptions of conflict-free State, worker contentment were utopian and not practical. Tensions and conflicts in organisations are inevitable and there is a need for healthy outlets to enable the employees air their problems.
- Human Relations Approach has been challenged and extended later by scholars by classifying different group behaviour into different types. Sayles (1958) looked at 300 work groups in 30 plants in the United States through interviews, observation and found that group cohesion and behaviour depended on technology and work organisation rather than by management abilities. He categorised group behaviour into *four* categories apathetic, erratic, strategic and conservative.
- Despite varying viewpoints regarding the authenticity and interpretation of Hawthorne experiments, they could be considered a turning point in management thinking. It generated new ideas regarding work groups, informal organisation, motivation and so on. It has been a significant milestone in providing insight into human behaviour at work and has laid a strong base for the development of organisation behaviour. It brought to fore the significance of humanising the work organisation. It gave primacy to groups, group values and norms in influencing individuals' behaviour at work. It emphasised the importance of wider social needs to individuals and work organisation as a social organisation.
- The Human Relations Approach propagated by Elton Mayo paved the way for generation of new ideas on group relationships and leadership styles. The subsequent theorists such as Abraham Maslow, Fredrick Herzberg, Douglas McGregor examined the factors affecting the motivation of individuals working in organisation. This is considered as 'Neo-Human Relations'. Abraham Maslow's

work (1943) presents a theoretical framework of individual personality development and motivation based on a hierarchy of needs. Maslow's fivefold classification of needs – physiological, safety, social, esteem and self-actualisation acts as a link with the earlier propagated Human Relations Theory.

- Later, Herzberg put forth *two* different sets of factors affecting motivation – namely hygiene and growth factors. He was of the view that proper attention needed to be given to growth factors in the organisation to motivate the employees to give their best. Mayo's discrediting of '*rabble hypothesis*', which considered individuals as pursuing only self-interest, was picked up for further expansion as Theory X and Theory Y by Douglas McGregor, who made certain assumptions about people and work, which had wider implications for leadership and management. He suggested that the links between organisational design, motivation and productivity which were more complex than initially thought of by Mayo. His ideas on emergence of informal organisation have been further researched by Chris Argyris and other management thinkers. The major contributors to Neo-Human Relations theory include Rensis Likert, McClelland and Chris Argyris. It generated new ideas about organisation structuring, group dynamics, job satisfaction, communication and leadership styles. The views of Maslow and Herzberg and McGregor as well as Argyris will be discussed in a later Unit of this Course.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Bring out the significance of Hawthorne studies.

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2) Critically evaluate the Human Relations Approach.

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5.6 GLOSSARY

Cow Sociologists

: Sociologist Daniel Bell criticised Hawthorne Experiments of Elton Mayo as they meant to link production with work satisfaction in a way cows are kept satisfied to increase their milk production. He called the work of Elton Mayo

and Human Relations ‘Cow Sociology’ for making workers content and satisfied so that they could produce more.

The Great Depression

: It was an acute Economic Depression spread globally in the 1930s. It was the longest, deepest and widely spread Depression of the 20th century. The cause was major fall in stock price that began in the United States in September 1929. The Gross Domestic Produce (GDP) fell by 15 per cent. Cities around the world were hit hard. Primary sector industries were affected most severely.

5.7 CONCLUSION

In this Unit, we read about the genesis of Human Relations Approach. We described all the experiments of Elton Mayo and critically appraised his contribution to Human Relations Approach. The conclusions drawn by Mayo from the Hawthorne studies marked the emergence of an important management style contributing to industrial productivity, the inter-personal skills being as important as monetary incentives and focus on a more humanistic approach as a means of satisfying the organisation’s economic needs and social skills.

The Human Relations Approach, the foundation of which was laid several decades ago, is more relevant in contemporary times, as the significance of team work, motivation, and leadership have assumed prominence. In present times too, as we see in multinational companies, the concepts of team work, incentives, group work have a positive impact on the organisation. The current perspectives on organisational working focus on the importance of needs and values of people and their integration with the goals of the organisation. This Unit described all the major endeavours in Human Relations Movement and critically appraised them.

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5.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1) Your answer should include the following points:

- Great Illumination.
- Relay Assembly.
- Interviewing Programme.
- Bank Wiring Observation Room.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Your answer should include the following points:

- Job satisfaction increased as workers were given more freedom to determine their working conditions and to set their given standards of output.
- Intensified interaction and cooperation created a high level of group cohesion.
- Job satisfaction and output depended more on cooperation and a feeling of worth rather than physical working conditions.

2) Your answer should include the following points:

- Methodological basis of Hawthorne has been criticised.
- Human Relationists did not appreciate the complexity of the native of human beings and their relationship to work environment.
- Hawthorne studies did not take cognisance of the impact of technological factors in enhancing productivity.
- Human phenomena was not considered in totality.

UNIT 6 DECISION MAKING APPROACH

Structure

- 6.1 Objectives
- 6.2 Introduction
- 6.3 Meaning of Decision Making Approach
- 6.4 Types of Decisions
- 6.5 Decision Making Process
- 6.6 Models of Decision Making
 - 6.6.1 Simon's Bounded Rationality Model
 - 6.6.2 Lindblom's Incremental Model
 - 6.6.3 Etzioni's Mixed Scanning Model
 - 6.6.4 Dror's Optimal Model
 - 6.6.5 Cohen, March and Olsen: Garbage Can Model
- 6.7 Conclusion
- 6.8 Glossary
- 6.9 References
- 6.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

6.1 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the meaning of Decision Making Approach;
- Describe the different types of decisions;
- Examine the process of Decision Making; and
- Discuss the various models of Decision Making.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Decision Making is considered an important process in any organisation. The nature of an organisation is determined by the kinds of decisions taken in it. This applies to a government organisation as well. Thus, in the discipline of Public Administration too, Decision Making Approach is of great relevance, as this Approach provides useful inferences that can facilitate administrative or policy decisions. According to Webster Dictionary, decision is "the act of determining in one's own mind upon an opinion or course of action". Decision Making is thus about the process of arriving at an optimal solution by exploring various alternative choices.

The scholars in management and public administration have been involved in various aspects of Decision Making and they have made their respective contributions to the approach of Decision Making. In this Unit, we will introduce you to the various components of Decision Making. In the first place, the way Decision Making is

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defined in the works of various scholars will be discussed. The Unit will then also reflect on the types, characteristics and process of Decision Making Approach. It will further explore the various models of Decision Making Approach to public administration. In particular, it will delve into the Bounded Rationality Model put forward by Herbert Simon and will further discuss the other models of Decision Making Approach.

6.3 MEANING OF DECISION MAKING APPROACH

Different scholars have defined the term ‘Decision Making’ in different ways. In general, ‘decision making’ is not an end part of any activity, but it is a means of achieving organisational goals. Chester Barnard is the pioneer in Decision Making Approach and he considers decision making as an ‘essential process of organisational action’. Felix A. Nigro has observed that “What really takes place in an organisation cannot be understood if one does not know what kinds of decisions are made, who participates in making them, and what their exact role is”. It is a collective activity in which its objective is problem solving. Robert Tannenbaum has claimed that Decision Making “involves a conscious choice or selection of one behaviour alternative from among a group of two or more behaviour alternatives”. According to Wasby, “Decision Making is defined as a process or sequence of activities involving stages of problem recognition, search for information, definition of alternatives, and the selection by an actor(s) of one from two or more alternatives consistent with the ranked preferences”.

Herbert Simon is an important scholar in the field of ‘Decision Making’ and he regards Decision Making Approach as an alternative to the Classical Principle Approach. He considers the principles of administration as ‘proverbs’ and in that place he recommends Decision Making Approach. Simon, in his book *Administrative Behaviour*, highlights that “decision making is the heart of administration, and that the vocabulary of administrative theory must be derived from the logic and psychology of human choice”. He further argues that ‘Decision Making’ is the core of administrative action and views organisation as a structure of decision makers.

The Approach of Decision Making gained popularity during the 1940s and it deals with the process of choice which leads to action. According to Seckler-Hudson (1957) “Decision-making in the government is a plural activity. One individual may pronounce the decision, but many contribute to the process of reaching the decision. It is a part of the political system”. In arriving at a decision, Hudson states that certain factors should be considered, which include legal limitations, budget, facts, history, internal morale, future as anticipated, superiors, pressure groups, staff, nature of programme and subordinates. The need for taking decisions arises when there are several alternatives or courses of action open to an individual. But one has to choose only one alternative through the process of elimination. Rationality of human beings lies in selecting such an alternative, which can produce maximum positive results and minimum negative results.

From the various definitions, we can understand that the essence of ‘Decision Making’ is arriving at a solution from various alternatives irrespective of whether a decision is made in an organisation, administrative unit, government set up or even policy making. At the superficial level, ‘policy’ and ‘decisions’ seem to be interrelated to each other, but their characteristics are different. According to Sapru (2017), “policy making does involve decision-making, but a decision does not necessarily constitute a policy.

Decision Making often involves an identification of a problem, a careful analysis of possible alternatives and a selection of one alternative for action. Generally, decisions are taken by the administrators in their day-to-day work within the framework of the policy”. Terry (1956) argues that, “a decision is usually made within the guidelines established by policy. A policy is relatively extensive, affects many problems, and is used again and again. In contrast, a decision is applied to a particular problem and has a non-continuous type of usage.” Thus, the nature of ‘Decision Making’ is a dynamic one, which has the potential to change the environment of the organisation.

6.4 TYPES OF DECISIONS

These scholars have classified the decisions into various types, which we will discuss now:

Programmed and Non-programmed Decisions

Herbert Simon (1997) has made the distinction between programmed and non-programmed decisions. He expresses that “decisions are programmed to the extent that they are repetitive and routine, to the extent that a definite procedure has worked out for handling them so that they don’t have to be treated from scratch each time they occur”. In programmed decisions, habits, skills and knowledge about the problem is important. In such decisions, mathematical models and computer can help the decision makers to arrive at rational decisions. For instance, in an organisation, dealing with financial rules, human resources, etc., are routine activities, which keep occurring in an organisation. If a set of procedure is worked out to deal with the same, then the issue of pay rolls, attendance of employees, etc., can be easily decided with the help of computer and procedures in place. On the other hand, non-programmed decisions are made to deal with affairs that are “novel, unstructured and unusually consequential”. No cut-and-try methods would be available and each question or issue has to be dealt with separately. Training in skills relevant to the job and innovative ability become relevant and important to develop capacity to take proper and relevant decisions. For instance, an organisation may face financial crisis, due to a change in the approach of government. Such issues are new challenges for an organisation and a novel thinking is needed to arrive at a decision that protects the welfare of the organisation. The following Table brings out the traditional and modern techniques of programmed and non-programmed decisions:

Types of Decisions	Decision Making Techniques	
	Traditional	Modern
Programmed (Repetitive and routine in character. Standard procedure is developed to implement these decisions).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implementing by habit. • Adapting standard operating procedure routine to be carried out by office people. • Imbided in organisational structure in the form of sub-goals, well-defined information channels, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Operations Research: Developing mathematical models, computer simulation etc. • Electronic Data Processing (EDP).
Non-programmed (Non-routine, Ill-structured problems, computer assisted decision making, operations research, systems analysis).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Judgement, intuition and creativity. • Rule of thumb. • Selection and training of executives. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training decision-makers in heuristic problem-solving techniques. • Developing heuristic computer programmes.

Source: Certo & Certo , 2015.

Organisational and Personal Decisions

Chester Barnard (1966) has classified the decisions into *two* types viz., organisational and personal decisions. He has argued that “personal decisions cannot ordinarily be delegated to others, whereas organisational decisions can often, if not always, be delegated”. Organisational decisions are made to achieve the organisational objectives, which can be delegated to levels, from top to bottom. While personal decisions are taken by an individual for him/her, which cannot affect the organisations directly or indirectly.

Generic and Unique Decisions

The classification of generic and unique decisions was enumerated by Peter Drucker in his Article “*The Effective Decision*” (1967). Generic decisions are like programmed decisions in which reflections are made on the past situations and the decision that was taken in the past gets repeated. Likewise, unique decisions are related to non-programmed decisions in which new decisions are taken to resolve individually because they are unprecedented.

Routine and Strategic Decisions

Routine and strategic decisions can also be related to the programmed and non-programmed or generic and unique decisions, respectively. Routine decisions are generally taken for day-to-day operations of the organisation and the routine decisions are made based on the pre-established rules, procedures and policies of an organisation. Such decisions are not dynamic in nature and it cannot affect the organisation. Since these decisions are routine in nature, the decision making power is delegated to the middle and the lower level personnel. On the other hand, strategic decisions are critical for an organisation, as such decisions mostly deal with the organisational objectives, goals, budget and imperative policy matters. The nature of the decision is non-routine or non-repetitive and it can be made through an analysis of various alternatives. Since decision of this nature can have a direct impact on the sustenance of the organisation, such decisions are taken by top-level management only (Fadia & Fadia, 2012).

Policy and Operating Decisions

Another kind of classification is policy and operating decisions and this category of decisions can again be related to the strategic and routine decisions. Policy decisions are directly related to the policy matters of the organisation and such decisions are made by top level management only. These decisions will have their effect on the whole structure of the organisation. On the other hand, operating decisions are routine decisions of the organisation, which are taken to implement the policy matters of the organisation. The decision of this kind is taken by people at the lower level of management and such decisions are also called as tactical decisions (*Ibid.*).

6.5 DECISION MAKING PROCESS

There are various steps that are involved in the decision making process, which are logical and systematic. The steps involved in a decision making process include: defining the problem, finding alternatives, selecting the alternatives and getting feedback, and finalising one alternative. Terry (1956) has formulated the *key steps* in decision making process, which include:

- Determine the problem.

**Behavioural, Systems and
Socio-Psychological
Perspectives**

- Acquire general background information and viewpoints about the problem.
- State what appears to be the best course of action.
- Investigate the proposition and tentative decisions.
- Evaluate tentative decisions.
- Make the decision and put it to effect; and
- Institute follow-up and, if necessary, modify decision in the light of results obtained.

Simon and March (1960) assert that there are *four* set of activities, which are important for a decision making process, which includes:

- 1) **Intelligence Activity**, which is the initial phase of the decision making process and it begins with the identification of problem to be solved. It is finding occasions calling for an action.
- 2) **Design Activity** is identifying, developing and analysing possible courses of action.
- 3) **Choice Activity** is selecting particular course of action from those available.
- 4) **Evaluating Activity** is evaluating past choices to compare programmed and non-programmed decision making in the organisation.

While the first *three* processes in decision making were stipulated by Simon, the *fourth* process, namely, ‘evaluating activity’, was added later, in the collaborative work of James G. March and Simon. The above *four* activities are continuous and cyclic in nature. On the whole, it can be summed up that the decision making process in itself is a complex exercise and as asserted by Simon, it involves technical and political determinants. In the process of decision making, each stage is important in arriving at the final decision.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) What do you understand by decision making?

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2) Bring out the difference between programmed and non-programmed decisions.

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3) Explain the decision making process.

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6.6 MODELS OF DECISION MAKING

There are various models of decision making. Almost all the models highlight the importance of rationality of individual or the organisation that is involved in making a decision. Other set of models stress on the importance of arriving at a decision in an incremental manner. Some of the important *models* of decision making as put forward by key scholars are as follows:

6.6.1 Simon’s Bounded Rationality Model

Herbert Simon’s work on “*Administrative Behaviour*”(1957) is the seminal work in the field of decision making. He believed that the rationality model in decision making is non-realistic and its principles are non-attainable. His idea of organisation is a *real* one and not an *ideal* one. He emphasised that all Decision Making should be based on rational choices. According to him, rationality is “concerned with the selection of preferred behaviour alternatives in terms of some system of values whereby the consequences of behaviour can be evaluated”. This requires that firstly, the decision maker should have knowledge about all available alternatives. Secondly, the decision maker should also be able to anticipate the consequences of each of the alternatives. He has classified rationality into various types in which the decision should be:

- Objectively Rational : it is correct behaviour for maximising given values in a given situation.
- Subjectively Rational : the decision maximises attainment relative to knowledge of the subject.
- Consciously Rational : adjustment of means to ends is a conscious process.
- Deliberately Rational : adjustment of means to ends has been deliberately brought about.
- Organisationally Rational : oriented to the organisational goals; and
- Personally Rational: directed at the individual goals.

Simon rejected the concept of total rationality (Economic Man) as it is based on totally unrealistic assumptions. To put it in simple terms, an individual cannot have complete knowledge on all aspects of an issue in order to know every alternative to arrive at a decision. On the contrary, total rationality is based on the belief that decision makers are omniscient (all knowing) and have knowledge about all available alternatives as well as their consequences. Secondly, the assumption is that the decision maker has unlimited computational ability. *Finally*, it believes that the decision maker has the capacity to put in order all the possible consequences. These assumptions,

Simon has observed, are fundamentally wrong. There are several limitations in the decision makers in terms of skills, habits, values and conception of purpose as well as the extent of knowledge relevant to this job. Therefore, it is to be understood that an organisation cannot have total rationality in making a decision and thus, the limitation in human beings to act with complete rationality should be accepted, and thus the decision made is based on the bounded rationality of people in an organisation.

While discussing the concept of ‘bounded rationality,’ Simon also developed the concept of ‘satisficing’. The term *satisficing* is derived from the words satisfaction and sufficing. Satisficing decision “allows a problem solver to achieve his or her main goals, but the process does not involve a comprehensive analysis of all possibilities and outcomes nor does it require perfect information”. Since total rationality is inconceivable, the executive ‘satisfices’ with a good enough choice. The decision maker tries to arrive at either optimal or fairly good solutions, without feeling the need to explore all possible alternatives. The following factors are responsible for bounded rationality leading to *satisficing* decisions which include:

- Dynamic nature of organisational objectives.
- Imperfect information as well as limited capacity to process the available information.
- Time and cost constraints.
- Environmental forces or external factors.
- Decision-maker may not be aware of all the possible alternatives available and their consequences.
- Personal factors like preconceived notions, habits, etc.; and
- Organisational factors like procedures, rules, channels of communication, and so on.

Based on the above factors, Simon proposed a new notion called ‘administrative man’ which is against the earlier notion of ‘economic man’. Administrative man is concerned about taking ‘satisficing’ decisions, while the economic man is concerned about ‘maximising decisions’.

6.6.2 Lindblom’s Incremental Model

Charles E. Lindblom in his Article “*The Science of Muddling Through*” (1959) had advocated the concept of ‘Incremental Model’ of decision making. Incremental Model is completely critical and against Simon’s “rational model”. His argument is that the actual process of decision making is entirely different from the theoretical one. According to Lindblom, Incremental Model of decision making process involves “continuously building out from the current situation, step-by-step and by small degrees”. In the context of public administration or policy studies, Incrementalism means continuing the existing programmes and policies with little modification. Further, Lindblom observes that the past activities and experiences are used by the decision makers to make future decisions. It is also known as ‘branch technique’ or ‘model of successive limited comparisons’ or ‘step-by-step decision-making’ model.

Characteristics of Incremental Model

The characteristic features of Incremental Model, as highlighted by Sapru (*op.cit.*) are as follows:

- It proceeds through a succession of incremental changes. Policy-makers accept the legitimacy of existing policies because of the uncertainty about the consequences of new or different policies.
- It involves mutual adjustment and negotiation. The test of a good decision is agreement rather than goal achievement. Agreement is arrived at very easily in policy-making, when the item in dispute increases or decreases in budgets, or modifications to existing programmes. Thus, Incrementalism is significant in reducing political tension and maintains stability.
- It involves trial and error method. It is superior to a ‘futile attempt at superhuman comprehensiveness’. Human beings rarely act to maximise all their values; rather they act to satisfy particular demands. They seldom search for ‘one best way’, but instead, search to find ‘a way that will work’. This search usually begins with the familiar-that is, with policy options close to contemporary policies.
- Policy is not made once for all. As Jan-Erik-Lane puts it, “Incrementalism is thus more satisfactory from a theoretical point of view as it scores high on criteria like coherence and simplicity”

Lindblom has argued that the Incremental Model is better than Rationality Model in terms of simplifying the alternatives, dealing with multiple and conflicting objectives and further the decisions under this Model are reflective of the real world. But other scholars have criticised this Model stating it as an over-simplified Model as it can work only for continuous policies and programmes and not for war-like situations.

6.6.3 Etzioni’s Mixed Scanning Model

Amitai Etzioni in his paper “*Mixed Scanning: A Third Approach to Decision-Making*” (1967) had advocated the Mixed Scanning Model. Etzioni criticized certain aspects of Rational Model and Incremental Model and thus ‘Mixed Scanning Model’ is the result of combination of certain elements of rational and incremental models’. It tries to combine the rationality of “high-order, fundamental policy-making processes, which set basic directions, and incremental ones which prepare for fundamental decisions and work them out after they have been reached”. According to Etzioni, Mixed Scanning is “a rationalistic approach to decision-making, which requires greater resources that decision-maker commands. The incremental strategy which takes into account the limited capacity of actors, fosters decisions which neglect basic societal innovations. Mixed Scanning reduces the unrealistic aspects of rationalism by limiting the details required in fundamental decisions and helps to overcome the conservative slant of incrementalism by exploring long-run alternatives”.

Thus, Etzioni has observed that, Mixed Scanning Model is a description of the reality of decision making strategies and it is also a model for better decision making. It recognizes that decision makers have to consider the costs of knowledge, because not everything can be scanned. Hence, while deciding on a policy, endeavour should be to scan key areas fully and rationalistically, and other areas can be looked at in a more truncated view.

6.6.4 Dror’s Optimal Model

Dror in his Book “*Public Policy-making Re-examined*”(1989) advocated the optimum model of policy-making. He rejected the idea of Incrementalist Approach and suggested alternatives to the rational and Incrementalist Models. Dror claims that Optimal Model is a superior model to all the other existing models, which is a

combination of economically rational model and extra-rational models. The following are the characteristics of Optimal Model:

- It is qualitative not quantitative.
- It contains both rational and extra-rational elements.
- It is basic rational to economically rational.
- It is concerned with meta policy-making.
- It has much built-in feedback.

The major objective of Dror (1989) was to increase the rational content of government and to build into his model, the 'extra-rational dimensions' of decision making, which is called as normative optimalism. He believed that this modified form of Rational Model will move policy-making in a more rational oriented form. Further, he acknowledges that in policy analysis, there is a realm of extra-rational understanding based on tacit knowledge and personal experience.

The Optimal Model has been classified into three phases viz., metapolicy-making, policy-making and post-policy-making. These three phases contain 18 stages of rational and extra-rational aspects.

i) Meta-Policy-Making Stage

Meta-policy-making is a stage that comes, even before a policy is formulated. This is a preparatory stage in which measures are taken to understand various aspects related to the policy, which is to be formulated and there are about 7 stages in it which include :

- Processing values.
- Processing reality.
- Processing problems.
- Surveying, processing, and developing resources.
- Designing, evaluating and redesigning the policy-making system.
- Allocating problems, values and resources.
- Determining policy-making strategy (*Ibid.*).

ii) Policy-Making Stage

In the second phase, the policy is actually formulated, which again involves about *seven* stages. In this phase, the resources are sub-allocated for the various processes under policy in hand, and it further involves actual designing of the policy, right from setting the goals, analysing the costs and benefits of various alternatives and thus finally arriving at the best alternatives. The different stages in this phase are as follows:

- Sub-allocating resources.
- Establishing operational goals, with some order of priority.
- Establishing a set of their significant values, with some order of priority.
- Preparing a set of major alternative policies, including some 'good ones'.

- Preparing reliable predictions of the significant benefits and costs of the various alternatives.
- Comparing the predicted benefits and costs of the various alternatives and identifying the ‘best’ ones.
- Evaluating the benefits and costs of the ‘best’ alternatives and deciding whether they are ‘good’ or not (*Ibid.*).

iii) Post-Policy-Making Stage

This is the final phase, in which the policy which is formulated is floated around and it again involves various stages right from deciding on how the policy should be executed, actual process of execution, evaluating the after-effects of executing it and finally taking corrective measures by reflecting on the feedback received in strengthening the policies. The stages involved in the third phase are as follows:

- Motivating the execution of policy.
- Executing the policy.
- Evaluating policy-making after executing the policy.
- Communication and feedback channels interconnecting all phases (*Ibid.*).

The best example that can be given for Dror’s model of policy making is the New Education Policy which is getting drafted from 2015 onwards. Before the policy could be formulated, in the Meta-policy making stage, various processes were involved, in which there were various consultations with different groups, academia, NGOs, activists, common people, etc., from which their opinion was sought on what is needed for a new education policy. It also involved various stages. In the second phase of policy making, the core committee of the education policy drafted the education policy. Currently, the Education Policy is in the final stage of policy making in which the draft policy was floated around in the public domain and it received feedback in various forms, both positive and negative. Currently, it is in a stage, where the feedback of the public is worked upon to bring it to a final shape. The above 18 stages of Dror are the combination of core elements of the Rational Model with extra-rational factors. Dror’s view of Decision Making is thus to improve the rational content of the government.

6.6.5 Cohen, March and Olsen: Garbage Can Model

Michael Cohen, James March and Johan Olsen (1972) formulated the ‘garbage can model’ of decision making in which the focus was on organisational decision-making. This approach described the behaviour of institutions as ‘organised anarchies’. This approach is considered realistic as it has the capability of producing reactive decisions instead of proactive decisions. It was borrowed from rational comprehensive and incrementalist models of decision making. According to the Garbage Can Model, an “organisation is a collection of choices looking for problems, issues and feelings, looking for decision situations, in which they might be aired, solutions looking for issues to which they might be the answer, and decision makers looking for work”. The problems, solutions, decision participants and choice opportunities are the major streams of this model, in which choice opportunities are considered as ‘Garbage Can’.

This Model, does not consider Decision Making as a sequence of activities that begins with a problem and ends with a solution. In Garbage Can Model, there are

three streams—problems, solutions and participants and in this Model “there are solutions searching for problems and participants floating about looking for a way to participate in putting together these problems and solutions.” Thus, in this Model, all the streams, viz., problems, solutions and decision participants are mixed together. Instead of identifying the problems, these participants can decide which problems to address and which solutions are to select. However, this Model has been criticized as an irrational model of decision making.

Check Your Progress 2

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) What do you mean by Bounded Rationality?

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2) Discuss the Dror’s Optimal Model.

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3) Bring out the difference between Bounded Rationality and Incrementalism.

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6.7 CONCLUSION

Decision Making is an important dimension in the field of administration. Based on the above narration given by Herbert Simon and other scholars, it can be understood that decision making is the heart of any administration or any other social group. Decision Making is nothing but choosing alternatives from one or more alternatives rationally. This Unit introduced us to the meaning, types and process of decision making. In particular, this Unit gave special importance to Simon’s work on ‘Bounded Rationality’. The Unit also elaborated the various models of decision making. On the whole, the Unit covered the key aspects of decision making, in which apart from

knowing how to make a decision, inference is also made on the different stages in decision making and the process in which a decision is made.

6.8 GLOSSARY

- Bounded Rationality** : Herbert Simon is the proponent of Bounded Rationality. The capacity of the human mind for formulating and solving complex problems is very small compared with the size of the problems whose solution is required for objectively rational behaviour in the real world- or even for a reasonable approximation to such objective rationality.
- Economic Man** : The other name of rational decision maker is Economic Man. It represents the objective rationality in an ideal model.
- Satisficing** : Accepting a satisfactory and sufficient amount of information upon which to base a decision. Herbert Simon coined this word to help explain his theory of Bounded Rationality or limited rationality.

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6.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Decision making got momentum in the late 1940s and it was popularised by Herbert A. Simon.
 - Decision making is a process of arriving at an optimal solution by exploring various alternative choices.
 - Various authors' views on Decision Making Approach.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Types of decisions and their nature.
 - Traditional and modern techniques, programmed and non-programmed decisions.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Terry's views on Decision Making process.
 - Simon's views on Intelligence, Design and Choice activities.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - The term 'Bounded Rationality' was coined by Simon.
 - How is it different from Rational Classic Model.
 - Discussions on Administrative Man and Economic Man.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:

- Dror has rejected the idea of Incrementalist Approach and suggested the alternatives to the Rational and Incrementalist Models.
 - He has classified the Optimal Model into 3 types.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
- Lindblom's Incremental Model is completely critical and against Simon's "rational model". His argument is that the actual process of Decision Making is entirely different from the theoretical one, i.e, Bounded Rationality.
 - The Incremental Model is better than Rationality Model in terms of simplifying the alternatives, dealing with multiple and conflicting objectives, and further the decisions under this Model are reflective of the real world.



UNIT 7 SYSTEMS AND SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES*

Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 The Systems Approach: An Overview
- 7.3 Organisation as a System
- 7.4 The Systems Approach: Views of Chester Barnard
- 7.5 Socio-psychological Approach
- 7.6 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory
- 7.7 Douglas McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y
- 7.8 Herzberg's Two Factor Theory
- 7.9 Conclusion
- 7.10 Glossary
- 7.11 References
- 7.12 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

7.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit you should be able to:

- Discuss the concepts underlying Systems Approach;
- Examine the views of Chester Barnard;
- Describe Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory;
- Explain the characteristic features of Theory X and Theory Y; and
- Analyse Herzberg's Two Factor Theory.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

A modern organisation witnesses vast growth in size, complexity and scale of activity. As the level of complexity and scale of operation increases, it becomes increasingly necessary to develop a conceptual basis to integrate them within a framework. This is needed to understand the organisation better for successful administration. In this Unit, we are going to study the theories that fall under two approaches, namely, a Systems Approach and Socio-psychological Approach. These two approaches view organisation as a system and social-psychological system, that emphasise holism and not merely focus on a single part of an organisation. There are many propounded

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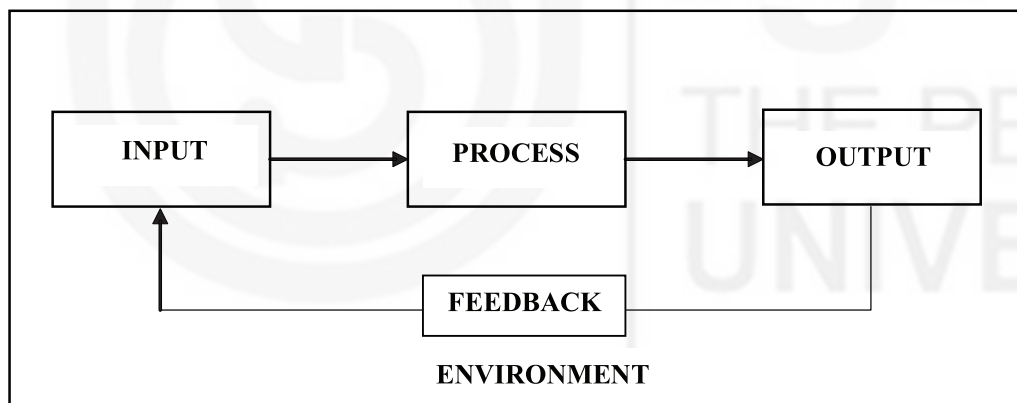
theories that fall under these two approaches. Among them, we are going to explain the views of Chester Barnard under the Systems Approach and Abraham Maslow, Hierarchy of Needs, Frederick Herzberg and Douglas McGregor under the Socio-psychological Approach.

7.2 THE SYSTEMS APPROACH: AN OVERVIEW

A system is defined as any set of distinct elements/components that interact to form a complex whole. The whole is not just the sum of the parts; the system itself can be explained only as a totality. It was developed in 1930's by a biologist namely Ludwig von Bertalanffy in his seminal work "General Systems Theory: Foundation and Development". According to von Bertalanffy, to understand or examine a system, it must be an open system. An open system consists of several components or subsystems, which depend on each other. It means all components of a system are inter-related, inter-connected and inter-dependent. Thus, nothing can be explained by isolating a component of system. A system processes inputs into outputs. Therefore, each system consists of boundaries, components, interactions between components, inputs and outputs.

An open system is one, which has a boundary that is permeable to inputs and outputs of matter, energy and information. Open systems exchange information, energy or material with their environment. The open system is viewed as a transformation model. In a dynamic relationship with its environment, it receives various inputs, transforms these inputs in some way, and exports outputs. It is depicted in the diagram given below:

The Systems Theory



In Systems Theory, concept of feedback is important in understanding how a system maintains a steady State i.e., dynamic equilibrium. Information concerning the outputs, or the process of the system is fed back as an input into the system, perhaps leading to changes in the transformation process and/or future outputs. This Approach was first developed in natural and physical sciences. Previously, the concept of systems was used by Taylor and others. Use of this Approach in social sciences literature is relatively new. For example, Talcott Parsons applied this Approach to the study of social structures. Similarly, psychologists, economists, political scientists and administrative analysts have been using the Systems Approach in the analysis of a given phenomenon. In administrative analysis, the Systems Approach is being widely used in recent years. Here, you would study Barnard's conceptualisation of organisations as cooperative systems. Before that, we will attempt to understand the organisation as a system.

7.3 ORGANISATION AS A SYSTEM

Systems Approach views organisation as a system that lays emphasis on holism and not merely a single part/component. Organisation as a system is made up of several subsystems or parts or components that are interrelated and interdependent for their functioning. They in turn, contribute to the holistic functioning of the organisation. As a system, the organisation also has a defined boundary through which it interacts with its environment. This external environment of an organisation is called as supra-system, which comprises economic, social, political and technological influences. Organisation is an open system and it continuously interacts, and exchanges matters with its environment. In this interaction, it takes inputs from environment, processes the revised inputs in the form of outputs, which are then exported back into the environment.

Defining an open system with respect to organisations, Thompson has observed that “The complex organisation is a set of interdependent parts, which together make up a whole because each contributes something and receives something from the whole, which in turn is interdependent with some larger environment”. Thus, an open system is dynamic, full of opportunities as well as challenges. Systems keep evolving through a continuous process of development and at the same time strives to attain homeostasis or the state of equilibrium. Similarly, organisation is dynamic, full of challenges and opportunities. It keeps evolving through a continuous process of growth and development by maintaining the equilibrium among various sub-systems including environment.

A system is a cyclic process that survives from continuous input, transformation and output processes. There are three types of inputs that an organisation takes from its supra system- raw materials, energy and information. The inputs are converted into outputs through men and machines. The organisation exports the outputs created through the process of conversion. The outputs are given back to the environment for importing further inputs.

7.4 THE SYSTEMS APPROACH: VIEWS OF CHESTER BARNARD

Chester Irving Barnard (1886-1961) was an American business executive, public administrator, and the author of pioneering work in management theory and organisational studies. His landmark book in 1938, “The Functions of the Executive”, set out a theory of organisation and of the functions of executives in organisation. His writings had the important impact on the human organisation. His analysis of management took the form of a Social Systems Approach. In determining the tasks of executives, he analysed the nature of cooperative social systems, and found non-logical factors also influencing human behaviour in the organisation.

The major contributions of Chester Barnard are as follows:

Theory of Organisation

Barnard regards an organisation as a system that is subordinate to the larger system-society. He views organisation as a social system. He has defined organisation as “a system of consciously coordinated activities or courses of two or more persons”. According to him, organisation is a system made up of activities of human beings, as a system, in which the whole is more than the sum of its parts and ‘each part is related to every other part in some significant way’. Barnard saw organisations as

being only partial systems. One cannot isolate a complete, whole organisation. Each is part of a bigger and more complex organisation. Also, each is composed of various subunits, each of which is an organisation in itself. According to Barnard, initial existence of structure depends upon three elements:

- 1) The willingness of persons to contribute efforts to the co-operative system.
- 2) An objective of co-operation.
- 3) Proper communication systems.

Barnard (1938) distinguished between *formal and informal organisations*. He defined informal organisation as “the aggregate of the personal contacts and interactions and the associate grouping of people...”. It is due to the gregarious instinct or fulfilment of some personal needs and it does impact the formal organisation. Both the formal and informal organisations need each other as they are ‘interdependent aspects of the same phenomenon... formal organisations are vitalised and conditioned by informal organisations.’

Organisational Equilibrium

According to Barnard (*ibid.*), organisation is a cooperative system made up of individual humans with individual motivations. He maintains that ‘cooperation originates in the need of an individual to accomplish purposes, which he individually cannot achieve’. With a result, organisation involves the engagement of other individuals and their cooperation. For accomplishing cooperative effort among individuals and to achieve organisation goals, Barnard has suggested an ‘organisational equilibrium’.

Organisational equilibrium is described as the balance achieved between the contribution of members of an organisation and return contribution made by the organisation to the fulfilment of the individual goals of the members. There should be a balance between what employees get out of the organisation (money, status, recognition, etc.) and what they contribute in the form of time, knowledge, discomfort, production, etc.

Barnard has also viewed the concepts of efficiency and effectiveness. When an individual in an organisation seeks to achieve ends sought by the organisation then his activity could be identified as effective. In the process, if he meets his personal needs and satisfies personal motives, the activity could be considered efficient. Organisational survival depends on both, and an executive must look for both-effectiveness and efficiency. Thus, there must be internal equilibrium as well as ‘an equilibrium between the system and environment (supra-system)’.

Acceptance Theory of Authority

Barnard subscribed to the ‘acceptance theory of authority’; according to which managerial authority rests on the consent of the subordinates. This is in contrary to the traditional view of ‘top to bottom approach of right to command and order’ and gave it a ‘bottom-up’ interpretation. Barnard defines authority as “the character of a communication (order) in a formal organisation by which it is accepted by a contributor or ‘member’ of the organisation as governing the action he contributes”. According to him, authority involves two aspects- subjective and objective. The subjective aspect is personal, the acceptance of a communication is authoritative. A person will accept an order as authoritative only when *four* conditions are met:

- a) The communication is understandable.
- b) The receiver believes the instruction is consistent with the organisation's purposes.
- c) The receiver believes it is compatible with his or her personal interests.
- d) The receiver is both mentally and physically able to comply.

The objective characteristic of 'communication of authority' is that aspect, which induces acceptance:

- a) The character of authority in organisational communications lies in the potentiality of assent of those to whom they are sent.
- b) The system of communication is a primary and continuing problem of a formal organisation; and
- c) There are controlling factors in the character of the communication system as a system of objective authority.

Barnard did not agree with the classical concept of authority, where it comes from top to bottom. Barnard asserted that authority rested on the acceptance or consent of subordinates. In his opinion, authority is confirmed only when it is accepted by a person to whom it has been addressed. Disobedience of such communication is a denial of authority.

Zone of Indifference

The 'Zone of Indifference' is Barnard's (1948) pivotal contribution. According to Barnard, every individual has a 'Zone of Indifference'. It is like Simon's 'Zone of Acceptance'. It implies that a person will accept orders willingly and without question, as long as they fall within this Zone. The Zone may be wider or narrower depending upon the degree to which individual's commitment to the organisation and to which the inducements exceed the burdens and sacrifices associated with compliance with a specific order.

He has observed, 'If all the orders for actions, reasonably practicable, be arranged in the order of their acceptability to the person affected, it may be conceived that there are a number, which are clearly unacceptable, that is, which certainly will not be obeyed; there is another group somewhat more or less on the neutral line, that is, either barely acceptable or barely unacceptable; and a third group unquestionably acceptable. This last group lies within the 'Zone of Indifference.' The person affected will accept orders lying within this Zone and is relatively indifferent as to what the order is so far as the question of authority is concerned.'

The Functions of the Executive

The vitality and endurance of an organisation depends on the functions of the executive. According to Barnard (*ibid.*), the essential executive functions are: (i) to maintain the system of communication necessary for cooperation to be coordinated, (ii) to promote and secure essential efforts, and (iii) to formulate and define the purpose for the organisation.

First function of maintenance of the system of communication and authority has *two* components: (a) defining the organisational positions, and (b) maintaining a personnel system. The former requires organisational charts, specification of duties, division of work, etc. The latter includes recruiting individuals possessing appropriate qualifications and skills and offering salary, incentives, allowances, etc. These *two* components are complementary and depend on each other.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) What do you understand by Systems Approach?

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2) Briefly list the major contributions of Chester Barnard.

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7.5 SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH

Socio-psychological Approach is a tool to understand the theories that recognise the organisation as a socio-psychological system with emphasis on the human side. It is the application of behavioural science such as psychology, sociology and anthropology to the study of human side of organisation. The Classical Management theories build on the notion that the effectiveness of organisation depends on their structure, management principles and methods. It was evident in earlier theories such as Scientific Management Theory by Frederick W. Taylor, and Bureaucratic Management Theory by Weber etc. These theories emphasised on technical aspects of work and forgot the human side of the organisation. As these theories over-emphasised the mechanical and physiological characters of management, they attracted many criticisms, especially on the grounds of absence of human aspect/side of organisation.

Proponents of Socio-psychological Approach believe that individuals play a vital role in the success or the failure of the organisation. A belief in human beings and their contribution to organisation is central to this Approach. It emphasises on time needs, drives, behaviour and attitude of individuals. It helps to understand why individuals behave as they do and what psychological and social factors influence them. It helps a manager to identify the motives, which influence the behaviour of employees at work to attain organisational objectives. These theories recognise and give importance to the behavioural aspect of employees and study how better it can be utilised for effectiveness of organisations. In this Unit, we will explain the prominent theories given by Abraham Maslow, Douglas McGregor, and Frederick Herzberg that come under the Socio-psychological Approach.

7.6 MASLOW'S HIERARCHY OF NEEDS THEORY

Abraham Maslow is the Father of Humanistic Psychology. Maslow's Motivation Theory is one of the best known and most influential theories on workplace motivation.

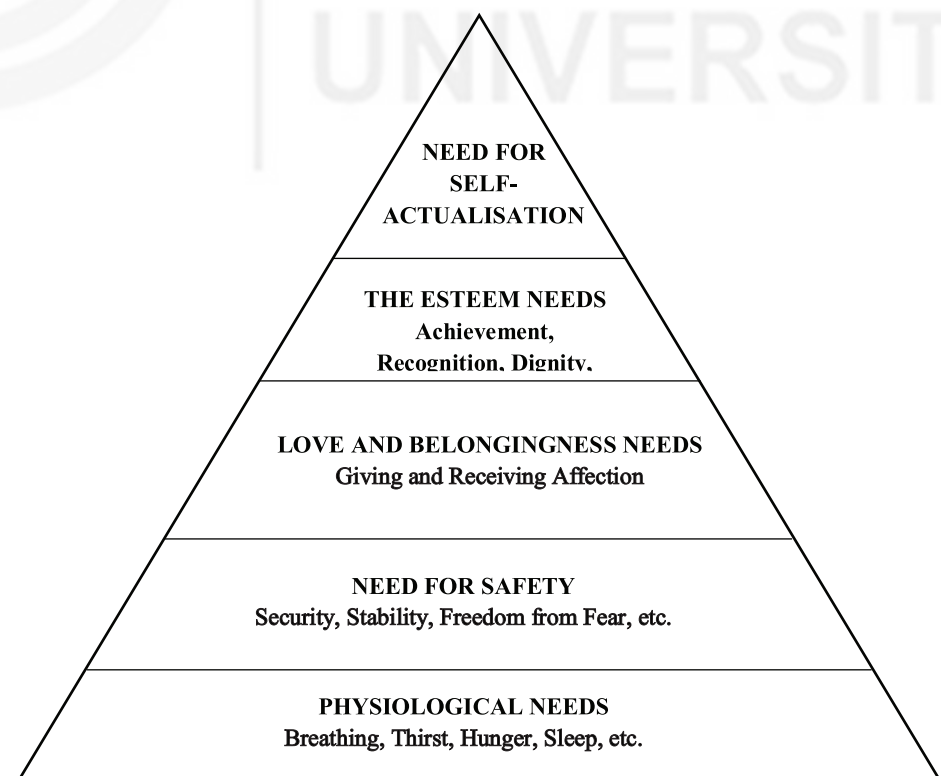
He published his work 'Motivation and Personality' in 1954. He provided the framework to study and analyse human motivation. Maslow believed that "the fundamental desires of human beings are similar despite the multitude of conscious desires" (Zalenski and Raspa, 2006). Maslow suggested that human beings have a *hierarchy of needs*, as being made up of *five* needs, which are "physiological, safety, love, esteem, and self-actualisation" arranged in a pyramidal manner, with physiological needs making up the bottom of the pyramid.

According to Maslow, human being is an organism, which drives into action to satisfy its needs. The fundamental principle behind his hierarchy of needs is that people are born with certain needs, the fulfilment of basic needs will allow to move forward and fulfil other more complex needs. He insists that the urge for self-actualisation is deeply entrenched in the human psyche, but only surfaces once the more basic needs are fulfilled. This pattern of hierarchy of needs acts as a major determinant in individual adjustment within an organisation. By understanding the needs of the human being, the manager can motivate them towards organisation goals with appropriate intervention strategies.

At the *first* and lowest level of need is *physiological needs*- these are most prepotent needs for sustaining human life itself. Breathing, thirst, hunger, sleep and biological satisfaction are the physiological needs without which the people cannot survive. Maslow (1943) has observed that unless these needs are satisfied to the degree necessary to maintain life, other needs will not motivate people.

Second comes the *needs for safety*, comprised of: '... security, stability; dependency; protection; freedom from fear, anxiety and chaos; need for structure, order, law, and limits; and so on' (Maslow, 1954, *op.cit.*).

Third level of needs are the *love and belonging needs*, which, in the words of Maslow, involve '... giving and receiving affection'. People want to establish relationships with other and at the same time also want them to establish reciprocal relationships (*Ibid.*). The hierarchy of needs is depicted in the figure below:



Then comes *fourth* level of needs, the *esteem needs*, which involves self-worth, or esteem, and the esteem of others. Maslow notes that it involves, ‘the desire for strength, achievement, adequacy, mastery and competence, confidence in the face of the world, and independence and freedom’. Further, he says, is a desire for ‘...reputation or prestige...status, fame, and glory, dominance, recognition, attention, importance, dignity, or appreciation.’ He stresses that self-esteem originates from the ‘deserved respect’ (Maslow, 1954, *ibid.*) from others and this comes as a result of ‘will-power, determination and responsibility’.

Fifth and highest level of needs are the *Need for Self-actualisation*. This entails maximising one’s potential and to accomplishing something. According to Maslow’s definition of self-actualisation:

“It may be loosely described as the full use and exploitation of talents, capabilities, potentialities, etc. Such people seem to be fulfilling themselves and to be doing the best that they are capable of doing... They are people who have developed or are developing to the full stature of which they capable.”

These are self-transcendence needs such as self-growth, self-fulfilment and professional accomplishment. According to Maslow, physiological, security, social and esteem needs are ‘deficiency’ needs that arise because of deprivation. The highest level of the pyramid is called the ‘growth or progressive’ needs.

Maslow separated the five needs into higher and lower orders: Physiological and Safety needs are described as lower order and Social, Esteem, and Self-actualisation needs are described as higher order needs. Further, higher order needs are satisfied internally, and lower order needs are predominantly satisfied externally. Maslow has observed that “the average member of our society is most often partially satisfied and partially unsatisfied in all of his wants” (Maslow, 1943, *op.cit.*).

Thus, by analysing the needs and its potential to motivate human beings, Maslow’s theory helps to understand the behaviour of human beings. This theory helps the managers to understand how to motivate the human beings towards the desired organisational goals. However, critics have alleged that there is direct cause and effect relationship between need and behaviour. Further, one particular needs may cause different type of behaviour in different persons. On the other hand, as a particular individual behaviour may be due to the result of different needs.

Research has proved that levels of the need hierarchy was not as distinct as Maslow professed; levels were overlapped, and it was difficult to prove which level of need ended when and was no longer a motivator. Also, substantial satisfaction of one level of need doesn’t necessarily lead to next higher level of need. Again, Maslow’s description of self-actualisation and how self-actualised people felt and behaved are little vague and cannot be generalised for people from different cultural, social and geography. Despite these shortcomings, Maslow did provide a broad framework to study human motivation and human behaviour.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain the five levels of needs given by Maslow.

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7.7 DOUGLAS MCGREGOR'S THEORY X AND THEORY Y

Douglas McGregor was an American Socio-Psychologist. He proposed his famous X and Y theories in his Book 'The Human Side of Enterprise' (1960). These theories are about human behaviour and motivation in the organisation. These theories remain central to organisational development and attempt to improve organisational culture. McGregor postulated that every leader has core assumptions about human nature and these assumptions influence the style of leadership practiced by the leader. He opined that the core leadership assumptions (Theory X and Theory Y) will assist the leaders to question their underlying assumptions and perceptions about people.

McGregor believed that as companies become more competitive because of technological advancements, the success of organisations would be more dependent on the dynamics of the people. He viewed that for most to be derived from people, they have to be treated as individuals, each with their own set of values and motivations. He stressed that people must not be treated as machines but as living individuals who could be developed to help achieve organisational goals. He emphasised the importance of leaders and their attitudes about employees, because that potentially impact the response they get from those they lead. Further, McGregor (1960) thought that if leaders did not examine certain core assumptions they have about people, it could limit their appreciation and view of the strength of human capacity for growth, collaboration and development.

McGregor believed that giving importance to the human side of management and leadership is a fundamental requirement for the success of organisations. He was of the strong opinion that leaders could behave in ways that would result in high organisational commitment from their subordinates. According to McGregor, the employees and leaders in the organisation can be divided into two typical groups based on how leaders lead their subordinates and respectively how subordinates behave.

The *assumptions* behind Theory 'X' were as follows:

- Employees in an organisation were lazy and did not like work.
- Employees wanted to work as little as possible and tended to avoid it.
- Employees were self-centred and non-committal to organisational needs.
- Employees were not intelligent and creative, avoided responsibility and were reluctant to change.
- Employees preferred to be directed.

Because of the above assumptions, leaders subscribing to this Theory would closely supervise, direct and control their employees and also use coercive factors like external stimuli (punishments and rewards) to get them driven towards organisational goals.

Often, leaders of this Theory were intolerant, maintained distance from employees, non-participative and biased. These qualities belonged to *authoritarian style of leadership* with more emphasis on work than people.

The *assumptions* behind Theory 'Y' were as follows:

- Employees treated their work as natural and enjoyed working, if the environment was suitable.
- Employees were intelligent, imaginative and creative.
- Employees gladly accepted autonomy or responsibility, and even actively sought it.
- Employees agreed with the goals of the organisation and could self-control and self-direct towards them.
- Employees demonstrated an actively creative and innovative approach towards the challenges of the organisation.

Because of the above assumptions, leaders of this Theory were understanding, constructive, participative, result-oriented, and effective. Often leaders of this Theory were democratic and people-centred, where the individual is valued and appreciated. They believe that when workers are given the right environment, they can achieve their highest potential and can be of great value to their organisation. These qualities belong to *participative style* of leadership with more emphasis on people than work.

McGregor (1957) was a votary of the Theory 'Y', however, he pointed out that the change of assumptions and leadership style from authoritative to participative could not be achieved overnight, and as he noted "change in the direction of Theory Y will be slow, and it will require extensive modification of the attitudes of management and workers alike". McGregor (1976) emphasised that, Theory X and Theory Y did not lie at the extremes of a scale, they were simply different cosmologies.

McGregor also spoke of transactional concept of power and influence. His concept of transactional influence has been of great relevance. He emphasised on how managers, through this concept, could deal with their role, style, power, issue of control, team work and their own selves (Dhameja and Mishra, 2016).

McGregor's ideas were not new; he was deeply influenced by Maslow. His assertion of leader's assumptions and attitudes towards his employees, The fact that it could motivate employees, which in turn would impact organisational development were all new to the management thought. One criticism, which has been levelled against McGregor (1960), which he acknowledged, is the fact that his theories postulated in 1960s did not consider the impact and role of environmental factors. Bennis (1972) pointed this out by observing that McGregor's Theory of organisation depends on a psychologically determined set of superior-subordinate relationships. There are no technological factors, norms, or groups, nor are there economic, cultural, legal or political impositions (Bennis, *ibid* ; Kwasi, 2009).

According to Schein (2011), "there is nothing in this Theory that says that a manager should behave in any particular matter, only that how he or she behaves is driven by deep cognitive assumptions" which means an organisation should learn whether being more like Theory 'X' or 'Y' has an impact on the effectiveness of the manager. The consequence for the organisation is to understand what managerial assumptions are

more effective or desired and question underlying assumptions rather than managerial actions and abilities (Schein, *ibid.*; Dave and Anna, 2013).

Despite all the criticisms levelled against McGregor’s Theory, his ideas have made a significant contribution to the field of management. Perhaps the most important is how organisations view their employees, a paradigm shift from seeing them as mature individuals from immature individuals and accordingly leading them through participative style of management rather than authoritarian style.

7.8 HERZBERG’S TWO FACTOR THEORY

Another prominent thinker whose contribution can be viewed through Socio-psychological Approach is Frederick Herzberg. He has tried to understand employees’ attitudes and motivation, by determining the factors in an employee’s work environment that cause satisfaction or dissatisfaction. He published his findings in the 1959 Book *The Motivation to Work*.

His studies included interviews in which employees were asked what pleased and displeased them about their work. Herzberg found that the factors causing job satisfaction (and presumably motivation) were different from those causing job dissatisfaction. He developed the Motivation-Hygiene Theory to explain these results. He called the satisfiers, motivators and the dissatisfiers the hygiene factors, using the term “hygiene” in the sense that they are considered maintenance factors that are necessary to avoid dissatisfaction but that by themselves do not provide satisfaction.

Table given below presents the top *six* factors causing satisfaction and dissatisfaction among employees in their working environment. It is listed in the order of higher to lower importance:

Herzberg’s Two-Factor Theory	
Hygiene Factors (<i>Dissatisfiers</i>)	Motivation Factors (<i>Satisfiers</i>)
Company Policy and Administration	Achievement
Supervision	Recognition
Salary	Work itself
Interpersonal Relations	Responsibility
Working Conditions	Advancement

Herzberg has observed that satisfaction and dissatisfaction are *two* different set of factors and cannot be treated as opposite to one another. It means opposite of satisfaction is not dissatisfaction, but rather, no satisfaction. Similarly, the opposite of dissatisfaction is not satisfaction. It implies that, a neutral state exists as contrary to job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction. A worker may either be satisfied or not satisfied (neutral) with motivational factors. Similarly, a worker is either dissatisfied or not dissatisfied (neutral) with hygiene factors (Lakshmiathy, 1991).

Herzberg has argued that satisfiers and dissatisfiers are *two* distinct human needs and can be tagged under physiological and psychological needs of human beings respectively. Physiological needs (dissatisfiers) can be fulfilled by money, dignified working environment, quality of interpersonal relations, job security, etc. Psychological needs are appreciation and encouragement from organisation or leaders, opportunities to achieve and grow, autonomy in work, etc. It implies that hygiene factors determine how a worker feels about his company or organisation in general (external), whereas the motivation factors determine how an employee feels about his job. Herzberg argues that dissatisfiers only provide short-term success because the motivator factors

that determine whether there is satisfaction, or no satisfaction are intrinsic to the job itself and do not result from external factors. This rationale thinking of Herzberg explains why a worker may hate his job and yet remain with a company or happy with his job and yet quit an organisation.

In order to motivate employees for long-term and satisfy individual needs, Herzberg has suggested job enrichment and job loading. By job enrichment he meant that the job should be challenging enough to utilise employees' abilities. Increased ability should be adequately rewarded with higher responsibility. Through job enrichment, managers could maximise intrinsic motivation of employees. If a job cannot be designed to use an employee's full abilities, then the firm should consider automating the task or replacing the employee with one who has a lower level of skill. If a person cannot be fully utilised, then there will be a motivation problem.

Critics have argued that job satisfaction does not necessarily imply a high level of motivation or productivity. This Theory is not free from bias, it is based on the natural reaction of employees when they are enquired about the sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction at work. It is a natural tendency of the human being to blame external factors and not their own selves. Also, this Theory ignores blue-collar workers. Despite these limitations, Herzberg's Two Factor Theory is broadly accepted in management and administration.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Discuss McGregor's Theory 'X' and Theory 'Y'.

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2) Bring out the concepts of Satisfiers and Dissatisfiers.

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7.9 CONCLUSION

As organisations grow in numbers, size, and activities, the number of problems and their complexity increase exponentially and threaten efficient management. Many authors have come up with different theories to solve them. Among them, Theories of Barnard on the one hand and Maslow, McGregor and Herzberg on the other can be put under Systems Approach and Social-Psychological Approaches respectively. As proposed by Systems Approach, Chester Barnard's Theory has seen organisation as a cooperative system in which authority, executive functions, leadership and

communication are important parts. He recognised informal organisation as an important part of formal organisation.

Socio-psychological Approach has dealt with the application of behavioural science to the study of human side of organisation. It is contrary to the traditional view of treating people as a ‘cogs in machine’ and recognising people in organisation as human beings with a different personality, capability, and also needs and values. Abraham Maslow’s Theory recognised that every human being has different levels of needs, which can be used to motivate employees in an organisation.

McGregor talked about the assumptions/attitudes of the managers about their employees in an organisation and their leadership style to lead them towards organisational achievements. Herzberg has given a set of satisfiers and dissatisfiers that the managers have to apply appropriately to motivate employees in an organisation, for long-term growth and development of both employees and organisation. This Unit has tried to examine the key features of these Theories under Systems and Socio-psychological Approaches.

7.10 GLOSSARY

Dissatisfiers and Satisfiers : These parameters impact work behaviour. Propounded by Frederick Herzberg, dissatisfiers are the hygiene factors. These are factors that can upset employees if not met. These are salary, work conditions, paper work, company policy etc. Satisfiers are the motivators that make employees happy. These are recognition, promotion, opportunity for personal development and increased levels of responsibility.

Self-Actualisation : The term was coined by Abraham Maslow and it has been put to use in various theories in psychology. Self-actualisation literally means realising one’s potential but it goes much beyond that in Maslow’s analysis. For him, it means expression of creativity, quest for knowledge and spiritual enlightenment, desire to transform. Basically, a stage where basic as well as mental needs of an employee in an organisation are truly fulfilled.

Motivation : The term has been derived from the word ‘motive’. It is a driving force that pushes an employee to initiate a behaviour. It depends on factors such as intensity of need, incentive value of goal and expectations of individuals. It varies from person to person and circumstance to circumstance.

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7.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1) Your answer should include the following points:

- Systems Approach views organisation as a system that lays emphasis on holism.
- It looks at organisational subsystems that make a system.
- External environment of organisation or the supra-system is crucial to the organisation.

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- Organisation constantly interacts with supra-system and takes inputs from it.
 - Organisation and supra-system are interdependent.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
- Organisational Theories.
 - Hierarchy of Needs.
 - Organisational Equilibrium.
 - Acceptance Theory of Authority.
 - Zone of Indifference.
 - Functions of Executive.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
- Physiological Needs
 - Safety Needs
 - Belongingness Needs
 - Esteem Needs
 - Self-Actualisation Needs.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
- Presumption under Theory 'X' are that human beings are lazy, work shirkers, like to be directed, are self-centred and non-committal.
 - Presumptions under Theory 'Y' are that human beings are creative, accept responsibility, are motivated, can self-control and self-direct.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
- Satisfiers are motivators like responsibility, achievement, recognition and advancement.
 - Dissatisfiers are hygiene factors like salary, promotion and interpersonal relations.

BLOCK 3
PUBLIC POLICY PERSPECTIVE



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THE PEOPLE'S
UNIVERSITY

UNIT 8 PUBLIC POLICY APPROACH*

Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Nature of Public Policy Approach
- 8.3 Origin and Development of Public Policy Approach
- 8.4 Different Viewpoints on Public Policy Approach
- 8.5 Selected Models/ Approaches to Public Policy
- 8.6 Limitations of Public Policy Approach
- 8.7 Conclusion
- 8.8 Glossary
- 8.9 References
- 8.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

8.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to :

- Explain the meaning of Public Policy Approach and Model;
- Describe the different types of Public Policy Approaches;
- Examine the limitations of the Public Policy Approach; and
- Discuss the development of the Public Policy Approach.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Most governments of Third World countries are engaged in the momentous task of kindling rational resurgence through socio-economic development. They are struggling hard to develop their economy, to sustain improvements in the social system and to increase the capacity of their political system with a view to achieving the major objectives of sustainable development. They seek to improve the relevant policies. It is, therefore, taken for granted that the study of approaches, strategies and concepts, which will contribute towards this end is essential. The study of public policy represents a powerful approach for this purpose. Public policy is an important mechanism for moving a social system from the past to the future. The future requires new policies and choices.

What is trivial today may be of colossal importance in future. We can understand the future by extrapolation of the present trends. People cannot avoid being concerned with the consequences of public policy. The study of the past is therefore very important as it helps in explaining the present policy system. The past policies perpetuate themselves into present and future policies. Public policy is a field, which tends to be defined by policy areas or sectors. Some of the key areas of public

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policy include: health, education, transport, environment, housing, public toilets, law and order and urban planning. Within each of these areas, there exist specialised research networks and communities, which address problems and policies and advocate ideas (Harrop, 1992).

Thus, the Public Policy Approach is of vital importance. Now, the focus of political science and administration has shifted to description of content of public policy, analysis and explanation of the causes and consequences of government activity. Thomas Dye (2004) puts the matter in this way: “This focus involves a description of the content of public policy; an analysis of the impact of social, economic and political forces on the content of public policy; an inquiry into the effect of various institutional arrangements and political processes on public policy; and an evaluation of the consequences of public policies on society, both expected and unexpected”.

8.2 NATURE OF PUBLIC POLICY APPROACH

The starting point for a discussion of Public Policy Approach is to consider what we mean by the terms ‘public policy’ and ‘approach’. It is generally contended that ‘public policy’ has to do with those spheres, which are so labelled as ‘public’ as opposed to spheres, which involve the idea of private. The expression ‘public policy’ presupposes that there is a domain of life which is not, private or distinctly individual, but held in ‘common’. The sphere of the public interest or public opinion cannot be the same as that held by the private individuals.

The term ‘public’ comprises that aspect of human activity, which requires governmental intervention to secure public interest. The role of the State has been thus to create the conditions in which the public interest could be so protected. However, there has always been a debate on tension between what constitutes public and what is held to be private. Thomas Birkland discerned following key attributes of ‘public’ policy:

- “Policy is made in response to some sort of problem that requires attention.
- Policy is made on ‘public’s behalf.
- Policy is oriented toward a goal or a desired state, such as the solution of a problem.
- Policy is ultimately made by governments, even if the ideas come from outside government or through the interaction of government and non-governmental actors.
- Policy is interpreted and implemented by public and private actors who have different interpretations of problems, solutions, and their own motivations.
- Policy is what the government chooses to do or not to do” (Birkland, 2011).

To Cochran and Malone, the term ‘public policy’ refers to ‘the study of government decisions and actions designed to deal with a matter of public concern’ (Cochran and Malone, 2014). For Guy Peters (1999) ‘public policy’ “is the sum of government activities, whether acting directly or through agents, as it has an influence on the life of citizens”. In the words of Thomas Dye (2004, *op.cit.*) “Public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do”.

Taken as a whole, policy may be defined as a purposive course of action taken or adopted by those in power in pursuit of certain goals or objectives. It should be added here that public policies are the policies adopted and implemented by government bodies and non-governmental actors. Having explained the concept of

‘public policy’, we will now discuss the meaning and utility of policy approaches and models.

With a view to understanding public policy and its problems better, policy scholars and policy theorists have expounded various models and approaches. These models and approaches simplify and clarify our thinking about public policy and its problems. They also suggest explanations for public policy and predict its consequences. Although different ways of explaining public policy have been adopted and used, it would be proper to understand what a ‘model’ is and how it differs from an ‘approach’.

Admittedly, approaches are broad pathways to understanding a theme or subject, whereas models are slightly more well-knit abstractions, which can even be represented in mathematical or geometric form. An approach is a scholarly strategy or mode of analysis, which provides a set of intellectual tools for the study and understanding of political phenomena. An approach may in itself constitute a major body of theory or it may take the form of a simulation model. The main objective of an approach is to give order to a diverse range of political phenomena by fitting them within a limited set of concepts.

On the other hand, a model is a simplified representation or abstraction of some aspect of the real world. As a matter of fact, a model directs our attention away from irrelevant aspects or variables and focuses on the “real causes and significant consequences of public policy”. Most models are intellectual constructs used to organise thoughts and direct research. Models typically include sets of categories, assumptions, and postulates, which are used to sort out data, analyse it, determine relationships, and help the model builder to explain or predict. In the words of J. Forester, the famous policy modeller, “The mental image of the world around you which you carry in your head is a model. One does not have a city or a government or a country in his head. He has only selected concepts and relationships, which he uses to represent the real system. A mental image is a model”. Policy models are mental constructs of reality in specific policy issue areas such as poverty eradication, energy conservation and so on. The models are artificial devices for imaginatively ordering and interpreting the experiences of problem situations.

For better explanation of the public policy and its consequences, Y.Dror has prescribed *nine* elements which are as follows:

- i) There should be some clarification of values, objectives, and criteria for decision making.
- ii) The method should include identifying of alternatives, with an effort to consider new alternatives (by surveying comparative literature, experience, and available theories) and to stimulate creation of several alternatives.
- iii) The method should include preliminary estimation of expected payoffs from the various alternatives, and decision on whether a strategy of minimal risk or of innovation is preferable.
- iv) If it is the first, the incremental - change model should be followed. If it is the latter, the next step would be establishing a cut off horizon for considering the possible results of the alternative policies, and identifying the major expected results, relying on available knowledge and intuition.
- v) Analysis of the alternatives should deal with both quantitative (“economic”) and qualitative (“political”) factors, in order to overcome the limitations of current systems analysis and advance toward policy analysis.

- vi) The method should include an effort to decide whether the issue is important enough to make more comprehensive analysis worthwhile.
- vii) Theory and experience, rationality and extra rationality, will be relied upon; the composition of the mix must depend upon their various availabilities and on the nature of the problem.
- viii) Explicit techniques, such as Simulation and the Delphi methods, should be used as far as they are appropriate, and knowledge from various disciplines should be brought to bear on the issues involved.
- ix) The method should include explicit arrangements to improve the policy-making by systematic learning from experience, stimulating initiative and creativity, developing the staff, and encouraging intellectual effort.

8.3 ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC POLICY APPROACH

The Enlightenment notion that people's problems could be solved through the application of human knowledge forms the basis and the background of the origin and development of public policy approach. Thus, we may chart the development of the policy approach in terms of the acquisition of facts and knowledge about problems so as to formulate better solutions. As Max Weber, a German sociologist, showed, the growth of industries led to a search for more rational forms of organisation (termed as bureaucracy) for the State. Out of this, was to emerge the kind of separation of policy-making as a political function from administration as a bureaucratic function. In the early 20th century, economist John Maynard Keynes claimed that if government was to have any chance of dealing with the problems of day, it had to recognise the need for a policy approach to governing.

The growth of public policy as a distinct field of academic activity may be traced to the late 1960s when, as a result of a meeting held under the auspices of the American 'Social Science Research Council', two Conferences resulted in a collection of papers edited by Austin Ranney (1968). In 1972 the Policy Studies Organisation was founded and this was followed by other 'policy' - focused associations and several journals (Henry, 2012). But perhaps more significant development was that the subject of policy and problems got the attention of wide academic interest. Consequently, policy analysis emerged in the 1970s as an approach which offered the possibility of a unified or integrated social science which could bridge the boundaries of academic disciplines. The prospects of policy analysis as an integrative field of inquiry prompted a lively symposium under the auspices of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in 1971 (Charlesworth, 1972).

In the 1970s and 1980s, numerous textbooks were published that aimed at undergraduate and post-graduate courses which were concerned with the analysis of policy-making, and the role of analysis in decision-making. This period also witnessed a veritable explosion of think tanks and research institutions in which interdisciplinary approaches to policy thrived. Think-tanks have provided the kind of problem and policy-focused environment, which has been conducive to the renewal of the 'policy orientation', which was first promoted by Harold Lasswell in 1951.

In the 1980s and 1990s, one of the most distinctive features of the public policy field was the extent to which it had spread beyond America to other countries. This indeed is a significant development because, for the greater part of the history of the subject, it has tended to be dominated by American material and ideas. But, it

was in America where moves towards a more unified approach to the study of public problems and policy really began in the work of Harold Lasswell (1951).

The Public Policy Approach is most closely associated with the contribution of four scholars: Harold Lasswell, Herbert Simon, Charles Lindblom and David Easton. Their ideas figure prominently in their works. But, there is no better starting point for the study of policy-making and the role of policy analysis than to read their early works and follow the development of their thought.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) What do you understand by Public Policy?

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2) Bring out the difference between a Model and an Approach.

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8.4 DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS ON PUBLIC POLICY APPROACH

Lasswell's Ideas on Public Policy Approach

Harold Lasswell, perhaps, stands out as the pre-eminent moving spirit behind the growth of a Policy Approach. His writings on public policy may be dated back to the 1930s, when he was inspired by the Chicago School to be concerned with problems and to take a multidisciplinary approach. In the 1940s, for example, he was instrumental in setting up an early 'think-tank', the American Policy Commission, whose aim was to "close the gap between knowledge and policy" by fostering a constructive dialogue between social scientists, businessmen, and policy-makers (Smith, 1991).

Lasswell remarked : "We can think of the Policy Sciences as the discipline concerned with explaining the policy-making and policy-executing process, and with locating data and providing interpretations which are relevant to the policy problems of a given period. The Policy Approach does not mean that the scientist abandons objectivity in gathering or interpreting data, or ceases to perfect his tools of inquiry. The policy emphasis calls for the choice of problems, which will contribute to the

goal values of the scientist, and the use of scrupulous objectivity and maximum technical ingenuity in executing the projects undertaken”.

He introduced the idea of knowledge of/in the policy process and argued that the distinctive outlook of the Policy Sciences is that it is problem-oriented. This problem focus means that the subject aims to be multidisciplinary, involving the synthesis of ideas and techniques. According to Lasswell(1970), Policy Sciences could be defined in terms of ‘knowledge in the policy process’ and ‘knowledge of the policy process’ Policy Sciences thus included:

- i) Policy Analysis : concerned with knowledge in and for the policy process;
- ii) The Analysis of the Policy Process : concerned with knowledge about the formation and implementation of public policy. Policy analysis therefore evolved in an era in which government was seen as a ‘problem-solver’ and the political system as a problem-processor (Keith Hope, *quoted* in Sharpe, 1975).

Simon’s Contribution to Public Policy Approach

Herbert Simon’s contribution to the development of the Policy Approach has been without doubt outstanding. His work on *Administrative Behaviour* (1947; 1957) is central to the analysis of rationality (bounded) in decision-making in terms of a sequence of rational stages: intelligence, design, and choice. He sets out *two* tasks in decision analysis. At a theoretical level, analysis involves the study of the limits of human rationality in organisation contexts; while in practical terms, it involves designing the organisational environment so that “the individual will approach as close as practicable to rationality in his decisions” (Simon, 1957).

Lindblom on Public Policy Approach

Charles Lindblom’s contribution to the development of the Public Policy Approach is equally important. He is well-known for his advocacy of an alternative to Simon’s Rational Approach in the form of ‘incrementalism’. His Article, “*The Science of Muddling Through*” (1959) still remains an enriched contribution to the formation of a theory of the policy-making process. However, over the years, Lindblom’s thought has evolved beyond his original argument. Lindblom criticised Simon’s Rational Model and also rejected the idea that thinking in terms of stages or functional relationships (as advocated by Lasswell and Easton) was of any real value to the study of the policy process.

On the contrary, Lindblom’s Model (1968) took account of power and interaction between phases and stages. To him, policy-making “is a complexly interactive process without beginning or end.” It is gradually evolving, including variations on the past. This Approach is more politically expedient than Rational Approach. The policy-maker under this Approach is perceived as a person who does not have the time, money and brains to make totally different policies.

Easton’s Views on Public Policy Approach

The policy focus in political science is closely associated with David Easton’s contribution (1965). He provided a model of the political system which greatly influenced the way in which the emerging study of policy (outputs) in the 1960s began to conceptualise the relationship between policy-making, policy outputs and its wider ‘environment’. The main characteristics of the Eastonian model is that of viewing the policy process in terms of received inputs, in the form of flows from the

environment, mediated through inputs channels (parties, media, interest groups); demands within the political system (withinputs) and their conversion into policy outputs and outcomes.

The textbooks, which provided the ‘normal science’ of policy analysis were, for the most part, derived from the fusion of Lasswell, Simon and Easton’s models of decision-making and the political ‘system’(Kahn, 1962). The combination of rational stages (Lasswell’s) and systems approaches (Eastonian) thus afforded a more dynamic framework of policy-making, although from Lindblom’s point of view, these models have served more to obscure than to illuminate the policy process.

Besides Easton’s Model, Almond (1998) set out a model of the political system as composed of inputs (interest articulation), process functions (interest aggregation, policy-making, policy implementation and adjudication) and policy function (extraction, regulation and distribution). Policy output is fed back into the political system, which is a part of domestic and international environment.

Vickerian Approach to Public Policy

The social scientists, particularly in the field of public policy, who had most influence on the development of models for analysing the policy-making process were American, but there were a few exceptions to the dominance of American Policy Sciences. Sir Geoffrey Vickers, a British theorist, wrote *The Art of Judgement* in 1965. His work is important but had far less influence on the way in which the Policy Approach evolved. Vickerian Model addresses policy-making as a complex activity in which values and reality judgements are modified and adjusted, and in which problems are never solved in the way goal-setting conceptualisations suggest. His work stresses the importance of analysing the interaction of value judgements and reality judgements.

Dror’s Approach to Public Policy Making

Yehezkel Dror was an Israeli political scientist who contributed to the enrichment of the policy-making process. He was opposed to Lindblom’s incrementalist position and advocated a modified form of rationalism. He drew from system analysis, policy analysis and the behavioural sciences in an attempt to develop a scientific approach to the study of public policy. His work *Public Policy Making Re-examined* published in 1968 still remains as an important source of the policy approach, and the later edition of 1989 greatly benefitted from practical experience in the Israeli government. It may be observed that from the Middle Eastern perspective, Y.Dror was more sensitive to the constraints of the policy analysis for the developing countries than had been the case of American and European texts.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Examine the views of Simon and Easton on Public Policy Approach.

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2) Discuss the Rational Policy Making and Group Models to Policy Analysis.

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8.5 SELECTED MODELS / APPROACHES TO PUBLIC POLICY

Since the 1960s many scholars in political science and policy theorists have developed a number of policy models and approaches to help as understand politics and policy process. Specifically, here an attempt is made to examine public policy from the perspective of the following models and approaches:

Institutional Approach to Public Policy Analysis

In a democratic society, the State as a web of government structures and institutions performs many functions including formulation, implementation and evaluation of public policies. The government institutions give public policy *three* different characteristics. *Firstly*, the government gives legal authority to policies. Public policy is the outcome of certain decisions and is characterised by the use of legal sanctions. *Secondly*, the applications of public policy is universal. Only public policies extend to all citizens in the state. *Thirdly*, public policies involve coercion. A policy conveys the ideas of a capacity for imposing penalties, through coercion of a kind usually reserved to the government itself. Only the government can legally impose sanctions on violators of its policies. Since the government has the ability to command the obedience of all its people, to formulate policies governing the whole country and to monopolise coercion, the individuals and groups generally work for the enactment of their preferences into policies.

The institutional study has become a central focus of public policy. Thus, one of the models of the policy-making system might be called the Institutional Approach because it depends on the interactions of those institutions created by the Constitution, government or legislature. The Institutional Approach is also concerned with explaining how social groups and governmental institutions bring influence to bear on those entitled to take and implement legally binding decisions. Such decision-making includes those who hold office within the formal and Constitutional system of rules and regulations, which give formal authority and power to the various positions within the governmental structures and institutions. The Institutional Approach attempts to study the relationship between public policy and governmental institutions.

According to Thomas Dye, governmental institutions are structured pattern of behaviour of individuals and groups, which persist over a period of time. The value of the Institutional Approach to policy analysis lies in asking what relationships exist between institutional arrangements and the content of public policy, and also in investigating these relationships in a comparative fashion.

Rational Policy Making Model

Rationality and rationalism are words too often found and used in the literature of social science, but they are more widely espoused than practised in policy-making. However, rationality is considered to be the 'yardstick of wisdom' in policy-making. This Approach emphasises that policy-making is about making a choice among policy alternatives on rational grounds. Rational policy-making is "to choose the one best option."

Thomas Dye (2004) equates rationality with efficiency. In his words, "A policy is rational when it is most efficient, that is, if the ratio between the values it achieves and the values it sacrifices is positive and higher than any other policy alternative". He further observed that the idea of efficiency involves the calculation of all social, political, and economic values sacrificed or achieved by a public policy, not just those that can be measured in monetary terms.

A policy-maker wedded to rational policy-making must :

- Know all the society's value preferences and their relative weights.
- Clarify the goals and objectives and rank them.
- Know all the policy alternatives available.
- Compare the consequences of each policy alternative.
- Calculate the ratio of achieved to sacrificed societal values for each policy alternative; and
- Select the most efficient policy alternative that matches with the goals.

In a rational decision-making process, instead of making an "ideal" decision, as Simon observes, policy-makers will break the complexity of problems into small and understandable parts; choose the one option, that is, best and satisfactory ; and avoid unnecessary uncertainty. Herbert Simon further notes, "although individuals are intendedly rational, their rationality is bounded by limited cognitive and emotional capacities.

Group Model: Policy as Group Equilibrium

The Group Model of public policy-making is based on the "hydraulic theory of politics" in which the polity operates as being a system of forces and pressures pushing against one another in the making of public policy. A Group is a collective of individuals distinguished by some common attributes or shared relationship. As per this Theory/Model, public policy is the product of group struggle. Individuals having common interests and demands join hands with each other as a formal or informal group to get the policies made by the governments as suitable to their ends.

In Group Theory, policy formulators are often seen succumbing to pressures of groups through bargaining, negotiating and compromising. Another important dimension of the group struggle is the maintenance of equilibrium in the system. The competition among groups does not permit any group to become absolutely powerful in a system for all times. Public policy is, in such a context, some sort of an equilibrium reached in the group struggle at any given moment. The interests of dominant groups are usually reflected in public policy at any point of time.

Elite-Mass Theory : Policy as Elite Preference

C. Wright Mill (1956) is, perhaps, the leading representative of the Elite-mass Model. According to this Theory, public policy is the product of elites, reflecting their preferences and values. Elite Theory or Model contends that the people are apathetic and ill-informed about public policy. Elites actually shape mass opinion on policy questions more than masses shape elite opinion.

Elite-Mass Theory has been summarised briefly by Dye (2004) as follows:

- i) “Society is divided into the few who have power and the many who do not. Only a small number of persons allocate values for society; the masses do not decide public policy.
- ii) The few who govern are not typical of the masses who are governed. Elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper socio-economic strata of society.
- iii) The movement of non-elites of elite positions must be slow and continuous to maintain stability and avoid revolution. Only non-elites who have accepted the basic elite consensus can be admitted to governing circles.
- iv) Elites share consensus on behalf of the values of the social system and the preservation of the system. In America, the bases of elite consensus are the sanctity of private property, limited government, and individual liberty.
- v) Public policy does not reflect the demands of masses but rather the prevailing values of the elite. Changes in public policy will be incremental rather than revolutionary.
- vi) Active elites are subject to relatively little direct influence from apathetic masses. Elite influence masses more than masses influence elites”.

One implication of the elite mass theory is that innovations in public policy come about as a result of redefinition by elites of their own preferences and values. But with a view of preserving the system, elite decision also reflects what is important for the welfare of the masses. Elitism does not mean that public policy will be hostile toward mass welfare.

Political Public Policy Approach

A significant departure from the rationality model is the Political Policy Process Approach espoused in policy-making. Writers, such as, Laurence Lynn and Peter deLeon have advocated this Approach. As policy analysis is a rational process, it cannot resolve value conflicts. On the other hand, politics is the management of conflicts. People have different ideas about what are the major concerns and problems confronting the society and about what the government should do about them. Therefore, policy-makers must rely on political process. A Political Approach to policy analysis lays emphasis on :

- i) Identification of societal problems that need government action.
- ii) Reasonable trade-offs among conflicting values at the policy-making process level.
- iii) The search for common beneficial outcomes for diverse groups.
- iv) Compromise, conciliation and bargaining among participants to win allies.

In this Political Approach, policy analysis plays a secondary role in the policy-making process. Charles Lindblom (1998) explains: “Strategic analysis and mutual adjustment among political participants, then, are the underlying processes by which democratic systems achieve the level of intelligent action that they do.”

Strategic Planning Approach of Policy Making

Strategic Planning is an attempt to combine the Incremental and Rational Approaches to public policy-making. This Approach has the feature of reconciling the day-to-day demands with long-range strategies for the future. Strategic Planning concentrates on making decisions but blends rational analysis with economic and political analysis. But the success in strategic planning by governments “is not achieved mechanically”, as governments are unable “to follow the linear, sequential planning models of the business policy textbooks.”

8.6 LIMITATIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY APPROACH

The approaches and models discussed in the Unit are mental abstractions of what are considered to be the mechanics and processes of policy-making. These are explanatory devices seeking to represent the realities of the policy-making process. In the development of Policy Sciences, the models are extremely useful methodological tools. At the same time, it needs to be acknowledged that administrative reality is too complex to be amenable to complete capture in a system of modelling. Accordingly, it has been discussed in the Unit that each model has its own angle of vision, and no single model is comprehensive enough to embrace all the complexities and subtle nuances of the policy-making process.

It must be admitted that public policy is desirable, particularly if it can eliminate poverty, end racism, ensure peace, prevent crime, clean the air and water and so on. But any serious study of public policy must also recognise the limitations of the policy approach in adopting the right policies. Some societal problems continue to persist because of the way in which they are defined. For example, if the poverty line is defined as the line that places one-third of the population below it, poverty cannot be eliminated. Similarly policies that solve the problems of one group in society may create problems for the other groups.

Second, expectations may always outrace the capacity of the political system. Moreover, it is quite possible that some economic and social forces cannot be harnessed by governments, even if it is desirable to do so. For example, some children may not be able to learn much in public schools no matter what the government tries to do so. In other words, governments may not be able to bring about social reforms in the society. Moreover, societal problems may have abnormal causes and consequences and a specific policy may not be able to uproot the problem.

Third, the solutions to some complex societal problems may require policies that are more costly than the problems. For example, civil disturbances, riots and occasional violence cannot be eradicated without the adoption of very repressive policies which would prove too costly in democratic values such as freedom of speech and press, and right of assembly.

And *fourth*, the democratic set up of the country is not structured for completely undertaking rational policy-making. But solution of societal problems generally implies a Rational Approach. Instead the democratic set up may reflect elite preferences,

group interests, incremental changes or mass influences more than rationalism. As such the possibility always exists that Rational Approach to public policy may not be adopted. Presumably, a democratic system is not structured for a complete rational policy-making.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Bring out the features of Elite-Mass Theory and Strategic Planning Approach.

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2) Examine the limitations of Public Policy Approach.

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8.7 CONCLUSION

This Unit dealt with the meaning and significance of public policy. It also dealt with various approaches and models of public policy. As a Public Policy Approach, it described the interaction between government that mainly produces public policies and the people for whom the policies are intended. It is observed that the function of the modeller is to facilitate public policy process by providing a theoretical model or approach. Certainly, the usefulness of an approach or model lies in its ability to simplify the really significant aspects of people’s problems. Attempting to bring modern science and technology to bear on societal problems, Policy Approach searches for good methods and techniques that help the policy-maker to choose the most advantageous action. Thus Public Policy Approach is a study of government and its people. It underlines the idea that government could, by making policies solve problems of the people.

8.8 GLOSSARY

Bounded Rationality : The concept appears in Herbert Simon’s *Administrative Behaviour*. According to Simon, human behaviour is neither totally

rational nor totally non-rational. It has its limits. Hence, decisions are never the 'best possible' outcomes in choice behaviour on the part of decision-makers, but are solutions that 'satisfice'.

- Enlightenment** : This term is used "to describe a philosophic movement of the early eighteenth century, in which numerous theorists and philosophers developed new political and social philosophies based on reason and on insights from that of natural sciences".
- Policy Environment** : Policy environment has come to mean that the public process is a product of a system that is influenced by and influences the environment in which it operates.
- Satisficing** : It means making the best possible decision under related constraints of time, information and other resources.

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8.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - 'Public' comprises that aspect of human activity which requires governmental intervention towards public interest.
 - Policy is made on public's behalf .
 - Policy is made by governments.
 - Policy is made to address on issue and look for solution.
 - Policy is what government chooses to do or not to do.
 - Policy is a study of government.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Approach is a broad method for understanding a subject.
 - Approach provides a set of intellectual tools for understanding a phenomenon.
 - Approach assimilates broad themes of a phenomenon into a set of well-defined concepts.
 - An approach could be a major part of theory.
 - A model is a simplified representation of some aspect of real world.

- Model directs our attention away from irrelevant variables.
- Models are intellectual constructs used to organise and direct research .
- Model include sets of categories and postulates which are used to sort out data.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Your answer should include the following points:

- Simon sets out two tasks in decision analysis.
- For Simon, analysis involves the study of the limits of human rationality.
- Simon observes that policy analysis involves designing the organisational environment .
- Lindblom rejects Simon's Rational Approach to policy or decisions.
- Lindblom takes account of power and power interaction.
- For Lindblom, policy gradually evolves including variations on the past and develops incrementally.
- Easton views policy process in terms of received inputs related through input channels and converted into outputs.

2) Your answer should include the following points:

- As per the Rational Approach, policy making is a choice among policy alternatives on rational grounds.
- Rational policy making is to choose the one best option.
- Rational policy is designed to maximise 'net value'.
- Rational policy involves weighing value preferences, clarifying goals, comparing consequences and selecting the most efficient policy alternative.
- Group Model is based on the hydraulic theory of policies.
- As per Group Theory, public policy is a product of group struggle.
- Policy formulators prepare policies keeping a particular group and their demands, bargaining and struggle in mind.

Check Your Progress 3

1) Your answer should include the following points:

- As per Elite-Mass Model, public policy is the product of elites reflecting their preferences and values.
- It believes that elites shape mass opinion on policy more than masses shape elite opinion.
- Innovations in public policy come about as a result of redefinition by elites of their own preferences and values.
- Strategic planning entails the Incremental and Rational Approaches to public policy making.

**Public Policy
Perspective**

- Strategic approach blends rational analysis with economic and political analysis.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
- Definition of an issue may come in the way of policy success.
 - Some economic and social forces cannot be harnessed by governments.
 - Societal problems may have abnormal causes and consequences and a specific policy may not be able to uproot them.
 - Policies could come into conflict with freedom of speech and press.
 - Rationality cannot be practiced every time during policy making



UNIT 9 POLICY SCIENCES APPROACH*

Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Nature of Policy Sciences Approach
- 9.3 Lasswell's Vision of Policy Sciences
 - 9.3.1 Multidisciplinary Perspective
 - 9.3.2 Contextual and Problem-oriented Perspectives
 - 9.3.3 Explicitly Normative Perspective
- 9.4 Scope and Expansion of Policy Sciences Approach
- 9.5 Appraisal of Policy Sciences Approach
- 9.6 New Directions and Perspectives
- 9.7 Conclusion
- 9.8 Glossary
- 9.9 References
- 9.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

9.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the significance and nature of Policy Sciences;
- Explain the meaning and scope of Policy Sciences Approach;
- Analyse the Policy Sciences Approach; and
- Describe the new directions and perspectives on Policy Sciences Approach.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Theories, models and approaches of the policy process continue to remain influential because scholars have found them to be useful for explaining important aspects of the public policy. However, like most social science theories, public policy approaches and models fail to explain all the phenomena that comprise the public process. Heineman *et. al.*(2002) and his colleagues have observed "...despite the development of sophisticated methods of inquiry, policy analysis has not had a major substantive impact on policy makers. Policy analysts have remained distant from power centres where policy decisions are made."Lasswell (1951) has stated: "We can think of the Policy Sciences as the discipline concerned with explaining the policy-making and policy-executing process, and with locating data and proving interpretations which are relevant to the policy problems of a given period."

Policy Sciences is an important area which has received wide attention from the

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policy community as a term, 'Policy Sciences' is a systematic and scientific study of public policy. It is a contemporary adaption of the general approach to public policy. Historically speaking, 'Policy Sciences' is very old when seen in terms of general approach to public policy and public advice. Its historical progression has depended on the complex interaction of social scientists and socio-political events.

There has been now a growing scepticism and criticism of the credibility of Policy Sciences to produce 'objective, empirical and normative truths'. Scientific rationality, which was once its emphasis, is being replaced by 'a broader theory of reason to society'. Today the Policy Sciences have gone far beyond new and naive aspirations for societally relevant knowledge.

Policy Sciences, like many social sciences has not built up what McCool (1995) calls a "dominant theoretical tradition", or what Thomas Kuhn (1970) would call, in the natural sciences, a 'paradigm'. The point is that it is difficult to develop a Policy Sciences Approach because of the wide variation in terminology in the various texts and policy study. For example, McCool notes that "the conceptual distinction between terms is indistinct". But acts of developing and testing approach are important because they are the very tools that help us to understand the broader question of public policy.

Therefore, the Policy Sciences scholars should remain vibrant in theory building on scientific lines on how public policy is made. It is one of the most challenging tasks in the sphere of public policy. This Unit examines Harold Lasswell and other public policy scientists' ideas and approaches on Policy Sciences. Besides, it discusses the nature and role of Policy Sciences. It also critically examines the challenges to Policy Sciences and proposes ways in which Policy Sciences could be amended.

9.2 NATURE OF POLICY SCIENCES APPROACH

The concept of 'Policy Sciences' was first formulated by Harold Lasswell, in 1951, in his work on 'The Policy Orientation', co-edited with Daniel Lerner. This work is regarded as the first systematic effort towards building a new field of enquiry to deal with social problems. Lasswell in his essay 'The Policy Orientation' (1951) has acknowledged Dewey as a policy scientist, more interested in "evaluating and reconstructing the practices of society than in higher ratiocination about the higher abstractions from which his values are derived".

Lasswell (1951) describes Policy Sciences as the culmination of efforts to define a discipline for producing and applying "societally relevant knowledge". Lasswell's vision of Policy Sciences is multidisciplinary, contextual, problem-oriented, and explicitly normative. Realisation of these ambitious goals became the concern of the Policy Sciences community in the second-half of the 20th century. The contributions of various scholars, though with different emphases, have an explicit impact on the evolution and acceptance of Policy Sciences. Brooks (1983) adds, "Policy Sciences is the most recent, and certainly the most explicit manifestation of this quest for an independent vantage point, above the political fray, affording objective criteria upon which policy decisions can be made".

Policy Sciences is a rational approach to the processes of policy making. V. Subramaniam (1980) characterises Policy Sciences as "the practical application of all relevant knowledge in the social, physical and natural sciences, to specific policy problems identified well ahead of time". The rationalist model involves a "commitment to scientific planning. This means an overhaul of the traditional approaches to making

of decisions. However, the spectre of Duncan MacRae is warded off by the suggestion that a policy analysis culture be created in order to achieve greater rationality in policy-making. This policy analysis culture has *three* main features, as found in Dror's pioneering writings:

- i) Technical experts who are sensitive to the ethical implications of decisions;
- ii) Close cooperation between researchers in government; and
- iii) An informed citizenry to fend off the anti-democratic spectre of an expert ruling class.

From Lasswell to Dror, the central idea in Policy Sciences is that it entails a 'theory of choice', an approach to the determination of policy choice. As Nagel (1980) has expressed "As social science does more analysis of hypotheses, predictions, causation, and optimising, there develops a body of potential premises that can be used in deducing conclusions, just as chemistry was able to deduce the existence of new elements before they were empirically discovered".

A large number of articles and books devoted to the teaching of policy studies and the training of policy analysts reveal the fact that Policy Sciences is a scientific approach centering around the development of professional analysts who are expert in rational decision-making. The evidence for the orientation of these professionals can be found in Nagel's discussion of the methods of policy analysis, which consists mainly of a review of the principles of optimisation of decision theory. Nagel advocates the development of a code of ethics, professionalism, and institutionalised checks.

Y. Dror (1971) and most writers on the subject seem to agree on the fact that Policy Sciences constitutes an interdisciplinary approach, which is mainly concerned with improving the policy process through the use of systematic knowledge, structural rationality, and organised activity. What Dror emphasises is that the Policy Sciences "is not directly concerned with the substantive contents of discrete policy problems, but rather with improved methods of knowledge, and systems for better policy-making".

In a similar way, Lasswell (*op.cit.*) also stresses: "Knowledge of the decision process implies systematic and empirical studies of how policies are made and put into effect". While most authors on the subject seem to agree on the basic aims of Policy Sciences, they generally do not provide an operational definition of the concept due to the cross-disciplinary nature of knowledge involved in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of policy issues. Its boundaries are not precisely delineated. They cut across such disciplines as sociology, psychology, political science, public administration, management sciences, etc.

Some writers on the subject argue that Policy Sciences, like physics and chemistry, is a science. The empirical aspect of Policy Sciences is stressed by Lasswell thus: "... to insist on the empirical criterion is to specify that general assertions are subject to the discipline of careful observation. This is a fundamental distinction between science and non-science". The term 'model' is commonly used in physical sciences and Policy Sciences. This term is used to "as a simplified representation of some aspect of the real world"(1972).

Like other social sciences, Policy Sciences is also not an exact science because substantive science is concerned with the pursuit of truth which it seeks to understand and predict. Most writers are of the view that policy sciences is merely an approach

which is concerned with improved methods of knowledge and systems for better policy-making. It is a technique which helps the decision-maker to take decisions with improved methods of knowledge. Carol Weiss (1977) describes Policy Sciences as a decision-driven model of research use. This sequential model has the following stages:

- Definition of the social problems.
- Identification of missing knowledge.
- Acquisition of the relevant data using social research techniques.
- Interpretation for problem solution.
- Policy choice.

Policy Sciences may contribute to the selection of policy options, As conceptualisation, it has *two* thrusts:

- i) It contributes to the way in which policy-making is done; and
- ii) It's policy options may percolate into society, influencing “the way that a society thinks about issues, the facts of the issues that are viewed as susceptible to alteration, and the alternative measures that it considers”.

In sum, Policy Sciences can have an influence upon the political agenda through sensitising both policy-makers and the mass of people. Nagel also argues that policy analysis provides ‘new insights’ and enables policy-makers to make better-informed choices and by implication, better policy. Stokey and Zeckhauser also declare that “no sensible policy choice can be made without careful analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of each course of action.” These statements echo Dror’s belief that institutionalised Policy Sciences would result in improved policy options.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit.

1) Examine the nature of Policy Sciences Approach.

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9.3 LASSWELL’S VISION OF POLICY SCIENCES

In the context of the development of the Policy Sciences Approach, its advocates, especially Lasswell, have deliberately distinguished themselves from early scholars in political science, public administration, psychology, jurisprudence and sociology by posing three defining characteristics. These are discussed in the subsequent sub-section:

9.3.1 Multidisciplinary Perspective

The Policy Sciences are distinctively multi-disciplinary in their intellectual and practical approaches. This is because almost every social or political problem has multiple components closely linked to the various academic disciplines without falling clearly into any one discipline's exclusive domain. Lasswell's work and approach are multidisciplinary in nature. In the words of Lasswell: "A policy orientation has been developing that cuts across the existing specialisation. The orientation is twofold. In part, it is directed towards the policy process, and in part towards the intelligence needs of policy."

According to Lasswell, the "Policy Sciences" are not to be equated with "applied social science" or "applied social and psychological science". Nor, he admonished, "are the 'Policy Sciences' to be thought of as largely identical with what is studied by the political scientists". The stress in this Approach "is upon the fundamental problems of man in society". Social scientists have argued that the roots of the policy sciences laid within economics.

It may be noted that with the advancement of knowledge on Policy Sciences, focus on uni-disciplinary approaches was de-emphasised. As of the tendency of these theories and programmes to exclude normative considerations, such as equity, was not taken very well by policy makers. Growing awareness and sensitivities led policy analysts to propose new conceptual paradigms and methodological approaches.

Y. Dror (1971) has emphasised: "Policy Sciences must integrate knowledge from a variety of branches of knowledge into a supradiscipline focusing on public policy-making". However, it may be noted that these efforts were quietly given up for two reasons. *Firstly*, the nascent field as a discipline lacked the theoretical ground and empirical stance to support such an enterprise. *Secondly*, there was the problem of a consensual set of foci as to definition and goals of Policy Sciences. *Finally*, emphasis on meta theory (as advocated by Y. Dror) at this stage would have deflected the Policy Sciences from other central features, such as, the attention and applications to real-world social problems. Therefore, to gain a complete appreciation of the phenomenon, many relevant orientations must be utilised and integrated.

9.3.2 Contextual and Problem-oriented Perspectives

The Policy Sciences were consciously framed as being problem-oriented, quite explicitly addressing public issues and posing recommendations for their relief. According to Lasswell, Policy Sciences were problem-oriented and adopted broad contextual approaches. Regarding problem-oriented and contextual policy orientation, Lasswell's idea was double-fold; in part it is directed toward the policy process, and in part toward the intelligence needs of policy. Later in 1971, Lasswell identified *two* separate approaches to the Policy Sciences: one emphasising knowledge of the policy process and another emphasising knowledge for use in the policy process. Lasswell's chosen phrase was "the Policy Sciences of democracy."

While distinguishing between 'analysis of policy' and 'analysis for policy', Ham and Hill (1993) observed that the distinction is important in drawing attention to policy analysis as an academic activity concerned primarily with advancing understanding; and analysis for policy as an applied activity concerned mainly with contributing to the solution of social problems. The Policy Sciences were to integrate both the approaches.

This vision of scientific method and democratic humanism, however, proved

operationally difficult as the Policy Sciences moved to realise status and gain academic recognition during the 1960s and 1970s. These two approaches – process and content – strengthened their respective identities, each claiming some sort of conceptual superiority. Operationally, the *two* approaches are: Policy Analysis and Policy Process.

- **Policy Analysis**

Those models emphasising policy analysis have been dominant among economists, operation researchers and public administrationists who assumed that policy problems and their solutions could be defined with rational accuracy and subjected to empirical analytical precision. Stokey and Zeckhauser in their work, “A Primer for Policy Analysis”(1978) have provided analysis with models and techniques ranging from differential equations to queuing models to linear programming and cost-benefit analysis. Their prescription was to choose the right technical model for doing analysis. Clearly, Policy Analysis is concerned with knowledge in and for the Policy Process.

Edward Quade, a pioneering proponent of the Policy Analysis Approach, in his analysis for public decisions, (1975) saw both operations research and systems analysis as synonyms for policy analysis. He identified *five* elements of policy analysis as:

- i) Identification of objectives.
- ii) Specification of alternatives.
- iii) Recommending policy action.
- iv) Monitoring policy outcomes; and
- v) Evaluating policy performance.

- **Policy Process**

Policy Analysis was criticised as being unworkable and dangerous. The critique of Policy Analysis focused on constraints of human and particularly institutional rationality that prevent legitimate claims to knowing all possible alternative solutions or being able to forecast specific policy effects. In place of rational and scientific ideals, democratic and pluralist norms were suggested. It is observed that scientific rationality is being replaced by a broader theory of reason in society. In comparison to Quade’s model, May and Wildavsky(1979) have described a policy process cycle in which they include: agenda setting, issue analysis, implementation, evaluation and termination.

Although these *two* approaches –Policy Analysis and Policy Process – have their own utilities and constraints, it would be unrealistic and harmful to isolate them. Simon has outlined a theory of decision – making bounded by notions of ‘satisficing’ and ‘bounded rationality’ one in which policy – making was constrained by imperfect and incomplete information. To Etzioni both these approaches are necessary. Lately, efforts have been made to reach a synthesis of the two and is characterised by the phrase “Post-positivism.”

9.3.3 Explicitly Normative Perspective

The Policy Sciences Approach is deliberately normative or value-oriented. This value orientation was largely in reaction to behavioralism, i.e., “objectivism” in the social sciences, and in recognition that no social problem nor methodological approach is value free. As such, to understand a problem, one must acknowledge its value components. Similarly, no policy scientist is without her/his personal values. Lasswell

and Kaplan (1950) define the Policy Sciences as providing “intelligence pertinent to the integration of values realised by and embodied in interpersonal relations”, one which “prizes not the glory of a depersonalised state or the efficiency of a social mechanism, but human dignity and the realisation of human capacities”.

The emphasis on values has remained the cornerstone of the Policy Sciences Approach. But in spite of clarification, the normative aspects of the Policy Sciences were neglected mainly for three reasons. *First*, some argued that government programmes basically contained normative postures. *Second*, some claimed that quantitative techniques, such as operations research, were essentially value-free and had nothing to do with concerns of ethics or values. Explicit beliefs in Dewey’s pragmatism and Weber’s ‘bureaucracy’ underlay this assumption. And *third*, some policy analysts argued that values were the exclusive domain of the policy maker and that for analysts to interject their values would be uncalled for and against their professional competencies. No doubt these arguments have some merit. They clearly go beyond the original explanation and enunciation of the Policy Sciences. Without consideration of the normative aspects of the policy process, analysis would be incomplete.

However, this narrative pays scant attention to three hallmarks of the Policy Sciences Approach: there is little direct attention to the problem orientation of the activity, the multidisciplinary themes are largely neglected, and the normative groundings of policy issues (and recommendations) are often overlooked.

9.4 SCOPE AND EXPANSION OF POLICY SCIENCES APPROACH

Through the 1970s, the Policy Sciences approach addressed mainly *four* topics: Evaluation; Utilisation; Implementation; and Termination. Let us discuss them now:

Evaluation: The obvious purpose of Policy Sciences was to learn from public programmes so that the social objectives could be met with new and effective programmes. In many aspects, evaluation was considered to be the policy analysis *sine qua non*.

Utilisation: An important issue that was addressed by Policy Sciences was related to the aspect of utilisation. The likelihood of success for policy analysis in alleviating policy problems was the utilisation of policy research.

Implementation: It was felt in the 1970s that the real culprit of policy failure was the

administrative delivery system. Policy Sciences advocates, therefore, proposed implementation strategies that could help policy-makers appreciate implementation problems.

Termination: In the 1980s and 1990s, the Policy Sciences advocates focused on programme termination under such labels as ‘Cutback Management’, ‘Sunset Legislation’ and ‘Fiscal Retrenchment’. This was in response to the demands for a greater economy and a reduction in government expenditure.

It may be noted that emphasis on programme implementation, evaluation, utilisation and termination studies largely failed to provide a solid programme advice. However, the expanding scope of Policy Sciences Approach remains the issue of intellectual pursuit.

Check Your Progress 2

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Bring out Harold Lasswell’s views on Policy Sciences.

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2) Examine the scope of Policy Sciences Approach.

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**9.5 APPRAISAL OF POLICY SCIENCES
APPROACH**

It is to be noted that the challenges to the Policy Sciences are not unexpected. The contemporary Policy Sciences, which emerged in the 1990s have a short history. As an academic pursuit, Policy Sciences continue to be echoed even today in every major policy text book. Today, the Policy Sciences have gone far beyond naive aspirations for ‘societally relevant knowledge’. However, the credibility of Policy Sciences has been increasingly questioned for its failure to produce empirical and normative truths. Scientific rationality which was once its base is being replaced by a broader theory of reason in society.

Some scholars like Kenis and Schneider acknowledge that there is a shift from the Policy Sciences through policy inquiry to policy networks. In policy-making, Kenis and Schneider observe that network is regarded as an arrangement characterised by a predominance of informal communicative relations, a horizontal as opposed to a hierarchical pattern of relations and a decentralised pattern of actors’ positions.

Schneider *et. al.* argue that policy networks have the ability to increase the likelihood and scope of policy agreements “by increasing available information about potential agreements and enhancing the credibility of commitments to fulfil the agreements.” The likelihood of successful policy-making can be increased by spanning organisational boundaries, exploring the details of organisational decision-making, and discovering barriers to implementation.

As already mentioned, the credibility of Policy Sciences has been increasingly questioned. The *first* dilemma is reflected in what Douglas Torgerson (2005) has argued: “The dynamic nature of the (Policy Sciences) phenomenon is rooted in an

internal tension, a dialectic opposition between knowledge and politics. Through the interplay of knowledge and politics, different aspects of the phenomenon become salient at different moments.” In other words, there is conflict between politics and science as knowledge.

Second, Policy Sciences are faced with dilemma of methodological problems. Scholars like Dryzek and Fischer (1993) argue that since positivist methodologies (based on tenets of social welfare economics, e.g., cost-benefit analysis) were fundamentally flawed, as such, it should not be astonishing that resulting analyses were also flawed. Referring to Positivism as ‘instrumental rationality’ which, Dryzek claims, “makes effective and appropriate policy analysis impossible ... (and, most critically) is antidemocratic”. According to Hajer and Wagenaar (2003), rationality, which is a destructive feature of the Policy Science Approach, “destroys and represses individuals” and is “ineffective when confronted with complex social problems”.

Third, Lasswell’s idea of democratic values was to be realised through citizens’ participation in the policy analysis. However, this participatory policy analysis has also been severely criticised by some theorists as being “too cumbersome” or demanding too much or including too many participants to move toward policy closure, especially today’s mega-policies. Some have characterised it as little more than a publicity exercise.

9.6 NEW DIRECTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

Although policy research still continues to produce the most systematic and critical analyses of complex social problems, it is also true that Policy Sciences represent only one of the several “rational ideologies” competing for social and political acceptability. Pursuing a pro-active approach, a few scholars of the Policy Sciences revisited, in the 1990s and in the first few years of the 21st century, some of the old themes in an effort to reconcile long-pending conflicts. They have also moved away from adherence to a simple theory of rational choice to a theory of reason in society, and from Policy Sciences to ‘policy inquiry.’ Two items have remained prominent on the agenda for the Policy Sciences since 1990s. *First*, the Policy Sciences were to become normative; and *second*, Policy Sciences were to be related to the emerging field of public management.

Continuity of Values in Policy Sciences

Ethical values are important for governance in government and society. Keeping politics and administration separate, it is argued, would theoretically prevent political power from corrupting bureaucracy. Similarly, introduction of measures to ensure public accountability of higher bureaucracy would provide the moral safeguards against ethical transgressions. Under ethical and social morality approach the individuals and groups both inside and outside public service are forced to make concrete ethical and value judgements on a regular basis. In a developing country like India where policy-making and policy implementation is a serious concern, much work remains to be done on methods and procedures for ethical analysis and this can be on the top of the policy agenda in the first decade of 21st century.

Focus on Public Management

During the 1970s, the Policy Sciences addressed topics of evaluation, utilisation, implementation and termination. To some extent, each of these topics have focused on moving from strategic policy analyses and advising to practical operations and

organisation. A policy remains just a policy statement unless it is implemented. Public management, like policy, shared a general disdain for traditional objective, discipline-bound, social science inquiry and preferred the multi-disciplinary, problem-oriented, and explicitly normative nature of its policy-oriented kin. The public manager is concerned with the specific functions necessary to the organisation and implementation of public policy, that is, planning, organising, directing, and controlling. Public policy and public management, that is, are partners, convergent in outcome, but with different focus. Managing public policy, according to Lynn, is “the result of executive effort directed at affecting governmental outcomes by influencing the processes that design and carry out governmental activity”.

Continuity of Relevance

It may be argued that Policy Sciences has achieved a great deal in altering the landscape of academic and public organisations. As an approach, it is relevant for resolving complex social and political issues. Social and economic policies are the issues of public concern that would largely benefit from the systematic lenses of the Policy Sciences. The Policy Sciences appear to hold an implicit assumption about the benefits of government intervention.

Emphasis on Policy Enquiry

The modern theory of policy analysis, instead of emphasising the traditional rational approach relies more on a “polity of rational ideologies “in which policy inquiry replaces the “objective” model of the Policy Sciences. A reasoning approach has the added advantage of furthering ‘the context-oriented and explicitly normative nature of the Policy Sciences’. Fischer and Forester (2012) are of the view that future of policy analysis depends on moving towards a broadened conception of reason in society that accounts for social, political, legal, moral, and ethically based rationalities. New approaches in the Policy Sciences appear to be based on the theory of applied reason and communication in society. The method of policy inquiry or argumentation promises not only to meet the goals set out by a theory of reason in society, but also to integrate the process and content divisions that have arisen within the policy sciences. The policy inquiry might represent a new advance, but it is neither free of problems nor a definite answer.

Democratisation of Policy Sciences

As already mentioned, scientific rationality is being replaced by a participatory policy analysis and post-positivist model. There is a greater concern for values, as they exist. Further, in the first quarter of the 21st century much attention is being attached to public participation in the policy process. It appears necessary for the Policy Sciences to achieve their Lasswellian goal of the “Policy Sciences of democracy” because the human condition is often temperamentally beyond quantitative capture. But this Post-positivist approach, combined with participatory policy analysis, is not without shortcomings but it promises a new vision for the future.

Social Network Analysis

Hanf and Scharpf have viewed the policy network approach as a tool to evaluate the “large number of public and private actors” from functional areas of government and society. The traditional forms of policy research have largely focused on the hierarchical policy process. On the other hand, the network approach looks at the policy process in terms of the horizontal relationships that tend to define the

developments of public policies. Although there are certainly some problems, in many ways social network analysis provides the Policy Sciences with a methodological approach that is convenient with the wide range of institutional actors who form the policy process. Thus, a network approach is useful, but Carlsson has claimed that, as of now, it is not a viable approach for Policy Sciences.

9.7 CONCLUSION

Although, Policy Sciences as a discipline or an area of study has achieved success in altering the landscape of academic and public organisations, yet its credibility has been challenged for its failure to produce ‘societally relevant knowledge’. Some scholars saw policy science approach as a substitute for politics. Brooks has observed (1993): “While not anti-democratic, the analytical approach to public policy-making aspires to the de-politicisation of the policy process”. Although the term ‘Policy Sciences’ is mostly associated with works of Lasswell and Dror, a policy orientation was evident in work of America’s first social scientists.

Highlighting the value of ‘policy sciences’. Brooks (*ibid.*) has written: “These visions of a new politics share a conviction that the institutionalisation of scientific analysis into the policy-making process is a necessary condition for the attainment of democratic government in a modern society”. But to reinvigorate the Policy Sciences Approach. The traditional analytic toolkit is, at worst, “ineffective and anti-democratic.” One obvious requirement is that “policy researchers will need to acquire a new set of analytic skills dealing with public education and negotiation and mediation, that is, helping to foster new policy design models that are less hierarchical than has been the case, rather than simply advising policy-makers”.

DeLeon and Vogenbeck (2007) have suggested that “the policy scientist should become more fluent and practised in addressing the potential effects of decentralised authority”, for it is observed that most governments are “moving at the moment toward a more localised, state-centred form of government”. It may be added here that the future of policy science approach (although presently faced with numerous crises of identity and being at crossroads) will depend less on its adherence to scientific rationality and more on its ability to serve the knowledge needs of the administrative and political community in the form of directed policy inquiry and social network analysis.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Describe the new directions and perspective in Policy Sciences.

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2) Examine the shortcomings of Policy Sciences Approach.

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9.8 GLOSSARY

- Behavioural Sciences** : The Behavioural Sciences study human behaviour by scientific means as a preliminary approximation.

- Empirical** : It refers to collection of data or facts based on inductive methods of enquiry.

- Normative** : Relating to or establishing a norm; normative analysis emphasises on human dignity, democratic values.

- Scientific Method** : It involves identifying a problem, gathering data and testing hypotheses.

- Paradigm** : A broad theoretical framework or model about phenomena that guides research.

- Policy Community** : It refers to a group of actors, such as interest groups, government agencies, the media and elected officials, who are actively involved in policy-making in a particular domain.

- Policy Tool** : According to Lester Salamon and Michael Lund, it is “a method through which government seeks a policy objective”.

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9.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Policy Sciences concept was formulated by Harold Lasswell in 1951.
 - Policy Sciences is much-disciplinary, contextual, normative and problem oriented.
 - Policy Sciences includes choices, prediction, and optimisation.
 - It is mainly concerned with improving policy process.
 - It represents the real world by defining social problems and interpreting solutions to problems.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answers should include the following points:
 - In Lasswell's view, Policy Sciences are multi-disciplinary.
 - Policy Sciences focus on multi-disciplinary perspective, contextual and problem-oriented perspective as well as policy analysis, policy process and explicitly normative perspective.
 - Roots of Policy Sciences lie within economics.
 - Sensitive and aware policy scientists propose new conceptual paradigms and methodological approaches.
 - Lasswell identified two approaches to policy sciences on focusing on knowledge of policy process and second on knowledge for use in policy process.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Scope and expansion of Policy Sciences Approach include evaluation, utilisation, implementation and termination.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Policy Sciences represents only one of the several rational ideologies competing for social and political acceptability.

- Continuity of values in Policy Sciences is still there.
- There is a poignant focus on public management in Policy Sciences.
- As an approach it is important in solving complex social and political issues.
- There is a focus on Policy Enquiry.
- Policy Sciences is focussing on democratisation and participation.
- Policy network approach is gaining value.

2) Your answer should include the following points:

- Policy Sciences are not unexpected or have a short history.
- Policy Sciences have gone far beyond naive aspirations for societally relevant knowledge.
- There is a shift from policy inquiry to policy.
- Policy Sciences have been criticised for their inability to produce empirical and normative truths.
- Dynamic nature of Policy Sciences is rooted in internal tension.
- Policy Sciences are faced with dilemma of methodological problems.



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UNIT 10 ECOLOGICAL APPROACH*

Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Concept of Ecology
- 10.3 Agraria and Industria Models
- 10.4 Fused-Prismatic-Diffracted Model for Developing Societies
- 10.5 Bazaar-Canteen Model: The Basis of Prismatic Economy
- 10.6 Evaluation of the Riggsian Model
- 10.7 Conclusion
- 10.8 Glossary
- 10.9 References
- 10.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

10.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to :

- Examine the concept of ecology;
- Examine the Agraria and Industria Models given by Riggs;
- Discuss the Model of Fused-Prismatic-Diffracted societies;
- Bring out the characteristics of the Bazaar Canteen Model; and
- Analyse the Riggsian Model of economy.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

With Globalisation in its full bloom, the face of modern governments has undergone several structural changes. Public administration has acquired a multi-faceted approach towards meeting the roles and goals of any progressive society. Consequently, various theories have become important in understanding the problems that are prevalent and are being faced by the modern governments in today's world. One of them is the Ecological Approach. This Approach came into existence when Western Approaches were found to be inadequate in addressing problems of the developing nations and simultaneously many scholars were of the view that the Western Models and Theories were a complete misfit in the Third World countries.

After the second world war, many countries in Asia, Africa, which got liberated from Colonial Rule got more concerned with the task of nation building and social transformation. Most literature on development centered on development of first world countries. This realisation resulted in the conceptualisation of new concepts and approaches, which would serve the requirement of the Third World or developing

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countries and this paved the way for the Ecological Approach, which focused on studying the ecology of various environments of countries and designing conducive policies thereof. This Unit will explain the concept of ecology. It will bring out the nature of Agraria and Industria Models that preceded the Riggsian Fused-Prismatic-Diffracted Models. It will also examine the characteristic features of Prismatic societies.

10.2 CONCEPT OF ECOLOGY

The word 'ecology' has been borrowed from biology, which connotes the relationship between animal species and the natural environment. John.M.Gaus stressed on the need to study the concept of ecology to study the relationships between bureaucracy and its environment (*Cited in Arora, 1984*). The Ecological Approach is the forerunner of the General Systems Approach, which was given by Talcott Parsons in sociology. Fred Riggs being a sociologist himself developed the concept of Ecological Approach, which studied dynamic interactions between administrative system and its environment. Riggs was of the opinion that an administrative structure cannot function in isolation of its existing environment and that is how he assumed that the administrative system is a sub-system of society, which is influenced by other sub-systems and in turn influences them. Ecological Approach, therefore, states that administrative system exists in a cultural context, which has a two-way communication.

Riggs believed that a society has to perform certain functions and these functions compel the individuals to form structures, which may be social, economic, political, communicational and symbolic. Therefore, administration is culture-bound. Fred Riggs in his Book entitled "The Ecology of Public Administration" (1961) has explored the dynamics of interaction between public administration and its external environment. However, the adoption of this Approach was first suggested by Dwight Waldo in 1955. To understand the Ecological Approach in a larger perspective, it is important to study the *two* important categories of models of Riggs and these are the Agraria and Industria Models and the Fused-Prismatic- Diffracted Models.

10.3 AGRARIA AND INDUSTRIA MODELS

Riggs classified societies into agricultural and industrial societies i.e., the Agraria and the Industria. The Models were developed to study the political and administrative transition in these societies. China and America are examples of Agraria and Industria Models respectively. Riggs assumed that all societies transformed from Agraria to Industria at some point of time in history.

The features of the *Agraria* Model are as follows:

- Predominant ascriptive, particularistic and diffused patterns.
- Limited social and spatial mobility and stable local groups.
- Relatively simple and stable occupational differentiation.
- Existence of differential stratification system.

Similarly, the characteristics of a "modern industrial society" i.e., Industria were given as follows:

- Predominantly universalistic, specific and achievement norms.
- Higher social and spatial mobility.

- Well-developed occupational system insulated from other social structures.
- “Egalitarian” class system based on generalised patterns of occupational achievement.
- Prevalence of “associations”, i.e., functionally-specific, non-ascriptive structure.

Soon the realisation dawned that these Models were two extremes of prevalent societies and were not helpful in studying the transitional societies i.e., the societies, which were not yet fully industrialised, but far more industrialised compared to the agrarian economies. Therefore, to address this problem, Riggs developed an equilibrium model ‘Transitia’ for the transitional societies which were less developed. The ‘Agrarian-Industria’ Model was criticised on the grounds that the ‘Industria’ does not exist in isolation, but has ‘Agraria’ included within it. Therefore, two separate polar type of societies could not exist. This Model assumed a unidirectional movement of the agrarian society to the industrialised society. The classification of the societies into two types of societies proved to be too abstract and general.

The analysis of the administrative sub-system was not dealt with in detail. On the contrary, the environment of the administrative sub-system was explained more extensively. Therefore, it was realised that the transitional societies could not be studied with the help of these Models. Riggs soon abandoned these Models and developed the concept or Model of ‘Fused-Prismatic-Diffracted’ for developing societies.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain the features of Agraria-Industria Model.

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10.4 FUSED-PRISMATIC-DIFFRACTED MODEL FOR DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

The ideal models of Fused, Prismatic and Diffracted societies aimed at studying the pre-historic, developing and developed societies. While explaining the concept of Structural-functional Approach, it was mentioned that social structures may perform a large number of functions in some societies. This was called ‘multi-functionality’ and such social structures were called ‘functionally diffused’. On the other hand, ‘functionally specific’ social structures performed only prescribed limited functions. Riggs called functionally diffused societies as ‘Fused’ and the functionally specific societies as ‘Diffracted’. The society that was intermediate of these types of societies was called ‘Prismatic’. Prismatic society had features of both Fused and Diffracted societies. Riggs emphasised that all societies are generally Prismatic and no society

could be called purely Fused or Diffracted. It is to be noted that Riggs developed Fused-Prismatic-Diffracted models only as parameters, and their exact characteristics are not found in any actual society.

Now, if we look at the Prismatic societies, they had the following features, which stood between those of Fused and Diffracted societies: The focus of Riggs's Model was the study of administrative sub-system, which he termed '*Sala*'. He studied the interaction of *Sala* Model with other social structures. The primary concern of Riggs was the study of administrative problems of the developing or transitional societies. The basic characteristics of the Prismatic societies were:

Heterogeneity

Heterogeneity refers to the simultaneous presence of different kinds of systems, practices and viewpoints. It means presence of features of both Fused and Diffracted societies e. g., presence of sophisticated intellectual class in urban areas, while in rural areas, traditional rural elders still have many political, religious, administrative roles etc. This may happen due to uneven social change. Similarly, the administrative sub-system of prismatic societies *Sala* exists along with modern 'bureau' and traditional 'courts' or 'chambers'.

Formalism

Formalism refers to "the degree of congruence between the formally prescribed and the effectively practiced i. e., between the norms and the realities." (Arora, 2008, *op.cit.*). Opposite of Formalism is called Realism. For example, government officials are bound by certain rules and regulations in any given organisation. However, they act in a different way considerably. The Diffracted and Fused societies have a high degree of Realism. Due to Formalism, the public officials have a lot of discretion in implementing the laws. The broad reason why such Formalism develops in a prismatic society is due to lack of ability of the society to guide the performance of the institutions respectively, i.e., lack of awareness in public, lack of commitment towards the societal objectives etc. This type of formalistic behaviour encourages corruption in a Prismatic society.

Due to such a 'Formalism-Realism' dichotomy between the Prismatic and Diffracted societies, administrative reforms can be brought out in Diffracted societies, which may lead to the desired changes in administrative system. However, in the Prismatic societies as the public officials indulge in behaviour, which is quite different from the officially prescribed one, administrative reforms have only a superficial impact.

Overlapping

This refers to "the extent to which formally differentiated structures of a Diffracted society coexist with the undifferentiated structures of a Fused type" (Arora, *ibid.*). In a Diffracted society, there is no overlapping as the various structures of the social system perform the specific functions in a more or less autonomous way, while in a Fused society all the functions are performed by the same social structures. There is no scope of overlapping in Fused societies as well. However, in a Prismatic society though new social structures are created still the society is dominated by the undifferentiated structures. In the administrative sub-system *Sala* overlapping means that the actual administrative action is determined by 'non-administrative' criteria such as social, cultural, political, economic or religious factors etc. Overlapping is manifested in a Prismatic society by many features e.g., Nepotism, Poly-communalism

or 'Cleets', Poly-normativism, lack of consensus, separation of authority and control. These are described below:

Nepotism

In a Prismatic society, the considerations of caste, religion, family and loyalty etc., are the deciding factors of official recruitment. Such factors exist despite being prohibited. However, in a Diffracted society, universalism is the criteria for official recruitment. This is due to the fact that in a Prismatic society 'Selectivism', which is intermediate between 'Universalism' and 'Particularism' prevails i.e., sometimes Universalism is followed, while sometimes Particularism is followed. This totally depends on the people that are to be selected and the favours they find with the selecting authority.

Poly-communalism or 'Cleets'

Poly-communalism refers to the simultaneous existence in a society of various ethnic, religious and racial groups, which remain quite hostile to each other while in existence. These groups represent various interest groups existing in the community. These groups are termed as 'Cleets' by Riggs and they are characterised by Attainment norms, Selectivism and Poly-functionalism. Cleets are functionally diffuse and carry out semi-traditional type functions, but Cleets are organised in a 'modern' way.

According to Riggs, ecological factors affect the administrative system also, so the existence of Cleets affects *Sala* also. As a result, the public officials develop a loyalty toward the community more than the government. However, during the course of official recruitment, the minority community gets disproportionate representation, therefore to balance it the "quota system" was started but that said Riggs generally results in mutual hostility among the various groups existing in the society. The *Sala* officials develop close nexus with some particular Cleets and start functioning as their 'agents'. This affects the functioning of the government very badly and in turn generates corruption.

Poly-normativism

Poly-normativism is a unique feature of the prismatic societies, which means that the traditional behaviour pattern co-exists with 'new' sets of norms. This results in lack of consensus on norms of behaviour that affects the *Sala* also. *Sala* officials though publicly claim to follow objective, universalistic and achievement-oriented norms, but in reality they follow subjective, particularistic and ascriptive behaviour. The recruitment of public officials is generally done from certain groups only. Even if recruitment is done based on merit, the career advancement of the officials is affected by ascriptive values. The relationship between the citizens and *Sala* officials is also affected by Poly-normativism. Though the citizens expect the public officials to be honest and rule abiding, yet they do not have these virtues and avail benefits out of turn.

Separation of Authority and Control

In a Prismatic society, the authority and control structures are separated. Though such type of societies have highly centralised and concentrated authority structures in the society, still the control system is highly localised and dispersed. This means that there is a separation of "de-jure" authority (i.e., legitimate power) from "de-facto" control (i.e., illegitimate power). This control system finds roots in society's culture of Poly-communalism, Cleets and Poly-normativism.

The politician-administrator relationship in a Prismatic society is thereby affected and results in “unbalanced polity” in which the *Sala* officials extensively influence the policy making process. Here the dominance of bureaucrats in the exercise of power makes the political process weak and the administration becomes unresponsive in prismatic societies. According to Riggs, in such a scenario if the public administration in transitional societies is strengthened, then it blocks the political development. The *Sala* officials become too powerful as authorities, but weak as administrators. This results in nepotism in recruitment, corruption and inefficiency in the administration of laws. Riggs then went on to develop the Bazaar Canteen Model, which was mostly driven by market forces prevailing in a prismatic society which further defined the ecology of society.

10.5 BAZAAR-CANTEEN MODEL: THE BASIS OF PRISMATIC ECONOMY

In transitional or prismatic societies, the economy is represented by *Bazaar Canteen* Model as propagated by F.W.Riggs. It was the economic sub-system of Prismatic society that was termed as *Bazaar Canteen* by Riggs. *Bazaar* is the market, which has demand-supply price determinancy, but the *Canteen* represents the state of price indeterminacy of the agrarian set-up. (Singh, 2002). Market forces of supply and demand determine the prices in a Diffracted society, but in a Fused society ‘arena’ factors (considerations which determine balance of power, prestige, solidarity, other religious, social and familial factors) dominate. In a Prismatic society, both market and arena factors interact in such a way that they produce a state of price indeterminacy and a price which might be called “common to all” that cannot be determined for a service or commodity.

The economic sub-system in Prismatic society behaves as “subsidised canteen”, where the goods and services are provided at lower rates, for the members of special Clects or for politically influential groups who have ‘access’ to the canteen and as ‘tributary canteen’, where higher prices are charged, to the ‘outside’ members. This means that in Prismatic societies, the prices charged for the public services vary according to the relationship between the *Sala* official and his clientele (Sahni and Vayunandan, 2010).

This “bargaining” trend that is prevalent in the economic sub-system of the prismatic societies affects the financial administration, particularly areas such as budgeting, accounting, auditing, collection of taxes etc. The collection of government revenues also gets adversely affected resulting in low emoluments to the public officials. Such an atmosphere breeds corruption by the public officials to increase their income.

After analysing the main features of prismatic societies, it is also important to study the process of change in societies. If change is caused by external pressures like technical assistance programmes, the change is called “exogenous”, on the other hand the change emanating due to internal processes is called “endogenous” change. “Equi-genetic” change results when both external and internal pressures for change act in equal measure. In Prismatic societies, both exogenous and endogenous changes take place. However, if the process of diffraction is more exogenetic then the prismatic phase has more formalism, heterogeneity and overlapping. Such societies are called ‘exo-prismatic’ societies. In ‘endo-prismatic’ societies, the Prismatic phase is more ‘endogenetic’ and the ‘effective’ behaviour precedes the formation of new institutions, while in exo-prismatic societies, first the formal institutions are created and then it is

expected that the behaviour of social structures will change according to the newly prescribed norms.

10.6 EVALUATION OF THE RIGGSIAN MODEL

The Riggsian Prismatic-Sala Model was also not spared from being criticised and the grounds for criticism are as follows:

Firstly, Riggs was criticised for using terms from physics, such as diffracted, refracted and prismatic, which do not explain the nature and functions of societies. *Secondly*, the Ecological Approach fails to explain the process of administrative reforms in the third world countries. In Riggsian analysis, the major focus is on the impact of external environmental factors on the administrative sub-system and not the other way round. For any study to be called ecological, it has to study the “interactions” of the system with its environment i.e., the effect of external environment on the system and system’s effect on the environment.

Riggs has considered the impact of external socio-cultural, economic and political factors on *Sala*, but he has not considered the impact of *Sala* on socio-cultural and economic factors though the effect on political environment has been considered to some extent. In Prismatic societies, the administrative sub-systems are relatively autonomous capable of directing socio-economic change, the effect of such autonomy on socio-cultural dimensions also needs to be studied.

The Prismatic model gives a vivid picture of social system in a transitional society, but not that of the components and details of the administrative sub-system. The environmental factors affecting the administration have occupied much space in Riggsian models rather than the administrative sub-systems i.e., analysis of work output efficiency of different administrative sub-systems in different contextual settings of various organs of administration etc. Riggsian models do not look into the possibility of relative independence of various “social structures”. It may be possible that a transitional society has ‘prismatic’ socio-cultural sub-systems, while a ‘diffracted’ bureaucratic sub-system. Such is the case in countries like India and Malaysia.

Thus, Prismatic society cannot be considered to have all the components as Prismatic, there may be cases when some social structures in such society are relatively diffracted in comparison to the other. So, there is a need to consider ‘mixed categories’ in a Prismatic Model. Most importantly, USA has been treated as a role model of a Diffracted society, although it is found to be more of a Prismatic society and the Ecological Approach tends to reflect the American psychology in which the Third World countries were generally looked down upon as backward, underdeveloped and their salvation was only possible if they moved towards the American model of *industria* society.

It cannot be generalised, as has been done in Riggsian models, that Formalism always enhances the “power” of the bureaucrats or that power of administrators is indirectly proportional to the administrative effectiveness. Much depends on the way the terms like ‘power’ are defined. Inter-relationships among several structural conditions should have been taken into account by Riggs to make his study more effective. Overlapping is not necessarily dysfunctional and sometimes it brings along with it “new ideas and interesting change”.

In fact, countries like United States sometimes set up two or more competitive agencies, whose areas of function overlap and result in some wastage but also

bring out some new innovations. It has been observed that one of the effective ways of administrative reforms was to duplicate functions, to start competition with old bureaucracy or to bypass it altogether. Thus, overlapping per se does not always mean dysfunctionality and wastage of resources and Riggs should have considered this aspect to increase the investigative purpose of his study.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Describe the features of Prismatic societies.

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2) Write a note on the Bazaar Canteen Model.

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10.7 CONCLUSION

The Ecological Approach to study comparative public administration differs in regard to the number of ecological elements incorporated in it. In the Riggsian Model, the socio-cultural and economic aspects of the administrative ecology are discussed in a much more wider context. Riggs was mainly interested in studying the problems of administrative sub-systems (*Sala*) of developing countries in transition. The administrative patterns of fused or diffracted societies were not his prime consideration. Still, Riggs’s contribution to development administration has been his ecological models, but his contribution to the study of comparative public administration has also been phenomenal.

The ideal type Models of Riggs have influenced much research in comparative public administration. They are designed to suggest certain relationships among the different variables they incorporate. Ecological models help only qualitative comparisons among various societies. Their utility is limited as they use such categories that are more or less Prismatic in the problems faced while measuring diffraction. In spite of these and other operational problems, the Ecological Model has brought consciousness of interaction between administrative system and the social environment around it. Riggs brought in a new perspective of environment into the domain of public administration, which has given much food for thought to other scholars and has certainly made the Ecological Approach an important component of public administration.

10.8 GLOSSARY

- Stratified Differentiation** : Structured inequalities between different groupings and not just a system of inequality. Within an unequal system, more inequalities based on birth, sex and ethnicity.
- Poly-normativism** : Traditional behaviour pattern.
- Universalistic Norms** : It means that norms practiced have a universal application and coexist with new sets of norms. As 'Poly' means many, it means many types of norms.

10.9 REFERENCES

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10.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
- Ascriptive norms in agrarian societies.
 - Limited social mobility.
 - Simple occupational differentiation.
 - Differential stratification.
 - Industria would show just the opposite features.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
- Heterogeneity
 - Overlapping
 - Formalism
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
- Both market and arena factors determine the economy.
 - Economic sub-system functions as a subsidised canteen.
 - Bargaining is prevalent.
 - Corruption rules the roost.

UNIT 11 NEW PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION APPROACH*

Structure

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Phases of Public Administration
- 11.3 Concept of New Public Administration
- 11.4 Themes of New Public Administration
- 11.5 Features of New Public Administration
- 11.6 Conclusion
- 11.7 Glossary
- 11.8 References
- 11.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

11.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Define public administration;
- Discuss the evolution and phases of public administration;
- Describe the concept of New Public Administration;
- Explain the themes and features of New Public Administration; and
- Analyse the importance of New Public Administration.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Before we go into understanding New Public Administration, it is important to first understand the nature of public administration. You already have a fair idea about it as this has been explained in the first Unit of this Course. Public administration refers to the administration, which is carried out in the form of services that are rendered for the welfare of the people. Therefore, public administration is the implementation of government policy and is also an academic discipline. Public administration as a discipline emerged in the year 1887, when Woodrow Wilson, first formally recognised public administration in an Article entitled “The Study of Administration”.

Wilson’s Article is considered to be an important landmark for the beginning of public administration as a discipline. Wilson’s vision on administration as a separate discipline to study government in action gave an impetus to public administration. Owing to the impact of his Article, Wilson is considered to be the father of public administration. But, Wilson’s Article cannot be considered as the first serious and

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systematic study of government in action. Prior to Wilson, there were a number of events and structures, which undertook a serious study on government in action. Some of the examples are Ramayana, Mahabharata, and excerpts from Austrian and German Scholars.

Public administration consists of the multifarious activities undertaken by a government to look after its people, or to manage its affairs. Keeping in mind, the various interpretations of the concept of public administration, it is important to understand the meaning of the terms 'public' and 'administration'. The word 'public' stands for the people of a definite territory or State. As the will of the people of a State is represented by the government of the State, the word 'public' also has a specialised, governmental meaning. Therefore, the acts of administration performed by the government are called 'public administration'.

11.2 PHASES OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

However, gradually the discipline of Public administration gained impetus. Thereafter, the evolution of public administration as a specialised field of study falls into a number of critical stages.

We can broadly divide the history of public administration into the following *five* periods:

- Period I (1887 – 1926)
- Period II (1927-1937)
- Period III (1938 – 1947)
- Period IV (1948 – 1970)
- Period V 1971 – continuing

Period I (1887-1926) Public Administration Dichotomy

The discipline of public administration was born in the USA. The credit for initiating it as an academic study of public administration goes to Woodrow Wilson, who was teaching Political Science at Princeton University and who later became the President of USA. Wilson is regarded as the father of the discipline of public administration. In his Article entitled "The Study of Administration", published in 1887, he emphasised the need for studying public administration as a discipline apart from politics. This was known as the principle of politics-administration dichotomy, i.e., a separation between politics and administration. Politics-administrative dichotomy is often traced to the Wilsonian call for a science of administration.

Functionally, administration was separated from politics. Evolution of public administration, it has been argued, is concerned with implementation of policy decisions taken politically. Frank Goodnow sought to conceptually distinguish the two functions. According to him, "Politics has to do with policies or expressions of the State will" and "Administration has to do with the execution of these policies." Apart from this analytic distinction, the institutional locations of these two functions were differentiated. The location of politics was identified as the legislature and the location of administration was identified as the executive arm of government, the bureaucracy.

Period II (1927-1937) Principles of Administration

The central belief of this period was that there are certain 'principles' of administration, which are required to increase the efficiency and economy of public administration. This was the time when the Industrial Revolution period was in full swing, and all

that countries were concerned with was increasing production at any cost in order to earn big. With this came, rapid expansion of industries and also a plethora of problems in management that were unforeseen and therefore difficult to solve. That's when F.W. Taylor and Henri Fayol stepped in and generated their principles of administration/management. They were successful administrators in their own right and therefore their views held a lot of importance. This period was the golden period of 'principles' in the history of public administration when it commanded a high degree of respectability.

Period III (1938-1947) Era of Challenges

The main theme during this period was the advocacy of 'Human Relations' and Behavioural Approach' to the study of public administration. The idea of politics-administrative dichotomy was rejected. It was argued that administration cannot be separated from politics because of its political nature and role, Administration is not only concerned with policy decision but it deals with the policy formulation. Similarly, the principle of Administration was challenged. During this phase, both the first and the second phase were challenged. It was observed that:

- 1) **Politics and administration could never be clearly separated** because in practice, there is a close nexus between politics and administration. In 1950, a scholar wrote, "A theory of public administration means in our time a theory of politics also." And hence, Nicholas Henry says, "With this declaration, the dichotomy died."
- 2) **Principles of administration were not something big enough.** Herbert Simon and Robert Dahl were in support of the above two objections. In 1947, Herbert Simon in his Book, "Administrative Behaviour" wrote that "*A fatal defect of the current principles of administration is that for almost every principle one can find an equally plausible and acceptable contradictory principle*". In Simon's conclusion, principles are unscientifically derived and no more than proverbs. He also rejected separation between politics and administration and argued for 'logical positivism' in the study of policy-making and relation of means and ends. He observed that decision-making must be derived from the logic and psychology of human choice.

While Robert Dahl in his essay, "The Science of Public Administration" expressed three problems in the evolution of science of public administration –Exclusion of normative consideration from public administration. Exclusion of the study of human behaviour from the science of public administration. Exclusion of the varying historical, sociological, economic and other conditioning factors from the science of public administration. By 1950s, both the objections were completely rejected by scholars of public administration. This rejection left public administration without identity, and thus a new phase of evolution of the discipline of public administration took birth.

Period 1V (1950-1970) The Crisis of Identity or Public Administration as Political Science :

In this phase, public administration was re-established into the mother discipline, political science. But there were several issues such as:

- Absence of comprehensive intellectual framework for public administration as a separate discipline.
- Willingness of political scientists to engulf public administration into political science.

- During 1960s, the American Political Science Association moved officially to rid itself of public administration. So, a scholar pointed that political science seems to have less utility in the education of public administrators. Political science educates for “**intellectualised understanding**” of public administration, whereas public administration educates for “**knowledgeable action**”.

Period V (1971-continuing) Public Administration as Management

As public administration was struggling for its identity, a few public administrationists began searching for an alternative. They found it in ‘management’, called either ‘administrative science’ or ‘generic management’, which holds that sector, culture, institution, mission, so on and so forth have little consequence to efficient and effective administration, and that “a body of knowledge” – statistics, economics, accounting, operation research, and organisation are often needed, and exists common to the field of administration. But it is noteworthy that “management’s focus is exclusively technical, whereas public administration’s focus is both technical and normative.

Finally, it was becoming increasingly clear to public administrationists that neither political science nor management addressed their interest, nor could they. With this, a new phase began.

Public Administration as Public Administration (1970-present)

Public administration eventually parted ways with political science and management, and it emerged as an autonomous field of study and practice. So, in 1970, public administration declared it as an independent discipline with the birth of National Association of Schools of Public Administration (NASPAA).

11.3 CONCEPT OF NEW PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

New Public Administration traces its origins to the first Minnowbrook Conference held in 1968 under the patronage of Dwight Waldo. This Conference brought together the top scholars in public administration and management to discuss and reflect on the state of the field and its future. USA at that time was grappling with unusual social and political unrest. In this context, Waldo concluded that neither the study nor the practice of public administration was able to address the problems of those times and a general mistrust had become associated with public administration itself.

Therefore, the need of the hour was to revamp the ethical obligations of the service sector that was necessary in rebuilding the public’s trust of government and bureaucracy, which had been plagued by corruption and nepotism and scholars were of the opinion that public administration should act as an instrument of initiating and sustaining social change. This gave way to a new dimension and approach of public administration which was called the New Public Administration Approach.

New Public Administration states that public administration does not function in a vacuum and the administration is responsive towards the needs of the society at large which therein caters to the problems and malaise of the society. It was therefore an anti-positivist, anti-technical, and anti-hierarchical reaction against traditional public administration. The focus was on the role of government and how they can provide the essential services to citizens.

The rise and growth of the concept of NPA can be traced to:

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- Honey Report on Higher Education for Public Services, which highlighted the institutional shortcomings in the area of public administration between the scholars and practicing administrators. Besides this, it also focused on the uncertainties and confusion over the status of the discipline.
- Philadelphia Conference on the Theory and Practice of Public Administration, 1967. This Conference emphasised the role of Public Administration in terms of addressing social problems and promoting social equity with the progressive transformation of the State from a Police State to a Welfare State.
- Minnowbrook Conference, 1968 held under the chairmanship of Dwight Waldo critically reviewed the study and practice of public administration in a changing environment. The Conference advocated a normative approach instead of a value-free approach to address the economic, social and psychological evils of the society.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) What do you understand by New Public Administration?

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2) Trace the evolution and growth of Public Administration.

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3) What are the factors that gave rise to New Public Administration Approach?

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11.4 THEMES OF NEW PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The themes of the New Public Administration Approach have been:

Relevance: It stated that traditional public administration has too little interest in contemporary problems and issues. Social realities must be taken into consideration. i.e., people should see changes as relevant meaning thereby that changes should be specific to the needs of the area and the need of the people. Earlier approaches to NPA neglected the rationality of the people. However, NPA suggested the inclusion of rationality of the people too in the process of policy formulation. It advocated that the whatever issues are addressed pertaining to the activities of public administration, should be relevant keeping in mind the prevalent societal concerns of the country and the citizens.

Values: Value-neutrality in public administration is an impossibility. Values are a prerequisite of development. Value centrality should be an organisational goal, and is to be taken into account when conducting all public policy formulation. The citizens, their problems have to be catered to with value sensitivity and orientation which in turn makes the organisation more effective and efficient. Avoidance or failure to achieve transparency can cause significant damage to the relationship between the state and the people they are aiming to serve.

Social Equity: Realisation of social equity should be a chief goal of public administration. The main objective of any organisation is to treat all citizens at par irrespective of caste, creed, colour or race. Social equity is an important component for any organisation to prosper and flourish and this was propagated by the New Public Administration Approach.

Change: Change is an inevitable part of the society and every organisation should adapt itself to the changing scenarios of the prevalent times. This change infuses a sense of newness and fosters adaptability only to keep the citizens and their welfare at bay. Thus, operational flexibility and organisational adaptability encompassing the environmental changes should be in-built in the administrative system.

Management-Worker Relations: There should be equal emphasis both on efficiency and humane considerations. This new Approach focuses on both the efficiency and the human relations criterion in order to achieve growth and success.

NPA provides solutions for achieving these goals, popularly called the 4 D's i.e., Decentralisation, Debureaucratisation, Delegation and Democratisation.

11.5 FEATURES OF NEW PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The main features of New Public Administration have been:

- **Responsiveness:** The administration should bring about certain internal as well as external changes so that public administration could be made more relevant to the social, economic, political and technological environment. For this to happen the administration has to be more flexible and adaptable to the various changes.
- **Client Centricity:** This means that the effectiveness of the administrator should be judged not only from the point of view of the government, but from that of the citizens. If the administrative actions do not improve the quality of life of

citizens then they are not effective notwithstanding whatsoever rationality and efficiency they may have.

- **Structural Changes in Administration:** The New Public Administration Approach calls for small, flexible and less hierarchical structures. In administration, the citizens-administration interface can become more flexible and comfortable and the organisational structure should be in consonance with the socially relevant conditions.
- **Multi-disciplinary Nature of Public Administration:** Knowledge from several disciplines and not just one dominating paradigm build the discipline of public administration. The political, social, economic, management and human relation approaches are needed to ensure the growth of discipline.

The Second Minnowbrook Conference was held after a gap of twenty years in 1988, which was attended by sixty eight scholars and practitioners of Public administration and other disciplines such as History, Economics, Political Science, Psychology, and so on. The Conference however focused on the changing role of State and government, privatisation, contracting out and the increasing role of non-state actor in the government. It examined the theory and practice of public administration and by balancing the business and public sector.

This was followed by the third Minnowbrook Conference, which was held under the chairmanship of Rosemary O’Leary and organised when the American economy was down the hill and global terrorism had starting showing its first effects. It called for global concerns like global terrorism, economy and ecological imbalances etc. Participants were invited from other countries as well. Hence, it was global in approach focussing upon global challenges and problems of public administration. It upheld the structural and functional reforms or second generation reforms that gave rise to the concept of 3 E’s – Economy, Efficiency and Effectiveness. The proceedings were published in “The Future of Public Administration Around the World: The Minnowbrook Perspective” by Rosemary O’Leary, David M. Van Slyke, and Soonhee Kim.

In a nutshell, it can be said that New Public Administration did bring forth some newness in the concept of public administration which was challenged by various critics. Many of the scholars were of the opinion that when time lapsed, the newness of that particular aspect or issue would go away, secondly it was not new in content but new in form. Some issues were taken up consecutively, which meant that they had not been achieved .

11.6 CONCLUSION

Thus, it cannot be ruled out that the New Public Administration did give a new dimension to public administration. It came at a time when the discipline was struggling for survival and was losing its identity. It was then that New Public Administration focused on the societal issues and problems owing to which the public at large was facing undue unrest and upheaval. It brought back the importance of values in any given system, without which the society cannot prosper as a whole. The focus had become more public oriented, more client oriented and normative at the same time. Emphasis was also laid on combining the best of the worlds that is public as well as private. This Approach paved the way for a better understanding and growth of the discipline of public administration and the concerns of the society at large and with this approach the status of public administration makes a comeback to sustain and grow in the years to come.

11.7 GLOSSARY

- Anti-Positivist** : It means that we need a different perspective to look at social sciences as the methodology of natural sciences relies too much on scientific method of investigation. The nuances of human interactions are integral to social sciences and can only be studied contextually.
- Debureaucratisation** : Transfer of powers and functions from the government or bureaucracy to non-government organisations and private sector.
- Delegation** : Assignment of responsibility or authority from one person or position (delegator) to the other (delegatee). The delegator, however, remains responsible and accountable for all the delegated tasks.

11.8 REFERENCES

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11.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answers should include the following points.
 - Public administration does not function in a vacuum.
 - Administration is responsive towards the needs of the society at large which therein caters to the problems and malaise of the society.
 - It is an anti-positivist, anti-technical, and anti-hierarchical reaction against traditional public administration.
 - The focus is on the role of government and how they can provide the essential services to citizens.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - We can broadly divide the history of public administration into the following *five* periods:
 - Period I (1887-1926).

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-Period II (1927-1937).

-Period III (1938-1947).

-Period IV (1948-1970).

-Period V 1971 – continuing

3) Your answer should include the following points:

- Honey Report
- Philadelphia Conference
- Minnowbrook Conference



UNIT 12 PUBLIC CHOICE APPROACH*

Structure

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Meaning of Public Choice Approach (PCA)
- 12.3 Basic Features of PCA
 - 12.3.1 Methodological Bases of PCA
 - 12.3.2 Features of PCA
- 12.4 The Schools of Thought on PCA
- 12.5 Proponents of PCA
- 12.6 Appraisal of Public Choice Approach
- 12.7 Conclusion
- 12.8 Glossary
- 12.9 References
- 12.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

12.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the concept of Public Choice Approach (PCA);
- Discuss the chief propositions of PCA;
- Describe the features of PCA;
- Elucidate the contribution of various Schools of Thought on PCA;
- Examine the seminal work of the proponents of PCA; and
- Appraise the relevance of PCA in the current context.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

During the decades of 1960s and 1970s, there emerged a time when the bureaucracy-run governance and the role of the State was highly criticised on the grounds of the State's inefficiency in undertaking diverse roles. To check the natural tendency for over-government and to limit the activities of government, various measures were suggested, which included Constitutional reforms to limit the growth of government, decentralisation of political power, etc. One such measure was the adoption of 'Public Choice Approach', which aimed at improving efficiency by applying economics to the study of political processes, institutions and public policy.

In this Unit, you will be introduced to the perspectives of Public Choice Approach (PCA) or Public Choice Theory (PCT), which gained prominence in the discipline

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of public administration in the 1970s. The emergence of PCA is considered an important landmark in the growth of the discipline of public administration. The following sections of this Unit will explain the basic tenets of PCA and highlight its chief features. Some of the chief propositions of PCA viz., methodological individualism, rational choice, institutional pluralism, etc. will be discussed. It will further describe the various schools of thought under PCA and reflect on the notion of State and bureaucracy in the context of Public Choice Theory as put forward by various proponents of this Approach. It will also bring out the critical views expressed by other scholars on PCA.

12.2 MEANING OF PUBLIC CHOICE APPROACH (PCA)

The term Public Choice Approach (PCA) was coined in the late 1960s and it gained prominence in the discipline of public administration in the 1970s. Vincent Ostrom, one of the pioneers of PCA considers this Approach as the most appropriate one to the study of public administration and states that the public administration scholars should turn away from traditional Bureaucratic Approach and move towards Public Choice Approach. The Public Choice Approach basically applies economics to the study of political processes, institutions and public policy and when economics is applied, the focus shifts to efficiency and rationality.

This connotation is very clear from the words of Dennis Mueller, who defines PCA, as “the economic study of non-market decision-making, or simply the application of economics to political science. The subject-matter of Public Choice is the same as that of political science: the theory of the State, voting rules, voter behaviour, party politics, the bureaucracy and so on. The methodology of Public Choice is that of economics, however”(Mueller, 1979). The Approach further looks at the behaviour of a typical bureaucrat in drawing inferences and constructing its theoretical framework.

Basically, PCA is in favour of democratic administration. That is, the simple idea of democratic administration is to give people what they want. PCA studies the processes by which people indicate preferences and choices and the approach thus emphasises on widening the choices that people or citizens have. In fulfilling the ideal of popular choice, the actions of the government should be consistent with the values and interests of the citizens. Thus, while discussing about the actions of government towards the expansion of popular choice, the approach makes *two* underlying assumptions: (a) individuals act rationally with adequate information and order of preference; (b) individuals are utility maximisers.

The basic premise of this Approach is that every individual is driven by self-interest and thus focuses on maximising his/her own self-interest, as a rational person. When this assumption is applied to the role of government and bureaucracy, PCA makes an important inference. The politicians or bureaucrats do not act out of benevolence or that they have the public interest in mind. Rather, as an individual, rational thinker, they think about self-interest first and try to maximise self-interest. For instance, politicians may think of actions that would help them to get re-elected or win a party ticket for election. Similarly, a bureaucrat may have career promotions or increase in status and power in mind when undertaking actions. Thus, civil servants are self-aggrandising bureaucrats interested only in expansion of activities under their charge, while political leaders are vote seeking politicians maximising their votes for perpetuating their stay in power. Further, the Approach assumes individuals to be egoistic, self-regarding and as those who seek maximum possible benefits or personal gains from the decisions they take involving least costs.

The Approach believes that a variety of different organisations can be involved in providing different public goods and services and such organisations can be coordinated through various multi-organisational arrangements. This is how Public Choice School, locates public administration within the domain of politics. It can thus be understood that PCA is essentially a State reducing and market expanding doctrine, justified by its view that government decision making is based on collective interest, rather than individual citizen's interests.

12.3 BASIC FEATURES OF PCA

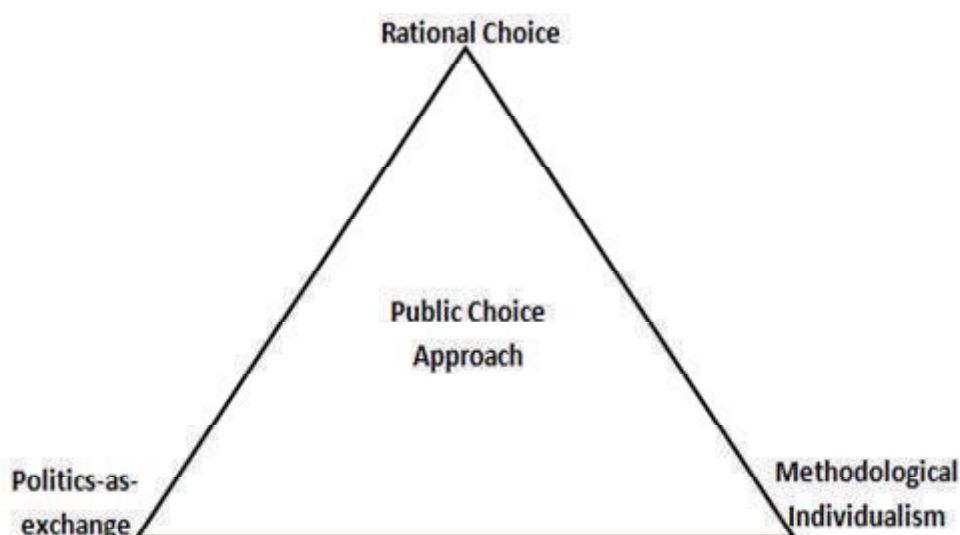
12.3.1 Methodological Bases of PCA

The methodological bases of the Public Choice mode of analysis are as follows:

- The notion of rationality is considered the basic premise of PCA and it considers political actors to be inherently rational.
- PCA is anchored in the framework of methodological individualism; and
- The definitional characteristic of PCA is *politics-as-exchange*.

Notion of Rationality: As discussed earlier, the fundamental idea is that people try to do the best they can, given the constraints that they face. People are assumed to be able to rank alternatives in order of preference and choose the most preferred alternative—and also be consistent in their choices. Applying this logic to politics, the basic implication that Public Choice theorists make is that politics should not be analysed from a 'public interest' perspective, but from an 'individual gain-maximising' one. All participants in the political arena –politicians, bureaucrats, voters and stakeholders act to maximise their own gains.

Methodological Individualism: Methodological Individualism is a term coined by Joseph Schumpeter. It rejects viewing society as an organism and considers a holistic approach misleading. PCT argues that even while studying collective entities or groups, the individual should be the unit of analysis, both as the basic unit of decision-making as well as the unit for whom the decision is made. Groups, organisations or even societies, are nothing more than the (sum of the) individuals comprising them. While many other approaches talk of group decision-making, the PCA denies the legitimacy of decision-making at the group level.



Politics-as-Exchange: PCA considers that realisation of certain ends arises as a result of bargaining and exchange among individuals. However, the exchange takes place in the political or public sphere, rather than the market sphere. That is, the exchange is just not in terms of apples for oranges, but the exchange takes place in the political realm between various players to gain mutual benefits. For instance, donations offered by corporates and other businessmen to political parties to meet election expenditure are an exchange for services that the party would offer the corporate agencies when they come to power. In such a trade, each participant secures the benefits of order, thereby reducing the need to exchange his/her own resources. Proponents state that in the politics-as-exchange model, the focus should be on the process itself, rather than on the outcome.

All such propositions, lead to an additional proposition of ‘*institutional pluralism*’ in the delivery of public goods and services. That is, the Approach states that a variety of institutional arrangements are required to provide different goods and services. Thus, this Approach stresses about avoiding the institutional weakness created by a dominant bureaucratic form. When there are more institutions, the people have more choice, which helps in meeting the consumer preferences. This also helps in reducing the monopoly of State. For instance, Indian Railways is one such example, where State is the only player and the people do not have any other choice.

12.3.2 Features of PCA

From the discussion made above, it becomes clear that PCA aims at giving greater choice to individuals and it encourages the government to provide a plurality of institutional choices or quasi-markets. It promotes competitive market arguing that if the bureaucracy monopolises service delivery, the result will be over-supply and inefficiency. By breaking the monopoly of the monolithic State as the provider and by introducing choice and participation, this Approach seeks to redefine the power equations between the State and the citizens. Based on the basic propositions of this Approach, the characteristic features of PCA can be deduced as:

- It is an anti-bureaucratic approach. It sees bureaucracy as an absolute evil, as it seeks its own selfish interests, at the expense of public interests.
- It is a critique of the bureaucratic model of administration. It assumes that the self-seeking administrator (bureaucrat) and the vote-maximising politicians, instead of acting in public interest, produce goods and services for their own benefit. As a result, the collective interest of society suffers.
- It encourages institutional pluralism in the provisions of public goods and services.
- Plurality of governments and public agencies is supported on the ground of consumer preferences.
- It applies economic logic to the problems of public services distribution.
- It stands for diverse democratic decision-making centres, decentralisation and popular participation in administration. This is suggested on the ground that it creates opportunity for the promotion of competition among government agencies, and in the process, the individual citizen’s choice increases.
- It promotes more competition in the delivery of public services.
- It emphasises privatisation or contracting out to reduce wastage.

- It encourages dissemination of more information for public benefit about the availability of alternatives to public services offered on a competitive basis, and at competitive costs.

PCA thus advocates political approach to public administration by locating public administration within the domain of politics. In the last 2 to 3 decades, it can be observed that with the influences of approaches like PCA, the private sector has expanded and the State sector has shrunk, both in direct administration as well as through privatisation of public enterprises. There has been widespread adoption of private practices in the public sector, for which PCA also has a major role to play.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) What do you mean by Public Choice Approach?

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2) Define the term 'Methodological Individualism'.

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3) Explain the model of 'Politics-as-Exchange'.

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12.4 THE SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT ON PCA

Various thoughts on the lines of Public Choice emerged in places like Rochester, Chicago, Virginia, etc., in different periods of time. Some of the Public Choice Schools of Thought are discussed below, which also, to some extent, overlaps with the discussion made earlier:

Rochester School of Public Choice

The thoughts of Public Choice that emerged in Rochester is called Rochester School of Public Choice. This Approach states that the study of groups, rather than individuals is meaningless. It further states that the political studies using Public Interest perspective rather than Public Choice is misleading. The chief contributors of the Rochester School are William H. Riker and Peter Ordeshook.

Chicago School of Public Choice

This School of Thought emerged in the works of economists of Chicago University in America. The PCA propagated by this group is based on politics and government activities. The work of the Chicago School is basically in the field of regulation. Earlier contribution in this regard was to regulate the monopolies, so that efficiency can be increased and costs reduced. Stigler (1971) put forward a different theory of regulation, whereby those who are regulated by the State, themselves capture the regulatory process and actually earn benefits at the cost of consumers. Big business or large farmers often benefit from regulation by getting subsidies, by being protected from competition and price control which ensures large demand. The chief contributors of Chicago school are Milton Friedman and Robert Lucas.

Virginia School of Public Choice

The intellectual leaders of this School are James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock who included the elements of political and moral philosophy. To the analysis of political processes, this School added the concept of 'politics-as-exchange'. While believing in rational choice, this School points out that utility maximisation is fine at the individual level, but vacuous in a broad social sense because the society is not an entity that maximises. This Approach though advocates the use of economics to the study of political science, it considers both to be different. It states that the individual choices made in the market as consumers, are different from the collective choices made by people in political voting processes. Further, Buchanan points out *six* differences between the individual choices and the collective choices.

Individual Choice and Collective Choice

In the market, individual chooses for herself/himself and relevant outcome for her/him is determined by her own choice. In the political voting process, the relevant outcome for the individual is determined by the choice of all. There is greater uncertainty and the individual has less control over the final outcome.

In the market, individual feels that price, sales, total amount on offer by sellers are beyond the control of individual. The individual cannot influence the organisation or the alternatives in the market. Market is quite impersonal for the individual. In collective choice, the voter knows that his/her vote has a determining role in the final social outcome. Hence, the individual might use different values and subjective preference scale in making choices.

In the market, since the decision made by individual impacts the individual, she/he feels responsible. Since decision-making through voting is dependent on the choices of all, the sense of responsibility is absent. Hence, individual may not even turn to cast vote.

In market, the consumer is provided wide alternatives to make choices, and based on budget the individual can order the alternatives and purchase a combination of goods and services. In the political environment, choice offered to individual is mutually exclusive. Further, voter has to choose one alternative or the other.

Each unit spent by an individual goes towards the purchase of some good and nothing goes waste. In political environment, voting may be made for a candidate who loses. All individuals who tend to vote for the loser, turn out to be the minority whose preferences eventually do not determine the political agenda. Thus, an individual is compelled to accept the result contrary to his/her preferences. Such coercion is never present in the market.

In market, there is unequal purchasing power and distribution of income. In political sphere, there is equal distribution of votes. On the whole, the Virginia School of Thought rejected the Welfare Model of State and observed that the public sector has been suffering from inherent systemic failure in terms of policy making and implementation.

12.5 PROPONENTS OF PCA

There have been many scholars who have contributed to the theory of Public Choice and some of them include Gordon Tullock, Vincent Ostrom, William Niskanen, James Buchanan and Patrick Dunleavy. These proponents strongly focused on the concept of 'self-interest' and did not take cognizance of the concepts such as public interest, public spirit and public service. Their chief propositions were on the reduction of government and bureaucracy and establishing the reliance on market structures by creating flexible structures and incentives. Their propositions strongly emphasised on the reduced role of State, restricting their interventions to the provision of bare minimum functions. The proponents considered markets to be more accountable than bureaucracy and laid importance on the aspects of privatisation, outsourcing of services and contracting out.

These proponents had developed the theory of 'administrative egoism' suggesting that the real life bureaucrat is characterised by self-aggrandisement, resource manipulation and interest generally antithetical to public interest. Apart from the chief arguments on PCA, there were other concepts that emerged in the works of these scholars, some of which have been discussed here:

Knut Wicksell and Public Choice

The foremost contributor who made early remarks on PCA was Knut Wicksell in 1896 and his contribution is considered a seminal work on this theory, which was later revived by Buchanan in 1949. Wicksell was the first to suggest that a collective decision or a public sector decision emerged from a political process rather than emerging from the mind of a benevolent politician working with public interest in mind. In his dissertation, he expressed his concern for the injustice and inefficiency that emerged from unregulated majority rule in parliamentary assemblies. He stated that the majority rule seemed to impose cost or damage on the large segments of tax payer or citizens. He thus questioned why the minorities who face discrimination should lend their support to democratic political structures? The solution that he offered was the direction of unanimity-agreement of all persons in the voting group to implement collective action, so that it would guarantee that all persons secure net gains.

Gordon Tullock on PCA

Gordon Tullock's work is considered to be among the earliest contributions to the Public Choice Approach. His stricture against self-serving nature of bureaucracy and his critique with Buchanan of party competition and its consequences may be

said to have laid the basis for a debate on the dangers of the power of bureaucracy and the politicisation of the public policy. For him, the study of politics, policy planning and bureaucracy should be based on the same assumptions, which might be used to explain the behaviour of firms, business people and consumers. From this could emerge the following set of generalisations:

- Political parties contesting elections make excessive promises to get votes.
- Politicians in power maximise the likelihood of winning elections through manipulating economy.
- The power of bureaucracy has increased by serving itself rather than the public interest.
- The political processes of liberal democracy are failing to supervise and control the growth of political and bureaucratic power.
- Politicians in government, will attempt to manipulate and stimulate the economy before an election and deflate the economy after the election (examine the spending made by government for various schemes before and after an election).

Another important contribution made by Tullock is the 'rent-seeking' concept. Rent-seeking extends the idea of profit motive from the economic sphere to the sphere of collective action. It presupposes that if there is value to be gained through politics, then persons will invest resources in efforts to capture this value. This concept also demonstrates that at an aggregate-value sense, the investment made is wasteful. Because, rewards can be offered to only few groups and the resources invested by other groups for goods and services are wasted. It can thus be understood that the modern politics is mostly based on rent-seeking activity. Examples of rent seeking include lobbying by interest groups to gain from some policy, creating artificial monopolies that generate rents, etc. The conclusions led to the introduction of market forces to control political and bureaucratic power. Tullock, in common with other advocates of PCA, recommended the introduction of competition into bureaucracy through contracting-out, privatisation and increasing competition between government departments by rewarding performances.

James Buchanan on PCA

James Buchanan, a Nobel Prize winning economist and a scholar in Public Choice Approach, has argued that individuals come together in politics for their own mutual benefit, just as they come together in the market place. He has stated that, "As the case with efficiency, persons are not likely to express interests in abstract distributional ideals for the society in general when in political decisions. They are likely, instead to seek to further their own well-defined interests" (Buchanan, 1988). Thus, according to Buchanan, individuals come together in politics for their own mutual benefits.

In Buchanan's view, there are *two* normative rules, which are constitutive of the Public Choice Approach: (i) Politics as Exchange, and (ii) Economic Constitutionalism or Contractarianism as the basis of public policy making. In Politics as Exchange, the trade among persons is not the simple exchange of apples and oranges. Rather, in politics, a set of people come together for a set of agreed-upon mutual benefits.

For instance, reservation of one-third of seats for women in Panchayats or even 50 per cent reservation in some states may be an exchange that certain interest groups might have had with the respective government. The second normative principle 'Economic Constitutionalism', states that 'existing constitutions or structures or rules

are the subject of critical scrutiny', which means that the provisions given in the Constitution are subject to critical review. Best example of this is the enforcement of the Right to Education Act in 2009. It is just because of the critical scrutiny, that the non-justiciable provision given in Directive Principles of State Policy to provide free and compulsory education to all children in the age group of 6 to 14 years has got a legal sanctity.

Anthony Downs' Views on PCA

Anthony Downs' contribution to PCA is related to the study of bureaucratic behaviour. Downs' model shows how bureaucratic growth takes place as a result of laws and how the motivations of officials and bureaucracy in the way in which they set about maximising their interests. Downs in his Book *Inside Bureaucracy*, assumes that decision-making in bureaucracies is informed by the pursuit of self-interest. Downs argues that the motivations of individual officials are diverse such as power, money, income, prestige, personality, loyalty and security. He categorises bureaucrats into *five* types:

- i) *Climbers*: are concerned with power and prestige. Such bureaucrats just want to move ahead in the political or bureaucratic ladder and they are not concerned with ethics, people or anything.
- ii) *Conservers*: are concerned with minimising change. They keep things as it is and retain the traditional mode of working.
- iii) *Zealots*: are highly motivated officials committed to push for a policy or programme and are filled with enthusiasm.
- iv) *Advocates*: are concerned with maximising the resources of their bureau, be it personnel resources or financial resources; and
- v) *Statesmen*: has a sense of public interest, which may be advanced by increasing their power so as to realise their goals.

William Niskanen's Contribution to PCA

Niskanen's work was the first systematic effort to study bureaucracy within the Public Choice framework. Niskanen in his book *Bureaucracy and Representative Government* also argues that those who work in bureaucracies or bureaux seek to maximise their budgets and the size of the bureau. He contends that it is only by increasing the budget that they can maximise their self-interest. To limit the evils and discretion of bureaucrats, Niskanen prescribed certain checks, which are as follows:

- Stricter control on the bureaucrats through legislature and executive interventions.
- Increase in competition in the delivery of public services.
- Privatisation or contracting out to reduce wastage; and
- Dissemination of information about the availability of alternatives to public services.

Vincent Ostrom on PCA

Vincent Ostrom is the chief proponent of PCA and he advocates for the replacement of the traditional doctrine of 'bureaucratic administration' by the concept of 'democratic administration'— that is people should have the power to decide and their demands should be the priority. Further, he states that "Bureaucratic structures are necessary, but not sufficient structures for a productive and responsive public service economy". In addition, he argues that the best structures for satisfying individual preferences are not centralised bureaucratic agencies, but rather more fragmented, multi-

organisational arrangements. Thus, according to him, decentralisation creates diversity and offers more opportunity for citizen's choice. He further observes that decentralisation means the existence of diverse democratic small decision-making structures for providing different public goods and services. Ostrom further proposes debureaucratisation of all administrative units and states that decentralisation and democracy enhance participation at the work place and grass-roots level empowerment of the people.

In his Book, "*Intellectual Crisis in American Public Administration*" (1974), Ostrom questioned the central assumptions of classical public administration: (a) politics-administration dichotomy, (b) a single centre and source of power in all governments, (c) hierarchical ordering maximising organisational efficiency. He urged the need for diverse democratic decision-making structures, popular participation in administration, dispersed administrative authority and decentralised organisation. He further demonstrates the desirability of: (a) decentralised model of democratic administration, and (b) organisational competitiveness. To stimulate healthy and democratic competition among government agencies, multi-organisational arrangements are better than monocratic hierarchical administrative structures (Basu, 2004).

Patrick Dunleavy on Bureau-Shaping Model

A more sophisticated Public Choice Model of bureaucracy has been developed by Patrick Dunleavy, referred to as 'bureau-shaping' model. This Model refutes the earlier thinking that bureaucrats attempt to maximise budgets. On the contrary, it says that apart from them managing a large organisation, bureaucrats tend to maximise their status by rendering advice to the politicians (Medury, 2016). On the whole, the general recommendations made by various scholars of PCA include: (a) organisational reform, (b) reduction of the role of State and the discretionary power of politicians, (c) curbing the power of government monopolies, (d) Constitutional checks curbing the power of politicians and civil servants from running budget deficits or imposing taxation beyond a certain level. The advisory, regulatory and delivery functions of bureaucracy should be kept separate wherever possible. The size of bureaucracies should be reduced, functions offloaded, expenditures controlled, and competitiveness among public agencies should be encouraged. These are the standard recommendations given by the entire group of Public Choice theorists (Basu, 2004, *op.cit.*).

12.6 APPRAISAL OF PUBLIC CHOICE APPROACH

From the points discussed in this Unit, it can be understood that application of the propositions of Public Choice Approach has become the order of the day and the practices of pluralism, corporatism and elitism as put forward by PCA is visible in measures of various developed and developing countries. Most of the countries have moved towards downsizing government, contracting out services to private players, resorting to public private partnership in delivering various goods and services, right from education to health. However, it is critical to get into the ground reality and reflect on the pros and cons of this Approach.

Some of the scholars reflect on the various questions, that remains unanswered under this Approach: (a) even if the notion that bureaucratic model as dysfunctional is accepted, it does not clarify how alternative administrative structures would best serve the 'general interest' (can public needs be realised by the private provider, which is essentially driven by private motive); (b) the statement that the politicians or bureaucrats are always self-aggrandising is again an exaggeration and caricature of

administrative-political reality. The role of public spirit in public service has been unnecessarily underplayed. There are areas of social life, which only public agencies can best take care of.

Some of the critical remarks made by various scholars on PCA are as follows:

- Public interest and Welfare State are rejected by the Public Choice writers; yet human development in history has been towards these concepts. The ideas of Communitarianism and people's welfare have not evaporated from our societies; rather indications are that ideals of healthy collective life in the global village are gaining more and more acceptance.
- Application of PCA proposition and resorting to State minimalism, especially in the Third World countries, may turn out to be disastrous. Rolling back the State is simply unrealistic, where crucial development sectors such as health, education, poverty alleviation and social welfare are all functions of the State and despite bureaucratic overload, handing over them to the private sector agencies, cannot always be a more ethical option. Further, market has no sympathy for those who cannot afford (simply guided by the concern of profit). This is a cause for concern in developing countries, which have a larger number of poor people.
- The 'public' which the PCA seeks to cater to, are not always the elite or the middle class and needs of the low income group with poor purchasing power can never be met by the market. Lacking a philosophical or ethical foundation, the PCA is neither socially inclusive nor offers an integrative view of the economy and polity.
- As highlighted by Michael M. Heamon and Richard T. Mayer, 'the market's role should be judged not only in terms of values that it may help to realise, but also based on values that it cannot, which includes, equity, community, human development, etc., which can be achieved through social processes characterised by trust and mutual respect rather than competition' (Basu, 2004 *op.cit.*; Haemon and Mayer, 1986).
- PCA, is deficient in its conceptualisation of human decision-making, as being essentially driven by individual as a self-interested maximiser. Self-interest cannot be the major motivating factor in decision making, Galbraith has argued that the real world of capitalism is shaped by management decisions of big corporations and big producers, rather than by the interplay of producers and consumers. While producers manipulate demands of consumers, the large corporations manipulate the decisions of politicians and bureaucrats. Further, human beings make most of their decisions, not in terms of individual self-interest, but in terms of the perceived interests of the groups, families, organisations, ethnic groups and national states with which they identify and to whom they are loyal (Bhattacharya, 2010; Fadia & Fadia, 2012).
- PCA is too sweeping a statement that takes values and public spiritedness completely out of administration. Replacement of public administration by market exchange is too simplistic an idea to be taken seriously.
- The State monopoly could be substituted by more dangerous private monopoly.
- To say that efficiency is the sole aim of the government is to trivialise government. It has higher goals such as equality, equity and welfare, which is oriented towards public interest.

- The market mechanism does not automatically ensure competition. Big multinational companies (MNCs) first establish and then exploit the market dominance to eliminate other players. Citizens' choice is thus constricted.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) What are the key contributions of different Schools of Thought of PCA?

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2) Explain the concept of 'rent-seeking'.

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3) Highlight the five categories of bureaucrats as put forward by Anthony Downs.

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4) What are the main contributions of Vincent Ostrom?

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12.7 CONCLUSION

As observed by Buchanan, Public Choice exerted a major influence in providing a coherent understanding and interpretation of what could be observed everywhere. The ills of government or government failure was visible throughout and it was found

that the government was not able to offer the promised collectives. Public Choice gave the foundation for such an understanding. At the same time, there are empirical evidences across the world, which showcase the ill-effects of markets too, which has created fragmentation, rather than providing holistic solutions. The real issue is how to make the State more democratic and citizen-friendly and not to relegate it to the background altogether and install the new God of 'market' in its place (Fadia&Fadia, 2012, *op.cit.*)

In this Unit, we were thus exposed to the Approach of Public Choice, which emerged as a critical perspective against the role of State and bureaucracy. The suppositions of Public Choice Approach such as methodological individualism, politics-as-exchange, institutional pluralism, rational choice, etc. was also introduced. Apart from the exploration on the basic concepts of PCA, the Unit went through the various Schools of Thought on Public Choice. Though the central tenets of such schools were the critical perspective of State and bureaucracy, it led to the thinking process on individual and collective choices and the ways of regulating the State. The seminal works of key contributors were also discussed in this Unit, which introduced new concepts such as 'rent-seeking', 'economic constitutionalism', various types of bureaucrats, etc. Finally, the Unit made some reflections on the critical views expressed by various scholars on PCA, the chief of which was the limitation of PCA in replacing the role of State in meeting certain key functions and the question of ethics and values.

12.8 GLOSSARY

- Self-Aggrandisement** : A process of promoting oneself as being powerful. The objective is to increase one's own power or assets aggressively.
- Contractarianism** : The concept relies on social contract involving certain ideal conditions. It is based on the belief that individuals make the right choices under a hypothetical social contract.

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12.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Basic premise is notion of rationality.
 - Anchored in methodological individualism.
 - Politics-as-exchange is one of the characteristics.
 - Self-interested bureaucracy.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points :
 - The term was coined by Joseph Schumpeter.
 - It rejects society as an organism.
 - It denies decision-making at group level.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points : among individuals.
 - Bargaining and exchange/at the political level.
 - It focuses on process rather than outcome.
 - Bargaining in political realm.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Rochester School of Public Choice observes that study of groups rather than individuals is meaningless and public interest perspective in political studies is misleading.
 - The work of Chicago School is basically in the field of regulation.
 - Chicago School believes that those who are regulated by the State themselves capture the regulatory process.
 - Virginia School has given the concept of politics-as-exchange.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points.
 - Lobbying by Interest groups to gain from policy.
 - Creating artificial policies that generate rents.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Climbers
 - Conservers
 - Zealots
 - Advocates
 - Statesmen
- 4) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Democratic administration.
 - Decentralisation creates diversity.
 - Multi-organisational arrangements.

UNIT 13 PUBLIC INTEREST APPROACH*

Structure

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Concept of Public Interest
- 13.3 Approaches to Public Interest
- 13.4 Responsibilities towards Public Interest
- 13.5 Pursuit of Public Interest
- 13.6 Criticism of Public Interest Approach
- 13.7 Conclusion
- 13.8 Glossary
- 13.9 References
- 13.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

13.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Elaborate on what Public Interest means;
- Explain the views on Public Interest, as put forward by different scholars;
- Examine the various approaches to Public Interest;
- Describe the current and future responsibilities towards Public Interest;
- Discuss how Public Interest has been practiced in various domains; and
- Critically evaluate the Public Interest Approach.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

In any activity that takes place for personal/social or commercial reasons, an element of 'public interest' is given consideration and various actors of our society, the legislature, executive, judiciary and even the civil society and the media intervene out of 'public interest'. As the term suggests, 'public interest', is just about having a consideration on what is good for the common mass. Sometimes, though many interventions are projected as measure taken in Public Interest, there might be some hidden personal interest in such interventions. In this process, the laws, regulations and other such interventions of various actors come as a benevolent source to protect the Public Interest.

Traditionally, the State used to be the supreme player, that initiated various activities in Public Interest, as the very Approach of the government was welfare-oriented. However, in due course of time, with the coming up of plurality of institutions, the

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notion of ‘public interest’ has come under serious threat, wherein every measure initiated for the benefit of public good also seems to have some element of private benefit and it is critical to have an evaluative eye on various measures. In this Unit, we will discuss what Public Interest is and explain how various scholars have defined Public Interest. In addition, the different theories of Public Interest will also be discussed. Some scholars consider Public Interest as a moving target, whose content changes with change in time-frame. In this context, the current and future responsibilities of Public Interest are discussed in this Unit. The manner in which Public Interest is pursued practically by State, judiciary and civil society by way of Policies, Acts, Public Interest Litigation, etc., will be explained. The Unit will also bring out the critical views of scholars on the Public Interest Approach.

13.2 CONCEPT OF PUBLIC INTEREST

The concept of Public Interest can be said to be in vogue right from time immemorial, where people started to live together as a society, which in itself is a measure taken to protect each other’s welfare. Both in the ancient and the medieval times of both the world and the Indian history, traces of decisions being made in pursuit of Public Interest can be noticed in the actions of few kings who ruled the people. For example, in ancient times, when Cyrus the Great ruled Persia, it was a belief in that land, that a ruler should know how to govern the people, so that they have all the necessities of life in abundance. Plato, after 200 years of Cyrus, stated that ‘public officials’ should place the interest of the society above their own and later, Aristotle noted that society comprises communities that come together for some good, mostly for well-being of citizens (ICAEW, 2012).

In the Indian context, close reference can be found in the works of Kautilya’s Arthashastra and Thiruvalluvar’s Thirukkural. Kautilya avers that the State has its obligation towards the broader population and public welfare is a measure by which a State is assessed....the welfare of the ruler lies in the welfare of the people (Duraiswamy, 2014). Thirukkural states that, “an enlightened administration is one that works with focus on beneficence, benevolence, rule of justice and people’s welfare”. It also states that, “an administration would be respected if it is courteous, friendly and protective of citizen’s interest”(Raghunathan, 2007).

The welfare of the people was considered as Public Interest in the past. However, in recent times, the connotation of Public Interest has changed, wherein the inconvenience to the public good was spoken about. For example, in 1609, a French Satirist, Mathurin Regnier, used the term Public Interest, to denote the action taken by the government to invoke justice for an unjust or illegal action. The Industrial Revolution Movement of the 17th and 18th century, started promoting individual interest and individual welfare, which promoted Capitalism, and the focus was more on increased Individualism and self-interest. The notion of Public Interest was thus done away with during the Victorian Era. In contemporary times too, the notion of Public Interest is thus diluted with the modern approaches in public administration like the ‘New Public Management’, wherein promotion of private sector principles can be found in the public sector too. The role of State that focused on public interest or the welfare of the people was questioned on grounds of inefficiency and the State was just asked to be a facilitator rather than being a ‘doer’.

In such a context, ‘public interest’ as a concept assumed a change in its meaning, from something that was concerned with the duties and values, that has to be addressed by intervention in the theoretically free market state (ICAEW, 2012). In the study of

public administration, public interest is associated with sound government and action in Public Interest is prescribed for the State officials (Alexander, 2002).

The term Public Interest has been officially under discussion right from the 1950s onwards and it carried different meanings for different players and in differing contexts. Some related the validity and the applicability of the concept of Public Interest to political process and policy making. The Public Interest is thus anything that is of interest to the public. Public Interest is interchangeably used with other terminologies such as 'public welfare', 'public good' 'public service' and the 'common good' and hence, as stated by Lewis (2006) ambiguity exists in defining Public Interest.

According to Alexander, the origin of Public Interest can be identified with the origin of the word '*republic*', which means 'the public thing'. The dictionary of political science, states that Public Interest is something that refers to "the aggregate of individual interest, whatever that is". According to Bealey (1999), like 'common good' and 'general will', Public Interest is something, which is easier to talk about than to determine what it is. Public Interest is also considered as an effort to identify particular interests with general interests or to camouflage self-interested advocacy. The OECD in 2003, while recommending for dealing with conflict of interest in public service, states that, "serving the Public Interest is the fundamental mission of governments and public institutions" (OECD, 2003).

Although, the term 'public interest', does not occur in the American Constitution, it is used frequently in various pronouncements, such as statutes, judicial opinions, etc. In the field of public administration and political science, the concept of Public Interest is regarded as "a basic norm of political responsibility and standard to guide official decision-making". Yet, the concept of Public Interest has:

- No agreed upon meaning.
- Most of those who use the concept leave it undefined and amorphous; and
- Those who do attempt to define it are in basic disagreement, not only as to what should be the substantive content of the concept, but also as to whether it is possible to postulate any substantive content for it (Schubert, 1957).

There are other scholars who have defined Public Interest in the following way:

According to Bentham, "an action of a government is in Public Interest, when the tendency it has to augment the happiness of the community is greater than any it has to diminish".

According to Rousseau, "Public Interest consists of universally shared private interests" and something is in Public Interest if the general will wills it'.

Brian Barry, in his work 'Political Argument', combines the definition of both Bentham and Rousseau and states that 'Public Interest is a sub-class of common interest and something is in Public Interest, if and only if, it is in the interest of each and every member of the public (*cited in Benditt, 1973*).

According to W.J. Ree, 'Interest of a Public, is the interest of a group the unity of which is "determined by its organisation, under a common public authority" (*quoted in Benditt, 1973*).

According to Benditt, "Something is of Public Interest if and only if it is an interest of anyone who is a member of the public, that is, if and only if it is essential for the protection, and even for the improvement, of anyone's welfare or well-being, where

the means for protecting or improving this interest are out of the hands of most of the members of the public and is likely to be achieved only if the public takes a hand”.

Further, Benditt states that there are *two* types of Public Interest, called ‘Course-of-Life Interest’ and ‘Improvement Interest’. Course-of-life Interests are those aspects that includes those sort of things that are essential for health and sanity, which includes food, shelter, clothing, medical care, education, employment, recreation, etc. On the other hand, Improvement Interests covers those aspects that improves a person or his/her life, thus improving his/her chances for achieving happiness. For example, for all the Course-of-Life Interest, if someone aims the next level of achievement for the same, then that is considered an improvement interest. Benditt states that, though it might not seem like a Public Interest, these interests are important, which greater numbers of people are lacking.

According to Johnston (2017), Public Interest is ‘slippery’ and ‘ambiguous’ and it is an expression which is widely used, but poorly defined. On the whole, the literature in general states that Public Interest should be identified on a case-by-case basis, defined within specific, time-framed context, rather than having a single definition for all .

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Differentiate between the current and the past meaning of Public Interest.

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2) How have various scholars defined Public Interest?

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13.3 APPROACHES TO PUBLIC INTEREST

Public Interest Approach was promoted as a scholarly work in the twentieth century by scholars such as Theodore M. Benditt, Clarke E. Cochran, Walter Lippmann, etc. From the interpretation of different scholars, it can be understood that Public Interest Approach did not have any consensus among scholars on the discussion of Public Interest. While some scholars looked into the form of Public Interest, some looked into the application of Public Interest, while some even questioned the existence

of Public Interest. However, despite this lack of agreement, the Approach still received wide attention among various disciplines including public administration and it has picked up momentum because of the relevance it holds in today's context.

Scholars such as Barry Bozeman, C.E. Cochran, Jane Johnston, etc., have discussed the theoretical typologies of Public Interest. The different Approaches to Public Interest, as discussed by Cochran (1974) and Johnston (2017) are as follows:

Abolitionist Approach of Public Interest

As the term suggests, many of the scholars such as Bozeman, Cochran, Glendon A. Schubert, Frank J. Sorauf, etc. were critical of Public Interest Approach and tried to abolish the concept of Public Interest on grounds of lack of scientific rigour in it. According to them, Public Interest Approach does not have a meaning or validity in it and is too unwieldy, ambiguous, anachronistic and unachievable. Hence, as per this view, Public Interest should be abolished, as there exists only private interest.

Normative Theory of Public Interest

Public Interest as per this Approach becomes the ethical standards for evaluating specific public policies and this Approach was put forward by scholars like C.W. Cassinelli, Herbert W. Schneider and Walter Lippmann. The basic premise of this Approach is the conception of common good, which it sees as a normative concept and the general norm is the relevant good of the whole community. This Approach thus states that a policy should be evaluated against normative standards and try to find out whether a policy contributes more to the common good than private good (Cochran, 1974).

Consensualist-Communitarian

As highlighted by Johnston (2017, *op.cit.*), this typology focuses on majority interest or negotiated consensus. Anthony Downs (1962) proposes the idea of 'minimal consensus' as necessary for the operations of a democratic society. As per this Approach, 'anything that is in the long-term detrimental to the majority of citizens cannot be in the Public Interest, unless it is essential to the protection of those individual rights included in the minimal consensus. This Approach is thus in favour of the government's approach of having some basic rules for carrying out social policies, which goes into protecting the rights of the individuals in minority. This Approach focuses on providing the individual's rightful place in the political culture.

Process Theories

Process theories are composed of theorists who define Public Interest by looking into political process through which policy is made. As per this typology, there are *three* theories to Public Interest, each focuses on how Public Interest is served during the process of compromise or accommodation. The basic premise of this Approach is on 'how many interests/individuals are served, rather than single interest/individual (Cochran, *op.cit.*). In general, conflict of interest is unavoidable. However, decision-making should be arrived upon based on practical and logical grounds, beyond moral principles. The *three* theories within this typology include aggregative, pluralist and procedural:

- ***Aggregative Model:*** This Model equates Public Interest with an alternative to government interests. The limitation of this Model, lies in the inability to provide a valid aggregation of interests, due to power imbalances. Thus, in the process of aggregation, some tend to have the privileges over others.

- **Pluralist Model:** This Approach talks about the existence of multiple interests, which comprises various self-interests. The competing and demanding interest are weighed against other interests. As per this Model, Public Interest is seen as compatible with the idea of the need to balance interests. The conflict of interest as per this Approach is balanced on democratic lines and thus this Model, by taking a pluralistic view, tries to accommodate the interests.
- **Procedural Model:** This Model sets a standard to balance the interests, which is based on adopting procedures.

13.4 RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARDS PUBLIC INTEREST

In general, Public Interest is expected to be pursued by professionals engaged in public service, like the government, administration, judiciary, etc. The basic expectation is that, while pursuing Public Interest, *two* concerns are to be addressed. *Firstly*, it is the duty of the professionals to reflect on the various perspectives that emerge from broad representation and dialogue. *Secondly*, the professionals are expected to engage in those aspects of Public Interest that meets the concerns of democracy, mutuality, sustainability and legacy. While the former two, encompasses the current responsibility of professionals towards Public Interest, the latter is about future responsibilities. Thus, the current and future responsibilities towards Public Interest, as put forward by Carol Lewis (2006) is about:

- Democratic concerns and individual interest on the one hand.
- Mutual interest and ethics on the other hand.
- Preserving resources and ensuring the capacity to sustain life to ensure a viable future; and
- Preserving and transmitting civilisation's cultural, intellectual, artistic and historical legacy.

i) **Meeting Current Public Interest**

Public Interest and Democratic Values

In the first place, Public Interest Approach should try to evoke democratic values, which tries to sum up the variety of private interest on a particular issue. The different interests are aggregated into public action. When the focus is on democratic values, the methods used in identifying Public Interest is based on opinion poll, cost-benefit analysis, etc. For example, in deciding whether Lok Pal Bill is needed or not, opinion poll can be the deciding criteria to determine the level of Public Interest. In meeting the democratic values, one of the core problems faced is the tyranny of the majority group due to which voices of the minority receives little attention, which should be taken care of. For example, in the Constitution, democratic values like justice, equality, social welfare are the key concerns specified and the Public Interest Approach should look into these aspects while evaluating public and private interests (Lewis, *op.cit.*).

Mutuality and Civic Interests

Public Interest in this context is promoted by focusing on what is good for the society as a whole, rather than promoting individual or minority interests. The common good is thus considered as the aggregate satisfaction of individual interests. For example, while constructing dams and other development projects, some of the people

are displaced. But still the government is engaged in the task on the premise that the project would be beneficial to the common good. In this context too, if democratic values are to be upheld, ethical concerns should also be given consideration in pursuing public interest. The advocates of Public Interest, it has been observed, should thus act as ethical agents or as a statesman and try to adopt a course of action that takes into account a greater number of interests in the perspective of a longer period of time. In general, people working in public domain get carried away by particular interests and miss out the other.

While pursuing both these perspectives, sometimes Public Interest is confused with the very preferences and biases of the advocates of Public Interest.

Table: Current and Future Responsibilities towards Public Interest

	Current		Future	
	Democracy	Mutuality	Sustainability	Legacy
Focus	Sums up diverse private interest and aggregates demands	Makes Constitutional analysis and looks into civic virtues, social needs, common goods, etc.	Looks into Ecology, Biology, Universality, Physical Viability	Focuses on culture, history, civilisation
Method	Looks into popular preferences, Cost-benefit analysis and public opinion polls	Makes analysis of Constitutional values, Professional values	Engages in preservation, protection	Uses methods like preservation, transmission, education
Administrator's Role	Act as agent or delegate duties	Acts as a Statesman, Trustee	Acts as a Steward, Sustainer	Acts as a Steward, Custodian
Core Problems	Tyranny of majority, Exclusion	Elitism, Representation, Individual Liberty	Economic Development, Irreversibility	Selectivity, Resources, Irreversibility
Core Proscriptions	Corruption	Bias, Conflict of Interest	Ignorance, Error, Demagoguery	Arrogance, Insensitivity, Misjudgement
Core Prescriptions	Responsiveness, Accountability, Neutral Competence	Civic Virtue, Impartiality, Citizenship	Fiduciary responsibility for life chances	Fiduciary responsibility for common values

Source: Lewis, 2006.

ii) **Meeting Future Public Interests**

Sustainability

While protecting Public Interest, interests of future generations also should be given consideration. E.g., Environmental concerns and climate change issue or water scarcity is highlighted in the light of future requirements. E.g., UNESCO's measure of Convention of International Heritage adopted in 1972 and the recent measure towards promotion of Sustainable Development as the development agenda is a measure in

this regard. In this perspective, the vulnerability of the future generations is taken into account while taking current decisions, to deal with irreversible repercussions. The challenge here is the trade-off between current interest and future requirements and our acceptance or willingness to oblige to future requirements. This can be understood from the saying that “we do not inherit the land from our ancestors but have borrowed it from our children”.

- *Legacy*: The concern of Public Interest advocates is also on conserving, restoring and preserving the artifacts. When Public Interest is to be served it is also important to anticipate the inescapable tensions between current uses and future needs and also between private interest and mutual interest. The National Academy of Public Administration has adopted ethical guidelines for thinking about the future aspects of Public Interest, which includes the following principles:
- *Trustee Principle*: Every generation has obligation to protect the interest of the future generations;
- *Sustainability Principle*: No generation should deprive the future generation of the opportunity for a quality of life comparable to its own;
- *Chain of Obligation Principle*: Each generation’s primary obligation is to provide for the needs of the living and succeeding generation;
- *Precautionary Principle*: Actions that pose realistic threat of irreversible harm or consequences, should not be pursued unless there is a compelling, countervailing need to either benefit current or future generations.

13.5 PURSUIT OF PUBLIC INTEREST

In practical terms, Public Interest has been pursued in various domains and in particular, institutions such as the State, judiciary, civil society, media, etc. play a major role in protecting the Public Interest, whenever it is found that the action of an individual or a group is against the Public Interest. In this Section, we discuss the way in which Public Interest has been pursued by way of policies/Acts, laws, media, etc.

Public Interest in Public Policies/Acts

Public Interest is pursued by the State, by way of legislation and implementation of policies that are of Public Interest. A policy can be of benefit to the public, if and only if some interest of the public is promoted or protected. A policy can benefit people, without benefiting the public; and a policy can disservice some of the interests of some people without disserving the interests of the public. Policies can be evaluated in terms of realisation of Public Interest. Not all Acts and Policies are in the overall interest of all the members of the public. But still, the concept of Public Interest is applicable even where the policy is not in everyone’s overall interest. For example, in the Right to Education Act, the provision of no detention of children within class VIII may be of general interest to majority of the public. But still, there is a special interest group who might not be in favour of having ‘no detention’ policy. This is an example, where a Policy or Act is not in everyone’s overall interest.

Similarly, there might be a legislation in general to clear the unauthorised colony from the vicinity, which may be of interest to majority of the public. However, there might be a small group, that might have a common interest in opposing the legislation, as it affects the rights of the minority or marginalised. Thus, what is in Public Interest is not what is in interest of each of the members of the public, but instead what is in the interest of most of the members of the public.

Sometimes it becomes difficult to determine which of two policies, is more in the Public Interest, when different interests are being served by competing policies, and in different degrees. In such cases, public interest considerations are not always determinative, and other considerations like fairness, liberty and even feasibility are relevant (Benditt, *op.cit.*; Johnston, *op.cit.*).

Public Interest in Legal Pursuits

- ***Public Interest in Legal Profession:*** In practical terms, Public Interest is pursued in particular in the application of law. As a part of the legal profession, there is 'Public Interest Law'. As highlighted by Johnston (*op.cit.*), under Public Interest law, Public Interest is pursued in *three* different ways: i) Law tries to aid the poor; ii) There is representation of political and cultural groups and new radical movements, and (iii) through Public Interest Litigation, substantive but neglected interests are pursued, which may include environmental protection, women's rights, etc. In practice, it can be thus observed that Public Interest is served, *firstly*, by providing assistance to those in need; and *secondly*, by highlighting inequalities by placing issues of equality, access and transparency within the justice system.
- ***Public Interest in Legislature and Judiciary:*** On the other hand, in the broader contexts, law has a role to play in legislation and judiciary and in both the contexts, Public Interest is pursued. Through Public Interest Litigation (PIL), the judiciary serves the interest of core issues that involves the stake of the public and simultaneously gives voice to the public. For example, when Delhi was severely hit by pollution in the beginning of the 21st century, the judiciary through judicial activism ordered for the use of CNG in public vehicles instead of petrol/diesel, which had gone into reducing the pollution levels in Delhi.

Public Interest and Media

As highlighted, the media too pursues Public Interest in various ways and basically tries to publish or report news that are closely in defence of Public Interest. In this process, the pursuit of media includes but is not limited to: i) detecting or exposing crime or serious impropriety; ii) protecting public health and safety; iii) preventing the public from being misled by an action or statement of an individual or organisation (Johnston, *op.cit.*). However, in the current times, it can also be observed that media tries to address private interests, at the cost of diluting Public Interest.

13.6 CRITICISM OF PUBLIC INTEREST APPROACH

Public Interest Approach has been criticised on various grounds, basically for the ambiguity that exists in it. The individualistic view of Public Interest is found to be promoting only the market interventions, which in the long-run affects Public Interest. This leads to failure of meeting even the bare minimum basic requirements of the society. Anthony Downs and William Niskanen, argue that the bureaucrats and politicians cannot be trusted for promotion of Public Interest other than their own self-interest. The early critic of Public Interest, Anthony Downs observes that if Public Interest is considered as a concept rather than a function, then there is no obligation to define it (*cited in Johnston, op.cit.*).

Thus, Public Interest Approach has been rejected by many scholars and empiricists, because of the lack of definition in it and the ambiguity that exists. Scholars like

Anthony Downs, Schubert, Sorauf rejected the concept of Public Interest Approach, as they considered it as ‘too vague, too value-laden, too utopian, and too inconsistent with the policies of group accommodation to be of much value (cited in Johnston, *ibid.*). Further, Schubert regarded Public Interest Approach as ‘childish myth’ while Cochran considered it as ‘ideal ghost’.

In spite of all the criticisms and limitations, Public Interest Approach holds a place of prominence in public administration, because of the role it plays in political thinking, planning, policy making, etc., especially when it tries to protect the rights of the sub-groups or minor groups.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) What are the various approaches to Public Interest?

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2) Write a note on the ‘Pursuit of Public Interest’.

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13.7 CONCLUSION

We may conclude by saying that public administration is for the ‘public’ and therefore for ‘public interest’. Even when public policies do not get implemented properly and their inherent Public Interest is not met, the concept of Public Interest underlining these policies cannot be negated. We must remind ourselves of what Adam Smith wrote in his famous Article titled ‘An Inquiry into Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations’, way back in 1776 . He observed “ it is not from the benevolence of the butcher or baker that we expect our bread, but from regard of their own self-interest”. It means that businesses are run for profit and not for Public Interest. The government or State sector does have Public Interest as a primary objective, but opening up of core services to Non-state actors has brought this goal under the scanner. Proliferation of Non-state Actors and Private sector in the activities, which were hitherto performed by government or State have diluted the concept of Public Interest. This Unit gave us a fairly good idea about the nature of Public Interest. It brought out the various themes and approaches to Public Interest. It also delved into the manner in which Public Interest can be pursued.

13.8 GLOSSARY

- Individualism** : The belief in ‘self’ and ‘self-worth’. In the societal and political context, it is a belief that an individual has the freedom and capacity to make her or his own choices and decisions. It shuns the State control over individuals.
- Feduciary** : It deals with matters involving trust, especially with regard to the relationship between a trustee and a beneficiary.
- Self-Aggrandizement** : An action or a process through which self-promotion and power mongering for self is established and perpetuated.

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13.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - The welfare of the people was considered as Public Interest in the past. However, in recent times, the connotation of Public Interest has changed, wherein the inconvenience to the public good was spoken about.
 - For example, in 1609, a French Satirist, Regnier, used the term Public Interest, to denote the action taken by the government to invoke justice for an unjust or illegal action.
 - The Industrial Revolution Movement of the 17th and 18th centuries, started promoting individual interest and individual welfare, which promoted Capitalism, and the focus was more on increased individualism and self-interest.
 - The notion of Public Interest was thus done away with during the Victorian Era.
 - In contemporary times too, the notion of Public Interest is thus diluted with the modern approaches in public administration like the 'New Public Management', wherein promotion of private sector principles can be found in the public sector too.
 - The role of State that focused on Public Interest or the welfare of the people was questioned on grounds of inefficiency and the State was just asked to be a facilitator rather than being a 'doer'.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - As per Alexander, in the study of public administration, Public Interest is associated with sound government and action in Public Interest is prescribed for the State officials.
 - According to Bentham, "an action of a government is in Public Interest, when the tendency it has to augment the happiness of the community is greater than any it has to diminish".
 - According to Rousseau, "Public Interest consists of universally shared private interests" and something is in Public Interest if the General Will wills it'.
 - According to W.J. Ree, 'Interest of a Public, is the interest of a group the unity of which is "determined by its organisation, under a common public authority" (*quoted* in Benditt, 1973).

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Abolitionist Approach of Public Interest.
 - Normative Theory of Public Interest .

**Political and
Social Perspectives**

- Consensualist-Communitarian Approach.
 - Process Theories or Approaches.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
- Public Interest in public policies.
 - Public Interest and Media.
 - Public Interest in legal pursuits; legislature, judiciary and legal profession.



BLOCK 5
CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES



THE PEOPLE'S
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UNIT 14 NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT APPROACH*

Structure

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Changing Role of the State and Evolution of New Public Management (NPM)
- 14.3 Impact of New Right Philosophy
- 14.4 Conceptual Framework of NPM
- 14.5 Reinventing Government
- 14.6 Impact of NPM Reforms
- 14.7 Conclusion
- 14.8 Glossary
- 14.9 References
- 14.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

14.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the evolution and nature of New Public Management or NPM;
- Examine the conceptual framework of NPM;
- Discuss the concept of Reinventing Government; and
- Examine the impact of NPM Reforms.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

Public administration has undergone a substantial transformation in the political, social, economic and cultural spheres across the world. A host of factors including the development of information technology, telecommunications, computing, liberalisation of trade, deregulation of financial and banking systems, growth of transnational corporations and so on, has given impetus to globalisation. As a consequence, there has been a spurt in the spread of goods, services, technology, processes and practices across the globe. It has led to new societal expectations and is also changing the value systems that are altering the nature of the State and governing systems.

Globalisation is affecting the public administrative system, as it is *embedded* in the framework of the State. The pressures exerted by global institutions are also immense. The aid provided by these institutions, especially to those in developing countries, has wider repercussions, as it increases the dependency (*financial, military, political*) of developing countries on the West. The developments also render the people, in these countries, without a choice; making them unable to determine their own priorities and policy preferences. This has consequences for the local democracy and effective governance.

* Contributed by Prof. Uma Medury, Faculty of Public Administration, SOSS, IGNOU, New Delhi.

Globalisation, is pushing the 'State' towards adherence of global standards and behaviour. On the one hand, a new paradigm called the New Public Management or NPM has emerged as a result of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) followed by UK and US to make their administration efficient and effective. Simultaneously, on the other hand, the internal social and political pressures are attempting to assert that the role of the State and its powers in protecting the interests of the governed needs to be strengthened. This Unit will try to explain the changing role of State and public administration in the globalisation context. It will examine the genesis of NPM as a new administrative model, and also critically evaluate its relevance and characteristics.

14.2 CHANGING ROLE OF THE STATE AND EVOLUTION OF NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT (NPM)

The State has always been at the centre-stage of governance. Traditionally, many countries embarked on the concept of Welfare State – a political system with high degree of responsibility for the welfare of the population. The spread of globalisation and its influence on various fronts in the 1980s and 1990s brought out significant transformation in this role of the State. The impact of international economic forces has changed the complexion of State, transforming it into a 'Competition State' that favours deregulation, privatisation, irrespective of the local, political and administrative cultures.

The belief in 'government by the market' rests upon the proposition that the market system is inherently a better method of satisfying human wants and aspirations than recourse to government. The *first* objective of this thinking was to slim the State and liberate the market forces in a variety of ways such as *deregulation*, as well as through suitable monetary and fiscal policies. The *second* objective was to import *market* concepts and *incentives* into the operations of the government itself. The *third* objective was to take measures to *reduce* the relative size and growth of public expenditure and to cut down a range of functions performed by the government.

The changing complexion of the State also brought in new structures and features. A pro-market and anti-state philosophy of 'private good' and 'public bad' came to prevail during 1980s and 1990s in the UK and USA. It saw the rise of a new central actor, in the form of New Public Management (NPM). The influence of, New Right Philosophy, Neo-institutional Economics and Public Choice Approach on NPM has been evident.

Public administration, traditionally speaking, has always had a major obligation towards promoting public interest, assuring equity, representativeness and responsiveness to the citizens. But its excessive reliance on bureaucracy, hierarchy, rules and regulations, in course of time, put a question mark on its efficacy and effectiveness. This coupled with the dismantling of Soviet Union, increasing levels of public expenditure and taxation, and dissatisfaction with the functioning of bureaucracy strengthened the notion that the 'traditional' State model had failed to implement appropriate policies and deliver effective services. Thus, a need for an *alternative* model was strongly felt. This model, with stress on political economy of development based on 'market' instead of the 'State' as the managerial orientation, was termed as New Public Management or as we mentioned NPM.

NPM aims at making public administration market-based, committed to the *three*

prime goals of Economy, Efficiency and Effectiveness (3'Es'). NPM denounces the traditional public administration as a failure. It starts from the premise that the traditional, bureaucratically organised public administration is "broke" and "broken" and consequently the public has lost faith in government (Gore, 1993). Thus, the orthodox public administration has found a new reform replacement in the form of NPM. The complexities and intricacies of the traditional model of public administration have paved the way for a new thinking that focuses on:

- The present changing scenario, which needs government reforms.
- The public organisations that need to undergo a change in mindset from mere execution of tasks to performance orientation.
- The need for risk-taking, mission-orientation and service-orientation in public organisations.

NPM has thus emerged as a major manifestation of Competition State. This new paradigm, which gained wider usage, with varied labels – reinventing, reengineering, quality management and performance management, focuses basically on changes in the structure and processes of government. The hierarchy laden, rigidly structured and inflexible Weberian bureaucracy has given way to flexible organisational structure, decentralisation, goal achievement, efficiency and effectiveness. Managerial improvements have aimed at ushering in business management techniques and market mechanisms. Competition and client-orientation have begun to gain prominence, under the rubric of 'New Public Management'. Let us now discuss the impact of New Right Philosophy on NPM.

14.3 IMPACT OF NEW RIGHT PHILOSOPHY

The New Right, since the 1950s, attacked the Welfare State and the social programmes. It propagated the cause of free markets as effective social market economy with privatisation of social security system, replacing government subsidies towards education, public housing through loans and cash grants. The traditional Welfare State supposedly served the interests of middle class, while this Model was said to promote economic interests of the poor.

The New Right ideas of restricting the scope of government were propagated because the government was considered an ineffective mechanism to realise the goal of Welfarism. Friedrich Hayek, Robert Nozick and Milton Friedman rejected the basic idea of government intervention in the economy. The group of influential neo-liberal economists criticised 'big' government and was of the opinion that only free markets could put together the incongruent elements in a society. Any efforts on the part of the State to influence the market was said to destroy freedom and prosperity.

The period during mid-70s witnessed a favorable climate towards formulation of policies, aimed at reducing the size of the government. The influence of economic thinking was quite visible, as evident from the views put forth by conservative market economists such as Hayek and Friedman. The Public Choice Theory (PCT) proponents such as Gordon Tullock, William Niskanen, James Buchanan and Patrick Dunleavy assumed prominence. Their propositions on the reduction of government and bureaucracy, reliance on market structures with flexible structure and incentives, reduced the role for public sector and restricted it to provision of bare minimum functions. This gave a theoretical foundation to bureaucrat bashing, reduction of government activities and designing market-based public policies. Let us now look at the approaches under New Right philosophy, which have impacted NPM:

- ***Public Choice Approach***

Public Choice is considered to be an *application* of the theory of economics to understand politics. In USA and Britain, during 1940s, various writings attempted to apply economic methodology to the study of political processes and institutions. Public Choice attempts to explain and predict political behaviour on the assumption that an individual is a utility maximiser. Public Choice methodology basically comprises *two* related elements *First* is ‘methodological individualism’ that considers individual instead of society as the unit of analysis. This approach does not take cognizance of the organic view of the society. The *second* element is application of rational-choice in taking decisions from an ‘individual gain maximising’ perspective rather than from public interest view.

The basic premise of the Public Choice Approach or Theory (PCT) is that the individuals are utility maximisers; thereby politicians are vote-maximisers and bureaucrats are *self-aggrandising* and hence maximise budget. Government tends to function not in the interests of public, as it expands to meet the preferences, interests of politicians, bureaucrats and other interest groups. PCT assumes individuals as egoistic, self-regarding and those who seek maximum possible benefits or personal gains from the decisions they take involving least costs. Their choice of decisions to a great extent depends on the consequences ensuing from the decisions.

Public Choice theorists make the assumption that individuals; who could be voters, politicians, bureaucrats and lobbyists are guided by ‘self-interest’. The absence of appropriate rewards and incentives in public sector, to a large extent is said to demotivate the bureaucracy and politicians. This often results in bureaucrats not showing any inclination to reduce costs, and regulate expenditure thereby leading to inflated budgets. Public Choice, thus gives primacy to market forces and arrogate a minimal role for government.

Markets are considered to be more accountable than bureaucracy and importance is given to privatisation, outsourcing of services and contracting, to free the State from fiscal burden and lessen the dependence on public provision of services. A more sophisticated Public Choice model of bureaucracy has been developed by Patrick Dunleavy referred to as ‘bureau shaping’ model. This Model refutes the earlier thinking that bureaucrats attempt to maximise budgets. Rather it says that apart from managing a large organisation, bureaucrats tend to maximise their status by rendering advice to the politicians.

- ***Principal-Agent Approach***

Traditionally, economics has focused on voluntary exchange among consenting parties, which could be individuals, organisations or even nations. The information available with different parties such as buyers and sellers about the features of transactions in a ‘contract’ or exchange is varying. The analysis of such situations of asymmetric or imperfect or incomplete information and situations of repeated transactions or relationships among economic agents has come to be known as economics of information. Within this format lies the Principal - Agent Approach.

The Principle-Agent Approach attempts to understand the *dynamics* of the relationship between the ‘Principal’ and the employee or the ‘Agent’. The Agent is said not to act in the best interests of the Principal, especially in a situation where the employee has the advantage of possessing information and has diverse interests from the Principal.

The Approach is based on the premise that there are two persons involved in provision of a service and they are not on an equal standing in legal terms. The party who is

engaging the other is called the ‘Principal’ and the party that is getting engaged is called the ‘Agent’. These two are involved in provision of a service, but are not on equal standing in legal terms. This Approach basically focuses on the issues that arise when the Agent carries on the work on behalf of the Principal and promises to deliver the services mutually agreed upon by both the parties.

The relationship between the Principal and Agent is said to be perfect when there is free flow of information and the Principal is able to monitor the performance of the Agent and design a set of sanctions and incentives. But due to lack of information, some problems of monitoring are likely to arise. An effective contract between the Principal and Agent needs distribution of risks between the two in an efficient and mutually acceptable manner.

● **Transaction-Cost Approach**

The other key economic approach, which has had some influence on the current managerial changes, is Transaction-Costs. ‘Transactions’ include those costs that are incurred in the process of execution of transactions where there is exchange of goods and services involving payments for the performance. Transaction-Cost Approach outlines the need to compare the transaction costs of internal and external provision of services and then determine the necessity of outsourcing. The chief proponent of this Approach is John Williamson.

In an extensive work, Williamson and Ouchi (1983) argue that the make or buy decisions should be determined by the comparison of the transaction-costs of internal versus external provisions. According to Williamson, the firms work towards minimising the costs of transactions, as this is essential for their efficiency and profitability. This framework is useful for evaluating the efficiency of alternate governance structures and institutional arrangements.

The application of Transaction- Cost framework enables the governments to minimise problems arising out of contracting. It helps in choosing the contractors, contract design, and specifications determining the quantity and quality of services. The contracting process can suitably be reviewed and restructured to derive benefits of contracting and reducing the opportunistic tendencies of contractors.

NPM attempts to emphasise efficiency and uses contracts as important institutional variants in public service delivery. These models help in assessing the efficacy of use of alternate institutional arrangements, comprehending the inherent dilemmas and intricacies involved in contractual relationships and balancing the efficiency and accountability aspects of contracts.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Discuss the factors that led to the evolution of NPM.

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2) Examine the New Right Philosophy and its impact on NPM.

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14.4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF NPM

The Neo-liberal ideas gained prominence because of the economic crises in the West, which followed the massive increase in oil prices in the 1970s. The United Kingdom in 1976 went ahead with the SAP. It borrowed loan from the International Monetary Fund and had to introduce divestiture of public enterprises, public expenditure cuts and so on. Gradually, other countries followed suit. It was increasingly felt that the poverty and economic stagnation, especially in the developing countries was the result of State undermining the operation of market forces. The need for structural adjustment and reduced role of State in economic development was considered indispensable.

This led to the emergence of Washington Consensus. It basically comprised the reform measures promoted by Bretton Woods's institutions, US Congress and Treasury and several think tanks, which aimed to address the economic crises, especially by Latin American countries in the 1980s. This was also termed as Structural Adjustment and Stabilisation Programme (SA and SP). It emphasised the need for sound macro-economic and financial policies, trade and financial liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation of domestic markets.

Gradually, this became integrated with the Neo-liberal policies of NPM, which emerged out of an *interplay* of several reasons. It attempted to provide a mix of policy and administrative solutions. It was of strong belief that the government has to bring reform through adoption of business practices and procedures. As *conglomeration* of managerial and economics-based precepts, techniques, and practices, NPM assumed a form of administrative improvement suited to each country. In the process, it resulted in a myriad of organisational and structural changes globally. It encompassed several policy areas such as education, health, communication etc., making a dent in the complexion of the discipline and practice of public administration.

The NPM doctrine termed by Christopher Hood (1991) and labeled variously as Managerialism (Pollitt, 1990), Market-based approach to Public Administration (Lan and Rosenbloom, 1992), Entrepreneurial / Reinventing government (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992), Post-bureaucratic paradigm (Barzaley, 1993) is marked by certain distinct features. From these works we can deduce the following *distinct* characteristics of NPM:

- Complementing managerial along with policy-making skills.
- Disaggregating public organisations into separate self-contained units having their own goals, plans and requisite autonomy.
- Adopting private sector managerial practices by the public sector.
- Setting explicit measurable performance standards for public organisations.

- Controlling the performance of public organisations by pre-determined output measures.
- Contracting out, private ownership and competition in public service provision.
- Promoting competition both among public sector organisations as well as public and private sectors.
- Making services more responsive to the needs of the customer and ensuring value for money.
- Using information technology to facilitate better service delivery.
- Focusing on achieving results rather than primarily conforming with processes.
- Introducing market principles, such as competition, and contracting out in the provision of goods and services.
- Making public administration customer-driven to enhance service ethic and efficiency.
- Assigning the role of steering activities to the government rather than rowing, relying on third parties such as non-profit organisations and other levels of government in implementation of policies.
- Deregulating the government activities to make it result-oriented.
- Empowering the employees to serve the customers as it promotes team work; and
- Changing the overall public administration culture towards flexibility, innovation, entrepreneurship, enterprising as 'opposed to rule-bound, process orientation' and focusing on inputs rather than results.

A prominent issue is whether NPM is a distinct *variant* of public administration or are there some points of commonality between the *two*. There is an academic debate that is on claiming NPM to be a dynamic new approach *without* sacrificing the best of the old values. It has been expressed that on the intellectual front, NPM, like traditional public administration borrows ideas from business management, and has been influenced by writings of Taylor, Fayol, Gulick etc. Also, both are said to share a *common* core of specialised areas such as organisation theory, decision making theory, financial management, systems analysis, economics, and sociology.

While public administration is based much more on political science and law, NPM draws heavily on economics and business administration. NPM is a reform strategy encompassing a series of methods and techniques that aim at government reforms. In contrast to routine tasks, functions and activities, it gives emphasis to jobs, missions, and processes. It focuses at debureaucratisation and delivering of tasks in organisation through decentralisation, delegation of authority and responsibility to various teams. Its focus is on customer orientation and satisfaction. It gives primacy to identification of customers, assessing their needs, and choices and devising ways of meeting their requirements.

14.5 REINVENTING GOVERNMENT

The Management Approach to public administration in USA assumed pace in the 1990s, with liberalisation of economies. It gained momentum due to the policies initiated in 1980s by Margaret Thatcher in UK and Ronald Reagan in USA. The

transformation of governmental systems received a new turn in 1992, with the propagation of the concept of “Re-inventing Government” by David Osborne and Ted Gaebler. In their work *Reinventing Government, How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector*, they made an elaborate case for transforming the bureaucratic government into an ‘entrepreneurial’ one.

Their prescription is not for abolishing government but *reinventing* it. The concept of enterprising government is one which is never static, but adaptable, responsive, efficient and effective. This enables the government to produce quality goods and services and be responsive to the citizens. Osborne and Gaebler (*op.cit.*) envisaged the need for a particular type of government, which is essential for a developed society. The enterprising government that they prescribed is not so much concerned with what government does, but how it does it. They emphasised that:

- a) Government cannot simply be like a business “because government and business serve different purposes, both of them valuable and necessary”, and
- b) The question is not how much government we have, but what kind of government we have. Hence they made a case for government undergoing a change or reinventing itself.

The model, they conceptualised has the following *ten* forms:

- 1) **Catalytic Government:** Providing not only services, but also catalysing all sectors into action in the solution of problems.
- 2) **Community-oriented Government:** Empowering of citizens in service delivery.
- 3) **Competitive Government:** Promoting competition amongst various service providers.
- 4) **Mission-driven Government:** Being driven by missions and not rules and regulations.
- 5) **Result-oriented Government:** Measuring the performance of organisations on the basis of their outcomes than on inputs.
- 6) **Customer-driven Government:** Redefining clients as customers and offering them choice in service delivery.
- 7) **Enterprising Government:** Mobilising efforts towards earning money instead of just spending.
- 8) **Anticipatory Government:** Being proactive in the sense of preventing problems before they emerge.
- 9) **Decentralised Government:** Resorting to decentralising authority with a view to taking decision making close to the citizens.
- 10) **Market-oriented Government:** Relying on market mechanisms in the provision of services rather than bureaucratic mechanisms.

Osborne and Gaebler consider that these fundamental changes are *necessitated* by crisis situations, which require people with vision, leadership qualities and support of business, government as well as societal organisations. The reinventing government model presented by Osborne and Gaebler is a wider exercise in the NPM perspective. It reaffirms the reform agenda of increased efficiency, decentralisation, accountability and marketisation.

14.6 IMPACT OF NPM REFORMS

NPM attempts to create a new entrepreneurial and user-oriented culture in public organisations, with emphasis on performance measurement and autonomy to organisations and individuals. Though the focus appears to improve government functioning, doubts arise regarding the divergence between market economy's interests and pursuance of social concerns.

NPM has a very apolitical dimension, which has given rise to certain implications such as:

- Clash of values between traditional and New Public Administration.
- Contradictory nature of factors underlining Reinventing Government.
- Managerial predominance over policy capacity.
- Reinforcement of politics-administration dichotomy.
- Absence of clear-cut concepts of accountability.
- Rendering citizens as customers.
- Providing only managerial solutions to public sector problems.

NPM has broadened the managerial choices in public sector. As it has not been applied extensively outside the Commonwealth countries, its impact especially in developing countries has not been adequately examined. The most comprehensive overview of NPM type of reforms has been offered by Batley (1999). He observes that the effect of NPM reforms has been a mixed bag, at best, with some improvements in efficiency and diverse effects on equity. On the downside, he notes that the transaction costs of radical reforms to autonomise service delivery agencies have tended to outweigh the efficiency gains of unbundling, and that reforms that seek to separate purchasers from providers sometimes reduce accountability.

Also, failure to evolve proper indicators of measurement of reforms has been another problem. Generally, the implementation of any reform is considered to be the key indicator of success. The acid test of any administrative reform programme, NPM or otherwise is the achievement of its promised outcomes. This has been a major lapse in this entire exercise.

It is difficult to assess the impact of NPM in purely quantitative and qualitative terms. There are methodological problems pertaining to examining what and how to measure, especially relating to public service performance. Whether reforms in developing countries produce the desired results, it is difficult to provide a definite answer to this.

We can, however, say that these reforms have developed a new vocabulary of reform strategies such as marketisation, corporatisation, managerialism, privatisation, emphasising efficiency, productivity, rationality, value for money and so on. But, despite their vast reach, there appears to be inconsistency and incoherence in the reforms. It has made public sector complex, created more hybrid structures, multi-structured public apparatus. In this process, the distinct features of public organisations seem to be fading away.

The focus of NPM is on efficiency as we all know. However, this is considered by many, as *negation* of values of social justice and equity. The anti-State ideology the

NPM pursues, some feel could lead to a decline in basic social services provision, creating a host of inequities. The reigning themes of reform are targeted towards achievement of objectives such as economy and efficiency. However, the issues of social equity, justice, accountability, and participation are equally important to be taken cognizance of by any system.

The countries, which embarked upon the public management reforms since 1980s had career-based public administration *rooted* in certain values of ethics, commitment, accountability, and neutrality. In an attempt to give prominence to efficiency and economy; public management was envisaged as a way to deliver improved public services, instead of institutionalising certain governance values, practices, and strategies. Hence, some of the reforms appeared to be technical and scientific without having much of the needed impact.

The public sector enterprises, which are generally loss making, have not been able to attract private buyers, and also there has been a stiff resistance by the labour unions. The developing countries, which are already grappling with unemployment, economic inequalities and absence of a developed capital market through which funds can be mobilised, have not gained much with the privatisation initiatives. The strikes that have been resorted to by trade unions in the banking and insurance sectors in India reflect their apprehensions and problems encountered with the process. There are no clear-cut policy guidelines or political will to make provisions for alternative employment opportunities.

Privatisation methods are also said to have been less transparent and they appear to be an exercise in redistribution of economic power. Some enterprises have been privatised hastily under the influence of political pressures. The disinvestment process in India has also lacked a holistic perspective. Though the various committees that examined this process have recommended ways of improving the performance of public enterprises, the implementation of the strategies has been devoid of zeal and commitment.

In India, the public management reforms, which were introduced as part of Structural Adjustment Programme or SAP, assumed several forms such as liberalisation, deregulation, privatisation, and disinvestment. These were to a large extent due to the aid conditionalities of the donor agencies such as World Bank, IMF etc. The situation on the domestic front in the 1990s was such that the country had to go in for a different economic development model. The changes had to be introduced in financial, banking and regulatory sectors, and the economy had to be opened upto the market forces.

However, we cannot make generalisations on the basis of these examples. It is because there has not been much of *research* on the impact, focusing on the successes and failures of NPM reforms. According to Pollitt (1995) much of the scholarly research thus far has been at the micro-level and is 'highly context specific'.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain the distinct features of NPM.

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2) What do you understand by Reinventing Government?
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14.7 CONCLUSION

The public sector reforms that were ushered in globally in the last two decades and were labeled as NPM, have been the outcome of several changes embedded in the social as well as political context in the western democracies. The very rationale of the public sector has been questioned and the functioning of the Welfare State has come under cloud. NPM, drawing on the principles of economic theories/approaches positioned itself as an alternative paradigm. It is reflected in the primacy it accorded to satisfaction of individual needs, self-actualising behaviour of bureaucracy, dismantling of public monopolies and promotion of competition.

International experience indicates that the trend of privatisation of services was not successful everywhere. NPM reforms in developing countries did give a jolt to monolithic bureaucratic administration and propelled the State in these countries to adapt to values of marketisation, competition, efficiency and productivity. However, NPM focused more on internal organisational mechanisms and processes. Juxtaposing this type of managerial model within the framework of State and governance system has been its major flaw.

The model or paradigm, as many call it, has been rather ambiguous in its attempt towards restructuring administration. In a way, a 'borrowed' model was sought to be imposed out of context in different countries. A complete disclosure of the proposed reforms, mechanisms for evaluation, involvement of public, market mechanisms, alternative solutions for effective public service delivery, and so on could never be made. It appears that to a large extent, it is the common citizen who has been the *casualty* in this entire process.

We need to look *beyond* New Public Management reforms, in order to strive towards blending of economic and social values. In evolving and adapting a new administrative framework, it is necessary that each country examines its feasibility as per clearly formulated reform objectives, examine suitable prerequisites for reform and create a conducive atmosphere for its implementation. The citizens as a constituent of the democratic process have certain expectations from the State and government in the resolution of their problems.

The reforms need to fit into the apparatus of the State and its mechanisms. New Public Management, as a framework of administrative reforms can at best solve not

all but a few specific problems. In the present globalisation scenario, a balance needs to be maintained between managerial reforms and governance challenges, as NPM can only be but one strand in the entire process of change. The feasibility of installing the reform processes, which are imposed as packages from other countries, needs to be examined in the perspective of the socio-economic and political milieu of the recipient country.

14.8 GLOSSARY

Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)

: Structural Adjustment Programme consists of loans provided by Bretton Woods Institutions like International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank to countries undergoing economic crises in expectation of implementation of certain policies identified by them for these countries. The IMF usually implements stabilisation policies and the World Bank or WB is in charge of adjustment measures. Such loans are criticised for promoting free-market irrespective of recipient countries' Socio-economic growth rate and development patterns.

Deregulation

: It is a process of reducing State regulations in economic field. It believes that fewer and simpler regulations will lead to raised levels of competitiveness and eventually higher productivity, cost-effectiveness, higher efficiency and lower prices. The process of deregulation is accompanied by regulatory reforms.

Disinvestment

: The term was first used in the 1980s to refer to the use of concerted economic boycott to put pressure on government in South Africa. It means the withdrawal or reduction of an investment.

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14.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1) Your answer should include the following points :

- Spread of Globalisation in 1980s and 1990s.
- Rise of Competition State with manifestation in NPM.
- Hierarchy-laden, inflexible bureaucracy made way for flexible organisational structure .
- Business management and market mechanisms got a boost with managerial improvements.
- Neo-institutional economics attempted to apply market framework to institutions and organisations.
- Structural Adjustment Programme and collapse of Soviet Union precipitated the reforms.

- 2) Your answer should include the following points.
 - New Right attacked Welfare State and social programmes.
 - New Right was criticised by government.
 - It attacked the bureaucracies and governments through its Public Choice, Principal-Agent, and Transaction-Cost Approaches.
 - It aimed at the use of alternate institutional arrangements, efficiency and customer-drawn governance processes.
 - NPM assumed prominence because of New Right Reforms.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Disintegration of public organisations.
 - Adoption of private sector managerial practices.
 - Setting measurable performance standards.
 - Contracting out.
 - Making services more responsive.
 - Enhancing service ethic.
 - Assigning the role of steering activities.
 - Empowering employees.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Reinventing government gained momentum due to the policies initiated in 1980s by Margaret Thatcher in UK and Ronald Reagan in the USA.
 - It focuses on catalytic government.
 - Community-oriented government is laid emphasis on.
 - It promotes competitive government.
 - Other focus points are Mission-driven government, result-oriented government and customer-driven government.
 - Reinventing government also includes enterprising government, anticipatory government, decentralised government and market-oriented government .

UNIT 15 GOOD GOVERNANCE APPROACH*

Structure

- 15.0 Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 From Government to Governance
- 15.3 Governance: Concept and Features
- 15.4 Characteristics of Good Governance
- 15.5 Beyond Good Governance
- 15.6 Good Governance: Issues and Challenges
- 15.7 Conclusion
- 15.8 Glossary
- 15.9 References
- 15.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

15.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the meaning of the concepts of State, and government, and bring out the distinction between the two;
- Examine the transition from government to governance;
- Discuss the concept and significance of governance and good governance;
- Describe the characteristics of good governance; and
- Identify the important issues and challenges facing good governance.

15.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the concept of Good Governance, we must be clear about the wider concept of State, which encompasses government and governance. Government is a major constituent of State, as it is an instrument through which the State strives to accomplish its goals and objectives. Governance, in simple terms, implies the process of decision making and its implementation. It is broader in nature and has social, political and economic dimensions. As a process too, it is more comprehensive, as it includes along with the government, the private sector and civil society organisations. It is the overall responsibility of the State to protect the life and property of citizens. The State through the instrument of government and process of governance strives to provide suitable living environment, maintain law and order and establish social justice and equality in society. The process of governance within a framework of open policy making, rule of law, transparent processes, accountability framework and a strong civil society is together considered as Good Governance.

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The last two decades have witnessed far-reaching modifications in the State structure and dynamics. The impact of global forces on polity, economy and administration has been phenomenal with the State, societies and issues concerning the division of responsibility within and beyond government undergoing a metamorphosis. As we have discussed in Unit 14 of this Course on New Public Management, there have been structural adjustments or readjustments at the global level.

The citizens are also becoming conscious of their rights and responsibilities. There is an increase in the level of their expectations and as a result, the need for good governance has become crucial. In this Unit, we shall discuss the concepts of State, government and the changing nature of tasks of government, which has led to the changing nation of 'governing to governance'. The concept and significance of governance as well as its characteristics shall be dealt in the Unit. We shall also discuss the concept of Good Governance and its features. An attempt shall be made to focus on the significant issues and challenges that are crucial for promoting Good Governance.

15.2 FROM GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNANCE

The society functions within the boundaries of a State. A State is a political institution that has sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders and exercises authority through a set of permanent institutions including parliament, judiciary, bureaucracy and so on. The government is one of the key institutions of State and society, entrusted with production and provision of goods and services. It is liable for ensuring equity through appropriate policies and programmes, regulating the activities of private sector and so on.

The government, as we have discussed, has been entrusted with wide-ranging functions. In several countries, to accomplish this, systematic planning has been adopted by the governments and many enterprises have been set up to carry on commercial activities to earn profits. For example, in India after independence, public sector enterprises in certain core areas such as civil aviation, coal, steel, etc., have been set up. These include the Steel Authority of India Limited, Oil and Natural Gas Corporation of India Limited, etc.

Over time, however, the activities of government have expanded to such an extent that certain problems have emerged which include mounting fiscal deficit, wasteful expenditure in state-owned enterprises, decrease in revenue and so on. Also, in general, citizens' dissatisfaction with the government's provision of services has been on the rise and alternative mechanisms for delivery of goods and services are being considered. These developments have led to the thinking that the government should move away from the direct provision of services and allow private sector to enter the uncharted areas. Private markets have been considered efficient as they promote competition and provide effective and prompt services to the people.

Another important development that we can witness is the onslaught of the globalisation phenomenon. The present day economies are undergoing a significant transformation and the boundaries across nations are disappearing leading to excessive interconnectedness. Developments, such as the collapse of Soviet Union, increasing dominance of the USA at various fronts including political, economic, military and so on, expansion of telecommunications and information technology, removal of restrictions on trade, investment, and entry of multi-national corporations, are exerting pressure on the governmental functioning. We have already discussed this in detail in Unit 14 of this Course on New Public Management.

The role of the State in core-areas is also being questioned due to the failure of government in tackling some priority areas. Hence, this has resulted in government, which has all along been the major provider of services, to withdraw from certain areas enabling the private sector, as well as people's initiatives in the form of civil society organisations to expand their areas of operation. For instance in India, we find the key role being played by private sector, as well people's associations in many spheres of activity. Rajendra Singh of Tarun Bharat Sangh in Rajasthan won the prestigious Magsaysay Award in 2001 for his efforts in tackling the drought situation by reviving the rain water harvesting techniques. Many corporate enterprises such as the Tatas and Infosys are working towards upliftment of disadvantaged sections. There are many such initiatives which are gaining momentum and recognition.

The practice of public administration, which has hitherto been dominated by the government, is giving way to a networking between government, market and collective groups of people commonly referred to as 'civil society'. There has been a gradual shift from a narrow view of governance that has relied excessively on bureaucracy with emphasis on hierarchy and rules and regulations; and with citizens as mere passive acceptors or recipients of goods and services towards networking amongst several stakeholders including government, markets and civil society. Governance is not governor-centric now, with power and authority moving from governors to the governed. The task of governance has widened with many other actors coming into the field, blurring of boundaries between public and private sectors with lesser control exercised by government. The present concept of governance looks at government interacting with various segments of society and economy to arrive at mutually acceptable decisions. We shall discuss the concept, significance and features of governance in the next Section.

15.3 GOVERNANCE: CONCEPT AND FEATURES

Development, in present times, is being looked at from a holistic perspective. The term, which earlier referred primarily to economic development, achieved by any country now accords importance to creating an environment in which people can lead productive lives. The wealth of any nation is its people. Hence, governance systems and processes, which foster the development of people assume importance. As we have discussed in the preceding Section, the term governance has gained a broader connotation. In this Section, let us discuss the evolution of the concept as well as features of governance and its significance.

The term 'governance', technically speaking has been derived from the Greek word 'Kybernan' which means 'to steer and to pilot or be at the helm of things'. It was first used by Harlan Cleveland in mid-1970s, when he said 'what the people want is less government and more governance'. He used in the sense of blurring of distinctions between public and private organisations, multi-organisational systems etc. It has acquired a complex connotation in the later years.

There are international organisations such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund etc., which are involved in providing financial assistance for fostering development, especially in developing countries. During 1980s, the financial aid provided by them had various conditionalities, which prevailed upon the developing countries for lowering or doing away with trade barriers, withdrawing the subsidies and price controls, minimising the provision of social welfare measures, privatising the commercial activities of public or State-owned enterprises, encouraging the entry of market-forces in several areas, fostering competition and so on. The financial assistance was linked

to the market-oriented reforms that these countries were expected to bring about. India was also one of the countries that attempted to implement some of these measures in 1991.

Before we discuss the concepts of governance and Good Governance, there is a need to understand the various phases of reforms introduced world-wide as a result of globalisation. The first phase of reforms are considered the first generation reforms, which was a package of reform measures provided by World Bank, IMF and other international organisations during the 1980s. These basically aimed to address the economic crises faced by the developing countries during that period. These reforms included free trade, deregulation of markets etc.

Then came the second generation reforms in the form of 'governance'. Over the course of time, it was observed by the international organisations that the market oriented reforms introduced did not yield the desired results and the growth in many of the countries became slower than was originally anticipated. This made the World Bank examine and publish its first major analyses based on its experience of Sub-Saharan Africa in 1989. The Bank published its Document titled '*Sub-Saharan Africa: from Crises to Sustainable Growth*', which identified certain key factors that came in the way of implementation of market-oriented reforms. The major reason for it was considered to be the failure of public or government institutions to perform their tasks in an efficient and effective manner.

The Bank, hence, for the first time emphasised the need to give importance to governance. According to their interpretation, governance has *four* main components:

- i) Public Sector Management;
- ii) Accountability;
- iii) Legal Framework for Development; and
- iv) Transparency and Information Accessibility.

Governance, as per these components, basically implies the proper formulation and implementation of policies by government agencies, within well-defined legal framework. It also emphasises on people getting the necessary information, fostering openness in the system and ensuring accountability on the part of politicians and bureaucrats or administrators. Governance is very important in any political system, as it is the process through which the policies of a State that effect the public are implemented.

Governance depends upon the *three* pillars of the Constitution, namely, the executive, legislature and judiciary. The legislature formulates the laws, the executive (including political and permanent) implements the laws, while the judiciary interprets the laws, For instance, the provision of adequate health, education, housing facilities, infrastructure to the citizens requires effective governance. Now, it must be clear to you that the concept of governance, which implies processes and mechanisms of policy formulation and implementation, is quite wide in nature. It includes government, private sector and the community as a whole.

For example, the government intends to pursue the policy of provision for education for all. The policy can be formulated only by the government, but its execution involves collective efforts. Governance basically attempts to promote collaboration, working together by the government, markets and people. It aims at maximum good for the maximum number of people, which cannot be achieved only by the government,

but also other public as well as private organisations, and even civil society organisations. Let us now discuss the concept and key characteristics of good governance.

15.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

In many countries, governance problems initially were not considered so important for hindering the development process. The Washington Consensus also did not give significance to reforming State institutions, to help policy makers to perform their role in a market-oriented environment. Gradually, it was recognised by donor agencies that governance issues are important for sustained development and systematic transformation, and need to be incorporated in aid policies. Multilateral agencies initiated the provision of aid that was supposed to be linked with improvement of the countries' governing systems.

As we have discussed in preceding Section, the World Bank also used the concept of governance for the first time in its Report *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth* (1989). In this Report, the Bank termed the crisis confronting the region as a 'crisis of governance'. The Bank identified certain phenomena such as widespread corruption, excessive personalisation of political power, neglect of human rights and persistence of non-accountable and non-elected governments as key impediments to sustainable development. The crisis of governance was said to be responsible for inefficient Structural Adjustment Programme.

Gradually, the World Bank widened the governance agenda by qualifying it with certain characteristics and terming it as 'good governance'. The World Bank (1992) in its subsequent document titled '*Governance and Development*' defined governance as 'the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development'. Governance depended on: (a) the form of political regime (parliamentary or presidential, military or civilian, authoritarian or democratic); (b) the process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources; and (c) the capacity of government to design, formulate and implement policies.

The Bank identified some major problems of governance, which included improper implementation of laws, delays in implementation, absence of proper accounting systems, defective procurement systems that encourage corruption, distortion in public investment priorities, failure to involve beneficiaries in the design and implementation of projects. The Bank indicated symptoms of poor governance. These encompassed failure to establish a predictable framework of law and government, which is conducive to development, regulatory rules that impede the functioning of markets and also non-transparent decision-making.

The World Bank considered Good Governance as 'epitomised by predictable, open and enlightened policy making, a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos, acting in furtherance of the public good, the rule of law, transparent processes and a strong civil society participating in public affairs. Participation underlines the need for good governance, which is necessary for sound economic, human and institutional development. The promotion of this requires efforts on the part of the citizens also. *Four* key dimensions of governance were emphasised. These are: (a) public sector management (capacity and efficiency), (b) accountability, (c) legal framework for development; and (d) information and transparency.

The World Bank also outlined certain *basics* of Good Governance. These include:

- Operation of Rule of Law that involves adequate laws to ensure personal security and facilitate the functioning of markets, which are adequately enforced through an independent and predictable judiciary and the absence of official corruption.
- A policy environment, which facilitates economic growth and poverty reduction. This includes sound macro-economic and fiscal policies, budgetary institutions and predictable and efficient regulation of the private sector, including the financial sector.
- Adequate investment in people (particularly through public expenditures on basic health and education) and in infrastructure, involving good allocation of public expenditures between and within sectors.
- Protecting the vulnerable through affordable and targeted safety nets and generally ensuring an appropriate “pro-poor” emphasis in public expenditures.
- Protecting the environment by assuring that economic growth does not cause environmental degradation. The policy makers, researchers and international institutions attempted to conceptualise Good Governance and postulate its basic characteristics. These include:

Participation: This is considered to be the core of Good Governance. Governments need to ensure the requisite freedom to the citizens to participate in the decision making process, articulate and represent their interests that can get reflected in the policies and programmes. Participation boosts the independence, confidence, autonomy and self-reliance of citizens. It enables them to influence the decisions and actions of those who are governing them. It fosters responsiveness of policies to the needs of beneficiaries.

Rule of Law: Governance does not imply arbitrary use of authority. Any governance to be effective needs to be supplemented by a fair legal framework. This should be supported by appropriate law enforcement machinery, independent judiciary that can instill confidence in the people.

Transparency: This is based on the premise of free flow of information and its accessibility to those affected by the decisions, which are taken in the governance process. The information provided has to be understandable and of relevance to the concerned. The provision of information within reasonable limits, to the people enables them to comprehend and monitor governmental, private sector and non-governmental sectors’ activities.

Responsiveness: The earlier governance mechanisms failed to bring all the stakeholders in their ambit. Presently, the emphasis is more on institutions being responsive to the needs of all those who are likely to be affected by their decisions.

Equity: Since the governance structure and mechanisms, aim at participation, they need to promote equity. A society’s well-being and development depends on ensuring that all the members have stake and role in it and are not excluded from the mainstream of activity.

Effectiveness and Efficiency: Good Governance, also similar to New Public Management, aims at effectiveness and efficiency in usage of resources in consonance with the societal needs and demands. Result orientation needs to be the key concern.

Accountability: It has to ensure answerability as well as proper enforcement for violating certain laid down norms. It involves making the politicians, administrators, other governmental, non-governmental organisations, and private sector accountable for their activities.

Predictability: This entails presence of clear-cut laws and regulations that regulate the society and economy.

In a UNDP Workshop on *Governance for Sustainable Human Development* (1997), certain characteristics of Good Governance were identified. These include:

- Participatory in nature.
- Responsive to people.
- Able to develop resources and methods of governance.
- Operates by Rule of Law.
- Enabling, facilitating and regulating rather other controlling.
- Service oriented.
- Sustainable.
- Acceptable to people.
- Fostering equity and equality.
- Promoting gender balance.
- Accountable (Sobhan, 1998).

Bovaird and Loffler (2003) bring out *ten* characteristics of 'good governance' which have recurred frequently both in the literature and in political and practitioner debates on the subject:

- Citizens' engagement.
- Transparency.
- Accountability.
- The equality agenda and social inclusion (gender, ethnicity, age, religion etc.).
- Ethical and honest behaviour.
- Equity (fair procedures and due process).
- Ability to compete in a global environment.
- Ability to work effectively in a partnership
- Sustainability; and
- Respect for the Rule of Law.

Good Governance aims at:

- Improving the quality of life of citizens.
- Enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of administration.
- Establishing the legitimacy and credibility of institutions.

- Securing the freedom of information and expression.
- Providing citizen-friendly and citizen-caring administration.
- Ensuring accountability.
- Using information technology-based services to improve citizen-government interface.
- Improving / enhancing the productivity of employees; and
- Promoting organisational pluralism – State, market and civil society organisations for governance.

Good Governance aims at achieving much more than efficient management of economic and financial resources or public services. It is a broad reform strategy to make government more open, responsive, accountable, and democratic, regulate private sector and strengthen institutions of civil society. Good Governance is the qualitative dimension of governance. A governance system, that enables all-important stakeholders participate in governing mechanisms, processes and institutions emphasising decentralisation, participation and responsiveness is considered to be good or effective. Good Governance is a combination of efficiency concerns of New Public Management and accountability concerns of governance.

Check Your Progress 1

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) What do you understand by the concept of governance?

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2) Elaborate the characteristics of Good Governance.

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15.5 BEYOND GOOD GOVERNANCE

The emergence of the concepts of Governance and Good Governance have triggered several debates and discussions. It is an ongoing process involving multiple actors and institutions. It also calls for radical transformation of the mindset in taking appropriate measures in bringing and sustaining institutional reforms. Hence, it is a gigantic task that calls for replacing as well as revitalising existing institutional processes

and mechanisms. Also, each country is set in a particular socio-political and economic milieu and therefore adhering to a blue print of governance, without taking cognisance of historical, cultural variations could prove counter-productive.

The *Report on Human Development in South Asia* (1999) gave a new dimension – ‘Humane Governance’. The Report indicates that South Asia’s colossal human deprivation is not just due to economic reasons. The social and political factors are also equally responsible for such a state of affairs. The ultimate goal of development, it observes, is to build human capabilities and enlarge human choices to create a safe and secure environment, where citizens can live with dignity and equality. It makes a case for humane governance, with emphasis on good political, economic and civic governance.

Certain conceptualisations emerged during the course of time, to provide a different orientation, Grindle (2004), provides a model of ‘good enough governance’ by establishing an interconnection between the form of governance and socio-economic and political milieu. According to this, there cannot be a perfect design of governance. Grindle argues that the Good Governance agenda is ‘unrealistically long’ and there is little guidance about what is essential and what is not, what should come first and what should follow, what can be achieved in the short and long run and what is not. Hence, she calls for ‘good enough governance’, which refers to the condition of minimally acceptable government, performance and civil society engagement that does not significantly hinder economic and political development and which permits poverty reduction initiatives to go forward.

There is a need to search for best ways to move towards better governance within the available resources of money, time, knowledge and human and organisational capacities. There is increasing realisation that along with governance agenda, poverty reduction measures, social safety nets, anti-corruption measures and so on have to be taken cognisance of for implementation. Held *et al.* (2005) consider this as the ‘Augmented Washington Consensus’. This new model aims to establish a close relationship between the State, economy and civil society. The new approach to governance intends to integrate political, social and economic dimensions to make development sustainable. A Good Governance system encompasses the whole gamut of public policy formulation and implementation involving formal and non-formal actors, and functioning in a transparent, accountable, democratic and participatory manner.

15.6 GOOD GOVERNANCE: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

Governance and Good Governance, as we have discussed, occupy an important place in the current scenario. It aims at the maximum welfare of citizens. It involves government, private sector and people’s associations or civil society. The important challenge facing the governance process is to build a framework or system that can promote an appropriate balance between these three constituents. Good Governance is an ongoing process that has to be sustained. But it is a gigantic task which involves a multipronged strategy.

The important issues and challenges pertaining to Good Governance include:

- **Strengthening the institutions of governance:** Parliament is the supreme representative institution in India. The political representative represents the electorate. Many a time, concerns are expressed on various fronts about the

falling standards in the quality of participation, conduct of proceedings and soon. Hence, there is a need to develop good practices and procedures of parliamentary functioning and make Parliament a dynamic institution in tune with the changing times.

- **Improving the functioning of civil service and bureaucracy:** Ultimately, it is the permanent executive that is responsible for policy implementation. It is necessary to develop a responsive civil service that is professional, energetic and caters to people's needs.
- **Reassuring the citizens with establishing an independent and accountable judiciary:** The judiciary is to be seen as an effective instrument of maintenance of Rule of Law and upholding of social justice.
- **Making the private sector accountable:** This can be done through adopting sound business practices, adhering to rules and regulations and protecting the interest of consumers.
- **Educating the citizens about their rights and obligations:** This can be ensured by making them partners in all development activities.
- **Good Governance has to pay attention to several key issues in political, economic and civil spheres:** Political governance needs to be strengthened through ensuring appropriate decentralisation measures, making elected representatives responsive and accountable to citizens, strengthening their capacities through education, awareness and training, conduct of regular, periodic and fair elections, impartial judiciary, and improving the functioning of the civil service.
- **Economic governance needs to be given importance:** This can be ensured through sufficient budgetary allocations to social sector priority areas such as education, health, housing, appropriate taxation and subsidy systems. This also requires government to promote private sector development through sound business practices, creation of stable economic environment, appropriate regulatory framework, and protection of the interests of all concerned including employees, consumers and society at large.
- **Civic governance includes harnessing of the self-initiatives of people:** Focus should be on improving their capacities to govern their lives creating awareness in them and enabling them to take up active role in democratic governance processes.

The issues and challenges that confront Good Governance require effective functioning of three wings of government namely executive, legislature and judiciary and building appropriate linkages amongst the organs. Governance has to strike a suitable balance between parliamentary supremacy and judicial independence. As the State, private sector and civil society have an important role in governance process, there is a need to assign clear-cut roles and responsibilities to these components to enable them to work towards genuine people-oriented development activities.

Governance, is a model as well as a process involving multiple stakeholders, institutions and interactions between them. Good Governance focuses on making the process smooth with sound policy framework, efficiency, accountability and transparency in all activities promoting sound socio-political, economic and civic governance. It is a continuous process through which conflictual and diverse interests are accommodated, cooperative action is fostered, and formal and informal institutions are empowered

to promote public good. In India, the formulation of citizens' charters, redressal of public grievances, Right to Information, people's participation and so on are initiatives in this direction.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain the model of 'good enough governance'.

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2) Identify the key issues and challenges pertaining to Good Governance.

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15.7 CONCLUSION

The transition from government to governance involves a shift from the top down political set up to multiple agencies, institutions and systems with interlinkages. It has beyond doubt widened the scope of public administration by recognising the role of multiple actors in public decision making. The excessive managerial orientation accorded to public administration during 1980s seemed to affect the concerns of democratic polity. Governance and Good Governance with importance given to transparency, accountability, rule of law, ethics, integrity, have gained supremacy over time, as widely discussed approaches to public administration. This Unit has discussed the meaning of the 'governance' It has examined the transition from Governance to Good Governance. The characteristics and features of Good Governance have been described. The Unit has also brought out the issues and challenges for sustaining Good Governance.

15.8 GLOSSARY

Civil Society

: As per Wikipedia, it is the 'aggregate of non-governmental organisations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens'. It is considered as a community of citizens linked by common interests and collective activity.

- Citizen's Charters** : Citizen's Charters came into being in the UK in 1991 to make administration more accessible, responsive, transparent and efficient. The aim of the Charter is to make available all the relevant information about the public institutions providing services to the citizens. Since citizens have a right to demand accountability, services offered by government departments, and the charters promote the citizens' entitlement to easy, unhassled, qualitative, efficient access to good and services.
- Social Safety Nets** : These refer to a collection of services provided by the State or other institutions with the primary goal of reducing poverty.
- Washington Consensus** : The term coined in 1989 by John Williamson, refers to the policy advice provided by the Washington based institutions such as International Monetary Fund, World Bank to the Latin American countries. It stresses on corporate governance, flexible labour markets, trade agreements, anti-corruption devices etc.

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15.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - The term 'Governance' is derived from the Greek Word 'Kybernan' implies Steering.
 - It is broader than government and includes processes and mechanisms of policy formulation and implementation.
 - Governance is the process through which the policies of a State that effect the public are implemented.
 - It emphasises on collaborative efforts by government, private sector and community in implementation of policies and programmes.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - The characteristics of Good Governance include:
 - a) Participation
 - b) Rule of Law
 - c) Transparency
 - d) Responsiveness
 - e) Equity
 - f) Effectiveness and efficiency
 - g) Accountability
 - h) Predictability

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - The model of 'good enough governance' was propounded by Meryll S. Grindle.

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- It establishes an interconnection between the form of governance and socio-economic and political milieu.
 - The Good Governance agenda is quite elaborate and hence a condition of minimally acceptable governance is propounded.
 - Each country within the framework of its available resources of time, money, knowledge, human and organisational capacities has to determine the governance agenda.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
- Strengthening the institutions of governance including parliament and judiciary.
 - Improving the functioning of civil service and bureaucracy.
 - Ensuring the private sector accountability.
 - Educating the citizens about their rights and obligations.
 - Revitalising political, economic and civic governance.



UNIT 16 POSTMODERN APPROACH*

Structure

- 16.0 Objectives
- 16.1 Introduction
- 16.2 A Brief Understanding of Modernity
- 16.3 Prevailing Orthodoxies in Traditional Public Administration
- 16.4 Factors for the Rise of Postmodernism
- 16.5 The Postmodern Alternative within Public Administration
- 16.6 Major Focus of Postmodern Approach to Public Administration
- 16.7 Beyond Postmodernism in Public Administration
- 16.8 Conclusion
- 16.9 Glossary
- 16.10 References
- 16.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

16.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the concept of modernity;
- Examine the prevailing orthodoxies in traditional public administration;
- Discuss the key ideas behind Postmodernism; and
- Describe the postmodern trends in public administration.

16.1 INTRODUCTION

Ever since the Age of Enlightenment of the eighteenth century to the Age of Industrialisation of the twentieth century, attempts were made to transform society by applying 'science' and 'reason'. Especially, in the nineteenth century social sciences have been profoundly guided by 'reason' with the influential writings of Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber. In their Article on 'Reason and Postmodernity', White and Adams (1995) point out that the elites and intellectuals of the modernist paradigm believed that "*science would free us from natural and social constraints on our development*". In the context of public administration, the practices of hierarchy, expert dominance, secrecy, and passivity of citizens, however, came under severe criticism for being restrictive of the human behaviour that eventually resulted in increased contradictions, inequalities, and social conflicts. Sadly, the ideas of civic engagement, citizens' empowerment, deliberation, and democratic process became secondary to public administration.

Therefore, a search for alternative approach to public administration was carried out by challenging the ideas of the modernist paradigm through Postmodern lens.

* Contributed by Dr. R. Anitha, Former Faculty, RGNIYD, Sriperumbudur, Tamil Nadu.

With the hope to build alternative approaches that are sensitive to values and subjective to human behaviour, the proponents of Postmodern perspective emphasised the 'public' part of public administration. In this Unit, we shall discuss the concept of modernity. We will examine the idea of Postmodernism and its intersection with public administration. It will also explain the Postmodern alternative within public administration.

16.2 A BRIEF UNDERSTANDING OF MODERNITY

Modernity is a product of the Enlightenment Age of the eighteenth century Europe, which inspired the philosophers, theorists, and scientists for a society laden with universal truth and justice. As it is commonly understood, modernisation is a process of development, which implies advancement through progressive changes. Worrall (1974) quotes Samuel P. Huntington's observations on modernisation as: "*a multifaceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and activity*".

One can find the roots of modernisation or modernity (terms used interchangeably) in the domains of art, natural sciences, law, economics, and government wherein the old values of 'superstition' and 'instinct' were replaced by 'science' and 'reason'. White and Adams (1995) describe this powerful combination of science, instrumental reason, and technological progress as the "*hallmark of technical rationality*". Scholars observe that technical rationality anchored the progress in a wide spectrum vis-à-vis social, political, and economic contexts. Consequently, the period of modernity powered by 'technical rationality' prompted professionals, such as, scientists, social scientists, and managers towards a universal view in which all human conflicts were perceived as problems limited to scientific solutions.

The post-industrial revolution had been the arena of 'industrial reforms', wherein different strategies were adopted to bring about maximum 'productivity' and 'efficiency'. The period from early 1900s to the early 1960s was highly influenced by Taylor's Scientific Management, Weber's Bureaucratic Model, Wilson's Politics-Administration Dichotomy, and Simon's Organisational Rationality, and these models proved efficient in those days. However, in the late 1960s, these models received criticisms from the scholars for being restrictive of the human behaviour and of less relevance to the issues and concerns of the society. To illustrate, the logic of modernity can be best described in Simon's words (1983): "*It cannot tell us where to go; at best it can tell us how to get there*".

The perils of public administration can be understood from organisational and societal perspectives, *firstly* in the context of public administration, Bogason (2005) finds the period of modernity is "*characterised by rationalisation, centralisation, bureaucratisation, specialisation, and industrialisation*". *Secondly* owing to the social problems in terms of ill-health, unemployment, social insecurity, and environmental degradation in the developed as well as developing nations, Traditional Public Administration (TPA) was countered on a wide range of issues like legitimacy, transparency, mainstreaming gender, administrative responsibility etc.

Scholars, such as Waldo, Golombiewski, Frederickson, etc., countered the prevailing ideas of TPA as being insensitive and disconnected from social reality and hence, explored alternatives to breakdown organisational systems and rigid patterns of thinking. In this line of thought, the objective to bridge the gap between theory and practice opened the door for more people-centric perspectives which eventually came under the rubric of Postmodernism.

16.3 PREVAILING ORTHODOXIES IN TRADITIONAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, scholars in public administration challenged the mainstream ideas of 'Organisational Rationality' to the changing political, economic, social, cultural and technological contexts. Scholars often had trouble in conceptualising the approach to knowledge acquisition that underlay the prevailing Rational Model of public administration. Herbert Simon, the foremost advocate of Rational Model, hypothesised that in the study of administrative behaviour, individual or group preferences may not be considered 'scientific' and organisationally 'efficient'. Hence, Simon argued for 'positivist approach' and called for an empirically based organisation theory that focused on concepts, such as decision, role and group theory. To put it succinctly, the Positivist Approach looked for commonalities of behaviour in all organisation settings irrespective of its nature whether public or private or voluntary.

With the ambition to achieve a scientific status of the discipline of public administration, the proponents of Positivist View appreciated the knowledge acquisition processes in natural sciences and justified its relevance in social sciences vis-à-vis 'observability' and 'measurability'. However, the critics of Positivist View have pointed out that describing human behaviour by mere observation could undermine the meaning of human experiences in terms of intuition, emotions and feelings. The principles of economy and efficiency no longer appeared to be relevant to organisational life during the post-second world war period. The prevailing view on 'one best way' of doing things was replaced by multiple ways of organising, formulating, and reformulating programmatic goals.

To substantiate, Caiden (1991) while reflecting on rigid bureaucracies identified chronic problems like inordinate delays, non-availability of officials at all levels to individual citizens, lack of concern to the grievances of citizens or groups, and lack of humane approach. On the other hand, the value-neutral instruments, such as rational choice, efficiency, and centralised planning were referred by scholars as 'professional bias', since it had the tendency toward shielding bureaucratic power in the society. Therefore, scholars looked for an alternative approach to counter the inadequacies posed by TPA. In the following Section, we will try to understand the conditions under which people questioned the certainties as prescribed by the modernist paradigm.

16.4 FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF POSTMODERNISM

According to Rosenau (1992), "*Postmodernism rejects epistemological assumptions, refutes methodological conventions, resists knowledge claims, obscures all versions of truth, and dismisses policy recommendations*". Box (2004) attributes the reasons for the rise of Postmodernism as, diminishing trust in science and government, social fragmentation, vanishing norms, scepticism, local affairs, and the paradox of globalisation. Let us now understand why Postmodernism challenged the ideas of modernity vis-à-vis positivist, empiricist, legal-rational etc:

Declining Trust in Science and Government

Despite the success of scientific culture and secular humanism, the quest for achieving certainty did not solve the social mysteries. For instance, public administration scholars observe that by the late 1960s, since the modernisation drive failed to remove poverty and social inequity, the optimism of people in government started waning and

subsequently, signs of apathy were displayed. The enduring problems of unemployment, environment degradation, inadequate healthcare and education, plus the complexities of public systems (rigid, cumbersome rules etc.) made it difficult to resolve. This scenario eventually challenged the popular belief that science and technology will be a panacea for all human and societal evils.

Social Fragmentation

With increasing magnitude of global capitalism, there has been the widespread issue of social fragmentation within communities, ethnic groups, cultures, and regions. As a result, the social divide at multiple levels leads to '*unpredictability*'. On the contrary, one of the affirmative characteristics of social fragmentation as pointed out by Box (2004) is, people around the world are more interested in expanding their networks through technology and associations at the neighbourhood and community levels. Bogason (2005) describes that such networking trends lose their national focus and replace the values of modernity vis-à-vis centralisation, collectivism, and nationalisation with '*decentralisation*', '*individualisation*' and '*internationalisation*'.

Contextuality

With increase in social fragmentation and greater people's voice and choice, scholars observe a trend of 'relativism' and 'uncertainty' in the society. Box (*op.cit.*) describes that there is "*uncertainty about the values that underlie morality and decisions about ethical conduct*" on the "*nature of the family, what sort of education is best, which occupations are most desirable, the role of science and technology in human life and so on.*" The context of change in norms, habits, political and cultural attitude in turn affects the public sector in terms of uncertainty, ambiguity, and multiplicity. Although, these perspectives are culturally embedded and legitimate individualism, their success lies in facilitating the '*process*' in which public systems could work. To illustrate, Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS) spearheaded the Right to Information (RTI) movement in India and facilitated the local people to ensure transparency and accountability in local administration. Equally, the people were empowered to raise locally relevant issues. Such social mobilisation efforts culminated in the passage of (Right to Information) Act in 2005.

Scepticism

Postmodernism is sceptical about modern political representation and elitist culture on the grounds that they are arbitrary in promoting vested interests and in excluding the complexities of the society. Rosenau (1992) points out that Post-modernists view modern representation as "*fraudulent, perverse, artificial, mechanical, deceptive, incomplete, misleading, insufficient, and wholly inadequate for the post-modern age*". Agger (1990) describes that Postmodernism resists elite culture and encourages writers and intellectuals both to communicate their ideas in "*a new voice*" in an easily understandable language so as to broaden the democratic public sphere. For instance, the Green Revolution in Asian countries, which eradicated widespread famine has also been widely criticised for causing environmental degradation, income inequalities and undermining local socio-economic conditions. Such negative occurrences made Postmodernists sceptical about the legitimacy of imported policies and their impact on native population.

Preference for Small and Local

Given the scenario of social fragmentation and widespread scepticism over imported policies and ideologies from the West, Box (*op.cit.*) has opened that people display

less interest in national and international events and demonstrate natural inclination towards what is closest to them, such as local associations or community affairs. In less developed countries, a classic example is the presence of community radio. For instance, in Assam, '*Jnan Taranga*', the first community radio station of the North East, serving as an inclusive platform for women, children, senior citizens, marginalised people, differently-abled, youth, tribal, rural and urban people.

Community Radio Compendium (2016) mentions that '*Jnan Taranga*' conducts innovative programmes on folk arts, women's issues and marginalised people. In line with Postmodern perspectives of being 'small and local', in the year 2002, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, decided to include civil society for greater participation in empowering local communities through community radio stations. Some of the other examples may include: marathons for social cause, volunteering for environmental conservation, neighbourhood crime watch, residents' welfare associations, community radio, etc.

The Paradox of Globalisation

Although the proponents of 'globalisation' advocate for a 'singular worldview', its impact on local cultures, values, and commitments is indeed chaotic and contradictory in reality. Box (*op.cit.*) refers to Barberon these lines: "*such trends lead people to abandon traditional values and beliefs of their societies in favour of lifestyle consumerism*". For instance, the media coverage in advertising and celebrating western lifestyle to a great extent brings a shift in the attitude of people to feel inferior about their tradition and culture.

In sum, Postmodernism did not arise as an event or individual occurrence; rather it emerged out of cumulative effects of the above mentioned reasons in the late twentieth century. Postmodern ideas are wide ranging and hence, it is impossible to condense the basic tenets of Postmodernism in a particular way. Cunliffe (2008) points out the key ideas that underline Postmodern Approach as follows:

- No fixed and commonly understood external social reality; Postmodernism only depicts images, fragmented views and performances.
- Organisations are created and maintained by a minority of individuals who have power over the majority.
- Postmodernists believe that knowledge does not lead to enlightened civilisation and progress rather it only lead to domination and marginalisation of groups.
- Meanings are not fixed in words, but depend on how they are used in particular contexts; and
- We need to deconstruct texts to uncover different assumptions, hidden power relations, and how groups are marginalised and suppressed.

As referred in Section 16.3, in search for an alternative to Traditional Public Administration, scholars have relied on Postmodern Approaches to knowledge acquisition which emphasised on understanding the meanings that people bring to their experiences. This development has been referred by McSwite (1997) as "*to open ourselves to one another*". The Postmodern theorists believe in the idea of 'discourse', the notion that common problems are more likely to be resolved through the process of discussion and consensus building. In the next Section, we will understand the role of Postmodern Approach in the context of public administration.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

- 1) What is meant by modernity?
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- 2) Give a brief account of the prevailing orthodoxies in public administration.
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- 3) What are the reasons behind declining trust in science and government?
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- 4) What do you understand by the term ‘scepticism’?
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16.5 THE POSTMODERN ALTERNATIVE WITHIN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

There are many Postmodern trends in public administration theory. Let us discuss some of them:

Organisational Humanism

Frederickson *et.al.* (2015) finds that the ideas and concepts that we put together as Postmodern Theory had its origin in the writings of Elton Mayo (Hawthorne Experiments) and Chester Barnard. To illustrate, F.W. Taylor in his Scientific Management Approach argues for “one best way of doing things” in organisation

to achieve maximum efficiency and describes organisations as highly mechanical environments, where workers are interested in salary and favourable working conditions. Unlike F.W. Taylor, Barnard describes organisations as highly social environments in which workers are equally interested in recognition and psychological support, besides salary and favourable working conditions.

This line of thought was further simplified by Douglas McGregor who advocated for a participatory management style, where the incumbents like their job and seek responsibility in what they do. Notably, thinkers like Abraham Maslow, Frederick Herzberg and Rensis Likert focused their attention on the role of individual, organisational leadership, group dynamics, motivation, and satisfaction. Similarly, Elliott Jaques advocated for a humanising bureaucracy based on the principle of employee consensus. By the mid-1960s, reiterating the Human Relations movement, Organisational Humanism perspective in public administration started emerging.

New Public Administration (NPA)

In 1968, a group of scholars led by Dwight Waldo, with the objective to revamp the scope of public administration from the existing orthodoxies met at the Minnowbrook Conference Centre, Syracuse University, New York. The scholars reinforced the need for being sensitive to values and responsive to the realities of the environment. The deliberations carried out by the scholars reacted critically to the Positivist tradition and proposed for New Public Administration (NPA). Frederickson *et al.* (2015) writes that the core ideas of Postmodern public administration can be traced in NPA and summarises them in the words of Marini (1971) as follows:

- Public administrators and public agencies are not and cannot be either neutral or objective.
- Bureaucratic hierarchy is often ineffective as an organisational strategy and technology is often dehumanising.
- Cooperation, consensus, and democratic administration are more likely than the simple exercise of administrative authority to result in organisational effectiveness; and
- Modern concepts of public administration must be built on post-behavioural and post-positivist logic, that is, more democratic, more adaptable, and more responsive to the changing social, economic and political contexts.

Stillman (1995) has observed that the scholars advocated for fresh perspectives in public administration grounded “on the ideals of citizen’s participation, sharing ideas, building consensus and mutual trust, and even *love of mankind*”. On the whole, the tenets of NPA gave a clarion call for a radical orientation of public administration in terms of relevance, innovation, personal morality and ethics, and reconciling public administration and democracy. Like the scholars of Minnowbrook Conference, Postmodernists rejected the grand narratives of the discipline, such as Weber’s Bureaucracy, Wilson’s Politics-Administration Dichotomy, Taylor’s Scientific Management, and Herbert Simon’s Decision-Making Model. For the Postmodern scholars, it becomes essential to link the core concerns of values and morality with relevance and social equity.

Public Administration Theory Network

Following the Minnowbrook discussions held in 1968, some of the scholars with humanistic-orientation continued to deliberate through informal networks in USA.

Consequently, this led to the evolution of Public Administration Theory Network (PATnet). Frederickson (2015) describes that two books deserve special mention in this evolution, namely, Thomas S. Kuhn's *'The Structure of Scientific Revolutions'* (1962) and Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's *'The Scientific Construction of Reality'* (1967). This academic rigour stimulated the scholars of social science in general and PAT net in particular to build NPA as an undeniable paradigm for improving its administrative practices. Secondly, based on the theme of social constructivism, the scholars aspired to make sense of social realities constructed by human beings in their everyday experiences, stories, conversations, written texts etc. Unlike TPA, the focus of public administration gradually shifted from organisational structure to organisational realities. In the ensuing sub-section, let us discuss the prominent traits of Postmodern theory as referred in public administration.

Traits of Postmodern Theory

Postmodernism challenges the traditional approaches to thinking and knowledge acquisition. Hence, they rely on multiple methods to capture the social and cultural construction of realities. Postmodern scholars criticised the positivist paradigm for being one-dimensional and argued that the foundations of public administration have been built on faulty beliefs and interpretations. Hence, they followed a host of qualitative methods like dialectic, historical analysis etc. Bogason (2005) presents the traits of Postmodern public administration theory as: dialectic, deconstruction, deterritorialisation, imagination, and alterity:

i) Dialectic

Denhardt (2011) has argued that owing to Positivism trends, we had lost the capacity to tell what is real. In this line of thought, the scholars advocate to explore the possibilities and relationships that the administrators encounter in their everyday experiences vis-à-vis language, culture, discourse, local knowledge with citizens. In these lines, the dialectic nature of public administration stresses the importance and responsibilities of incumbents to be self-reflective and facilitative as they operate in uncertain conditions. According to Jun (2006), 'dialectic' is a method for humanising and democratising organisational processes by recognising the participation of individuals in interpreting the meaning of the content. In this regard, Jun (2006) applies this method in the context of public administrators, as they may be able to construct dialectical possibilities by placing their accountabilities into the larger contexts of society, citizens, and ethics. Thus, Dialectical Approach provides opportunities to explore alternatives to overcome the limits of institutional dysfunctions. We shall see the example of dialectic approach in Section 16.6 vis-à-vis dialogue and participatory governance.

ii) Deconstruction

Deconstruction is a Postmodern method of analysis that intends to critically analyse the centralising tendencies of TPA as well as to understand the changing nature of diverse society. Based on the works of Jacques Derrida and Jean-Francois Lyotard, Deconstruction has been used as an alternative perspective in public administration for critically interpreting the text, that is, the grand narratives of Weber, Taylor, Wilson etc., to uncover its contradictions and hidden assumptions. The Postmodern scholars were not interested in advocating for a unified theory rather they supported in accommodating fragmented and diverse perspectives in promoting creativity. In the context of public administration, the administrators and citizens could play an active role in deconstruction process.

iii) **Deterritorialisation**

According to Bogason (2005), Deterritorialisation negates modern understandings of representations, which claim scientific propositions. Unlike TPA which focuses on symmetrical, homogeneity, and universal knowledge, the central elements of postmodernists include 'reality' in terms of asymmetrical, heterogeneity, and local knowledge. The presence of community radio station, as mentioned in sub-section 16.4.5, is an appropriate example for Deterritorialisation.

iv) **Imagination**

According to Frederickson (2015), imagination is an important element of Postmodern public administration because of its usage of metaphor, images, allegory, stories and parables. This aspect enables people to find alternate ways of thinking instead of generalising. Scholars perceive that what 'rationalisation' is for TPA, 'imagination' is for Postmodern analysis. For instance, in the year 2015, the district administration of Calicut, Kerala initiated an innovative project called 'Compassionate Kozhikode' to help institutions, such as, mental health care institutions, old age homes etc. With the aim to bring together people with a motive of altruism, this project received international accolades including the Social Media for Empowerment Award in 2016.

v) **Alterity**

According to Bogason (2005), the term 'Alterity' means a moral stance that counters the concept of standard bureaucratic efficiency. It implies that every act of administration directly or indirectly affects another person, whether beneficiary or official or any other stakeholder. Secondly, it prefers diversity of opinions, attitudes, and assumptions and avoids any form of stereotyping administrators (service provider) and citizens (receiver). Some of the characteristics of alterity include: openness to one another, opposing injustice, and helping service-orientation.

Postmodern Ideas and Practices

● **Phenomenological Approach**

With the efforts of PATnet, public administration, which was erstwhile ridden with identity crisis resumed its steering by the advocates of Phenomenological Approach. Phenomenology is a philosophy, which holds that 'reality' consists of the lived experiences of the individuals, of the meanings individuals attribute to specific objects. Lynn Jr. (2011) while referring to Michael Harmon describes that the Phenomenological Approach is related to a class of approaches vis-à-vis Hermeneutics, Ethnomethodology, Symbolic Interactionism, Feminist Epistemologies, and Post-structuralism. Another scholar Frederickson (2015) classifies the genres of scholars as interpretive theorist camp and critical theorist camp.

He further adds that while the former was represented by Michael Harmon, the latter was represented by Robert Denhardt and Ralph Hummel. Lynn Jr. in his Essay on '*Public Administration Theory: Which Side Are You On?*' (2011) opines that the Phenomenological Approach along with interpretive and Critical Theory could be regarded as 'Postmodern' or 'Postpositive' Approach. In a way, the interpretive and critical approaches to the study of public administration, organisation and theory provide an alternative way of understanding the complexities of the society. Unlike TPA, the interpretive and critical approaches do not include a set of unified constructs and assumptions that aims to explain and predict social phenomena.

- **Interpretive Theory**

According to Jun (1997), the interpretive and critical perspectives in public administration was highly influenced by William Dilthey and Edmund Husserl. The Interpretive Theory encountered Herbert Simon's Decision-Making theory on the pretext that while making decisions, accurate representation of reality can seldom be separated as facts and values. It asserted that any such efforts to distinguish realities may only reflect the convenience of the decision makers and not the meanings attached by those who implement the decisions.

Postmodern scholars viewed the fact and value dichotomy as a derivative of natural sciences, which when applied to social context has led to self-defeating consequences at the expense of citizen welfare. Lindblom (1965) describes that "*the dichotomy between facts and values and the dichotomy between means and ends were dismissed long ago*". The Postmodern scholars, thus, deny the existence of independent reality in social context and emphasises the reflection of local culture and ethos in determining the content of our experiences.

One of the reasons for the failure of TPA was that it isolated administrative organisations from the social context, hence, the postmodern scholars were apprehensive in verifying empirical facts and inclined more towards understanding meanings that were embedded in the experiences. In fact, Jun (1997) observes that qualitative research methods like "ethnomethodology, participant observation, and conversation analysis, aim to learn from social contexts, which involves human actions, symbols, communications, experience, values, emotions, history, tradition, culture, language, and so on".

- **Critical Theory**

The roots of Critical Theory can be traced in the writings of Marx's views on power, conflict, and control. Critical theorists like Robert Denhardt, etc., challenged the contradictions posed by the capitalist mode of production. Much of its contributions provided an insight of public organisations could be attributed to the writings of Jurgen Habermas, Denhardt etc. To some extent, the Postmodern view of questioning all assumptions and constructs of modernity owes to the critical perspective.

Therefore, Critical Theory, according to Box (*op.cit.*), "*provides an opening for conceptualisation and practice that acknowledges the value-base, normative character of public administration*". Hummel's (1994) approach to Critical Theory raises a series of questions in terms of organisational structure, culture, psychology, speech, and politics: "*Is top-down command really necessary? Is efficiency and control the only values to be pursued by bureaucracies at the cost of human purpose? Do we need to accept the destruction of self when we enter employment? Is the atmosphere of fear the only tool for getting things done? Did the political domain lose any sense of imagination in the pursuit of efficiency and control?*"

The critical perspective is evident in Postmodern arguments against modernity in terms of its narratives related to workers' issues and concerns. For example, Cunliffe (2008) has observed that the work is simplified and routinised in rigid organisations so that work and workers can be easily controlled and if workers resist against hegemony they can be replaced. Denhardt (1981) opines that through this analytical lens, the limitations of the existing society would give way to more democratic ways of governance and management. In an attempt to understand the relationships between power and dependence, critical theorists made an attempt to improve the quality of organisational life.

● **Discourse Analysis**

Fox and Miller’s (2007) approach to Postmodern public administration encompasses the development of an authentic discourse within society. Based on the writings of Jurgen Habermas, they envision for a proactive participation of public administrators, non-profit groups, citizens, and all those who have engaged in policy networks. Fox and Miller (2007) have put forth that the goal of the proposed discourse will not be to determine what is ‘true’, rather to answer the question ‘*what should we do next?*’

● **Feminist Discourse**

Frederickson (2015) observes that there is a close connection between Postmodern public administration theory and feminist perspectives in the field. Although Mary Parker Follet is considered as the earliest proponent of gender-orientation in organisations, it is Camilla Stivers who has written extensively about the dynamics of gender in public administration. In her Book ‘Gender Images in Public Administration’ (2002), Stivers has described that women have been paid less, struggled to accommodate themselves to the organisational practices, and fought to balance her job both at the organisational and domestic front etc. Hence, the core of Postmodern discourse seeks to understand the image of gender in public organisations.

Stivers’ (2002) arguments reveal that bureaucratic functioning tends to repress women. Stivers’ propositions could be best understood in the following words: “*public administration is not only masculinist and patriarchal, it is in fundamental denial as to its own nature and as a result it is conceptually and practically impoverished*”. Stivers describes that the images of public administrator as guardian, hero or high-profile leader are thought to be masculine, whereas the application of fairness, compassion, benevolence, and civic mindedness are considered feminine.

Frederickson (2015) has observed that of all the Postmodern dialectic perspectives, the most developed ideas could be attributed to the Feminist Perspective. Since Postmodernism comprises of various approaches and follows divergent thinking in its discourse, there is no one acceptable definition of Postmodernism as different things provided different meanings to people. The Postmodern perspective, thus, is a theoretical endeavour on its own which reiterates that human understanding and action cannot be reduced to merely scientific inquiry.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) What were the reasons for the rise of Postmodernism?

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2) Briefly explain the application of Phenomenological perspective in Postmodern Approach to public administration.

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3) What do you understand by the term ‘deconstruction’?

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4) Explain the traits of Postmodern Theory.

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16.6 MAJOR FOCUS OF POSTMODERN APPROACH TO PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Dialogue and Participatory Governance

Postmodern scholars support action research frameworks in public administration that promote dialogue, learning, sharing, and participation like Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). It is an approach that provides a platform to the village population vis-à-vis women, poor people, school teachers, volunteers, youth, farmers, etc., to represent their problems visibly on the ground or on paper either in the form of maps or symbols or any three dimensional models. Such practices have also been provided to the officials associated with villages; say for example, for organising a baseline survey on farmer’s details, crop pattern, nature of soil, details of farm tools etc.

Direct Citizens’ Participation

Grassroots campaigners in India use social audit as a tool to fix the problems of corruption by the beneficiaries in the rural employment sector. Due to the pioneering efforts of MKSS, social audit was successfully incorporated into the statutory provisions under National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and citizens

keep track of misappropriation of funds. Thus, the rise of civil society as agents and partners of development opened up avenues for more transparent and accountable governance.

With the implementation of 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts, the local governments could constitute *gramsabha*, that is, village council meetings, in their villages to ensure people's participation in village-level planning. To illustrate, in 2014, Gariphema village in Nagaland (*Times of India*, 2014) was declared as the country's first tobacco-free village. The village council passed a resolution that a penalty of Rs. 1000 will be imposed on whoever sells tobacco and alcohol and a penalty of Rs. 500 will be imposed on those who consume in public places.

From Nation-building to Networking

If nation-building was for Traditional Public Administration, networking forms the key characteristic feature of Postmodern public administration. Frederickson (2015) has observed that nation-building could be effectively replaced by societies that find meaning in connections and associations where the networks become as significant as the individual. He has further stated that in a Postmodern world even the most powerful countries will not have the capacity to serve its citizens. With the inclusion of information and communication technologies, the time and space is compressed, which eventually stimulate for finding new ways of communication networks.

To illustrate, when the Bhuj earthquake struck Gujarat in 2001, there was no social media like facebook, twitter, whatsapp etc., for providing news updates. By the time the Uttarakhand cloudburst happened in 2015, social media became an integral part of disaster response vis-à-vis from locating resources to loved ones, from notifying authorities to expressing support. In the areas where cell phone towers collapsed, social media filled the void and thus, worked along with the government to identify the victims. Such episodes provide fresh lease of ideas around networked governance.

16.7 BEYOND POSTMODERNISM IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

We can certainly say that the discipline of public administration can never be reduced to certainties as those found in natural sciences due to the interaction of humans with the society. It can be construed that the scholars of Postmodernism disagreed for a unified theory and recommended the future scholars not to look for one appropriate methodology. They were of the view that there cannot be a single dominant paradigm or norm to anchor a complex discipline. White (1999) guided public administration scholars to apply appropriate methodologies based on the research questions that they look forward.

Firstly, he states that if the research question pertains to 'why' things have occurred in such a way and looks for explanation of events and predicts 'how' it would occur in future, '*explanatory research*' could be utilised. *Secondly*, if the research is about 'what is going on here', then '*interpretive research*' could be used. *Thirdly*, critical research could be used if the researcher is faced with ideological or psychological or historical ambiguities. In sum, White (1999) recommends as "*whatever question we face, we must properly align an approach that will address the question most appropriately*". Indeed, the general agreement among the Postmodern scholars has been that the discipline of public administration in the present as well as in future, will revolve around practical applications of solving problems in a highly volatile and fragmented situation.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) What is the significance of participatory governance?

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2) What do you understand by the term ‘networking’?

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16.8 CONCLUSION

Scholars have viewed that the methodologies of the natural sciences cannot be enforced in the context of social sciences as policies and decisions. With the prevailing orthodoxies of Traditional Public Administration (TPA) and increased rise in social problems, scholars who lost faith in the so-called ‘modernity’ proposed an alternative approach to public administration under the broad phenomena of ‘Postmodernism’. Postmodernism or Postmodernity is not a separate theoretical approach, rather, it evolved as a critique to TPA.

Given the situations of diminishing trust on science and government, fragmented ideas and society, and the emphasis on deconstructing the grand narratives of Weber, Taylor, Wilson etc., Postmodern public administration has insisted on accommodating multiple cultures, ethos, and values. In their search of qualitative inquiry, postmodern approaches have adapted different methods like dialectics, phenomenology, discourse analysis, feminist epistemologies. In practice, Postmodern public administration relies on direct citizen’s participation, participatory governance, networking and intends to accommodate greater tolerance towards the diversity in research traditions as well as in government-citizen-stakeholder interface. This Unit attempted to explain the Postmodern alternative to (TPA). It discussed the evolution of Postmodernist Theory and brought out its major focus.

16.9 GLOSSARY

- Ideological** : It is a system of idea or ideals that are concerned with polity, economy, society etc.
- Masculinist** : It denotes attitudes or values that are held to be typical of men.

- Organisational Silos** : It is a situation in organisation where the organisation is less likely to share resources or ideas with other groups.
- Patriarchal** : It is a system of a family or society or institution, where the eldest male member holds power. It ensures that women are excluded from taking decisions, and are rendered powerless.

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16.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Modernity is a product of the Enlightenment age.
 - It is a process of development which implies advancement through progressive changes.
 - The old values of 'superstition' and 'instinct' were replaced by 'science' and 'reason'.
 - All human conflicts were perceived as problems limited to scientific solutions.

- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - It undermines human experiences in terms of intuition, emotions, and feelings.
 - There is no one best way of doing things.
 - It led to professional bias and shielded bureaucratic power from society.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - It did not solve social mysteries.
 - It failed to remove poverty and social inequity.
 - There were signs of citizen apathy.
 - It challenged the popular belief that science is a panacea for all evils.
- 4) Your answer should include the following points:
 - It is critical about modern political representation.
 - It is critical about elitist culture.
 - It promotes vested interests.
 - It challenges the legitimacy of imported policies.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Declining Trust in Science and Government.
 - Social Fragmentation.
 - Preference for Small and Local.
 - Contextuality.
 - Scepticism.
 - The Paradox of Globalisation.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - It provides an alternative way of understanding the complexities of society.
 - It is a philosophy which holds that 'reality' consists of the lived experiences of the individuals.
 - It is related to a class of approaches vis-à-vis Hermeneutics, Ethnomethodology, Symbolic Interactionism, Feminist epistemologies, and Post-structuralism.
 - It denies the existence of independent reality.
 - It helps to understand the relationships between power and dependence.
 - Feminist discourse is one of the developed dialectic perspectives.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - It is a Postmodern method of analysis.

**Contemporary
Perspectives**

- It critically analyses the centralising tendencies of TPA.
 - It understands the changing nature of diverse society.
 - It intends to uncover the contradictions and hidden assumptions of the grand narratives.
- 4) Your answer should include the following points:
- Dialectics
 - Deconstruction
 - Deterritorialisation
 - Imagination
 - Alterity

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
- It promotes dialogue, learning, sharing, and participation.
 - It is an approach that provides platform to the village population.
 - It serves as an essential tool for administrators, citizens and stakeholders.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
- Networking is the key characteristic feature of Postmodern public administration.
 - Networks become as significant as the individual.
 - Inclusion of information and communication technologies stimulate new forms of communication networks.

UNIT 17 FEMINIST APPROACH*

Structure

- 17.0 Objectives
- 17.1 Introduction
- 17.2 Understanding the Feminist Perspective
- 17.3 Feminist Approach
 - 17.3.1 Gender of Governance
 - 17.3.2 Governance of Gender
- 17.4 Parameters of Understanding Gender in Administration
 - 17.4.1 Ethic of Justice
 - 17.4.2 Expertise
- 17.5 Conclusion
- 17.6 Glossary
- 17.7 References
- 17.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

17.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Get an insight into the Feminist Perspective of public administration;
- Understand the basic components of Feminist Approach;
- Evaluate the concepts of gender and gender equality in public administration;
- Assess if public institutions are gendered or not;
- Appreciate the relevance of Feminist Approach to public administration; and
- Appraise the administrative concepts of ethics, expertise and leadership from Feminist Perspective.

17.1 INTRODUCTION

The last decade of the 20th century, which was marked by a great transformation in various fields of science and social sciences such as sociology, economics, demography and anthropology seemed to have found a new direction with social equality issues of men and women as the centre of attention. Likewise, public administration too has come to be redefined in the light of feminist exploration of the subject resulting in expansions of its boundaries and reassessment of its norms.

Feminism is a methodology of investigation. It is more likely a theoretical method trying to explain/ re-describe the reality. When we talk of feminist perspective of public administration, three factors become pertinent: *first*, inclusion of women-friendly policies in governance; *second*, participation of women in public administration and

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third, a change of attitude to the issue of gender in administration. The third factor is most crucial and is thus the central theme of this Unit.

This Unit would explain the Feminist Approach to public administration. It would deal with issues concerning the role of gender in governance by highlighting the parameters of gender analysis in governance. Finally, the Unit would look into the direction in which the allegedly ‘hostile Administrative State’ must head so as to be equally hospitable to both men and women.

17.2 UNDERSTANDING THE FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

The Management Approach to public administration with its prescription of ‘reinventing government’ made an elaborate case for transforming the bureaucratic government into an entrepreneurial one. The reinvention project is significant in that it challenges the Weberian model of bureaucratic organisation as the taken-for-granted reality of administrative life. It further suggests that administrative structures, practices, principles and values are neither permanent nor unalterable. However, what is amazingly even more significant is the fact that feminist scholars have long imagined alternatives to bureaucratic model, much before the ‘re-invention project’ became fashionable with the publication of the Report of the National Performance Review in 1993 under Clinton administration.

Unfortunately, feminist theorising did not have a hospitable environment. Alternative theories of power, virtue, nature of organisation, and of leadership and professionalism based on feminist research and women’s organisational experiences failed to capture the attention of policy makers and citizens. Few of these ideas made their way into conversations in public administration which continued to be rooted in an ostensibly neutral, but overtly male, upper class, white mentality.

Feminists note that thus far the project to reinvent government ignores the gender dimensions of administrative life and feel that women’s experiences are no more a part of the new entrepreneurial government than were a part of the old bureaucratic government. These scholars seek to render women’s experiences visible and argue for a development of Feminist Perspective on public administration, which constructs the administrative reality in gender-inclusive rather than gender-neutral terms.

There are several dimensions to the Feminist reappraisal of public administration. While supporting the cause of a gender- inclusive public administration, this Unit would first define Feminist Theory and try to investigate the concept of ‘gender of governance’, i.e., explore the extent of how administrative power, institutions and policies are organised around femininity and masculinity, male dominance and female subordination. Attempt will also be made to investigate the ‘governance of gender’ concept i.e., see the extent to which administrative policies set the rules and circumstances that not only regard and reward, but also produce and position women and men as different and unequal. The crux of the argument is that gender relations cannot be understood apart from the Administrative State; Administrative States influence gender relations and are in turn influenced by gender relations.

17.3 FEMINIST APPROACH

A ‘feminist’ is someone who identifies with gender as a crucially useful category of analysis, who takes a critical perspective on women’s current status and prospects,

to use Gerda Lerner's words "believes in a system of ideas and practices, which assumes that men and women must share equally in the work, in the privileges, in defining and dreaming of the world".

Feminism is not one unitary concept, but instead a diverse and multifaceted grouping of ideas and actions. Despite the fact that the feminist movement encompasses different and even contradictory political viewpoints – Liberal, Marxist, Socialist, Radical, Post-modern to name a few, nevertheless all have a firm faith in the equality of men and women and are committed to the elimination of 'gender-based injustice'. Gender is a part of the organisational fabric of society based on perceived differences in accordance with one's biological sex and socio-economic identity. The focus of gender is not on women per se but on power relations between men and women, their access to resources and decision-making power.

Feminism is all about creating a space for heterogeneous gendered perspective; about perceiving and working to change gendered power relations. It is like using a 'gender lens' to view things. Anyone who wears glasses knows that a lens provides a powerful corrective and can completely change the way you view things. Given the fact that both the theory and practice of public administration have long been notoriously masculine, corrective endeavours to change it are vital. Therefore, using a gender lens means 'working to make gender visible in social phenomena, asking if, how and why social processes, standards and opportunities differ systematically for women and men'.

17.3.1 Gender of Governance

A mere glance at the history of social sciences would reveal that all over the world, the public political domain has been, and continues to be defined and controlled by men. Male dominance/ patriarchy is considered to be normal, neutral and universal. Women have been as Sheila Rowbotham (1973) has put it, 'hidden from history'. Concerned about the absence of women from established political structures, feminist scholars have tried to account for this phenomenon. Many believe the "macho" tradition of conceptualising politics to be responsible for the exclusion of women from politics.

The central mechanism by which this exclusion is realised is the assumption of a natural separation between the public and the private (Squires, 1999). It is assumed that the political is public and that the private realm of the domestic, of familial and sexual relations lies outside the proper concern of the study of politics. In other words, with politics restricted to the public sphere of human life and perceived as an arena of male activity, the private or personal realm, by contrast, has come to be seen as a sphere reserved for women. Women are, by and large, being excluded from defining their activities as political.

Feminist theory in the latter half of the 20th century began to realise how potent this duality was for the ways in which male and female roles are constructed and the means by which women, from the very understanding of what is 'political' may be excluded or simply made invisible.

Thus, began a re-evaluation of many male-created theories, principles, concepts and institutions including those of politics and administration. By claiming that 'the personal is the political' they challenged the traditional views on family and personal life as outside the remit of 'politics' and argued that the private sphere was in fact a primary site of power relations and of gendered inequality. They emphasised the

way in which personal circumstances are structured by public factors. Women’s lives are regulated, and conditioned for example, by the legal status of wives by government policies on child care, by the allocation of welfare benefits, by labour laws and the sexual division of labour, and by laws on rape, abortion, sexual harassment. ‘Personal’ problems can thus be solved only through political means.

The essence of their argument is that gender is about power. Through gender relations, people recreate and reinforce the distinction between masculinity and femininity. Gender also organises power at the level of complex institutions. It saturates different spaces – even the Administrative State. In simple words, the gender lens reveals how male dominance organises/ constitutes the Administrative State.

17.3.2 Governance of Gender

The Feminist writers not only expose the male bias of the Administrative State; they also assess the effect of such an Administrative State and its policies on men and women. They try to show that an Administrative State, which is a gendered hierarchy produces inequality and assigns different life chances to men and women and reinforces material realities that oppress women. A Feminist Approach to public administration includes calling those shaded boundaries into question that differentiate capabilities/ potential qualities on the basis of gender, giving preference to males over females. It also means exploring the implications of these attitudes in governance.

This becomes apparent when we see that the conventional understanding of public administration is rooted in the images of expertise, leadership and a form of virtue which can be identified as culturally masculine (although, of course this masculinity is not overtly acknowledged). This peculiar nature of the public – organisational reality where links are drawn between ideas of masculinity and public administration norms of professionalism, leadership and neutrality; where working women bear the double burden of housework and paid employment; are relegated to lower bureaucratic ranks; and a glass ceiling blocks their access to the position of greatest power and monetary reward are declared misfit with organisational expectations about professional and managerial behaviour, harms women and restricts their political and social freedom. Such a culturally dominant masculine modes of thought and action privilege men and their interests by establishing boundaries that exclude all but a few exceptional women from positions of authority. A Feminist Approach to public administration theory entails questioning of these boundaries.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) What do you understand by Feminist Perspective?

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2) Bring out the difference between the terms ‘gender of governance’ and ‘governance of gender’.

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17.4 PARAMETERS OF UNDERSTANDING GENDER IN ADMINISTRATION

The analysis of the extent to which gender is embedded in the very structures of organisation (gender of governance) and the extent to which it figures in the world view/ policies of administrators (governance of gender), has exposed the exclusion of women from the political world. The feminists, however, argue that true equality cannot be achieved by just ‘adding in’ women to traditional theories, but that the very basis of the theories must be challenged. Accordingly, they examine and analyse several issue areas in public administration that call for a new configuration and offer a new version of the spectrum of the feminist opinion, which promises to be fruitful in shaping administrative theory and practice.

17.4.1 Ethic of Justice

Public realm, of late, has been systematically denuded of public moral values and the public morality of justice has been overtaken by the forces of power, coercion and violence. Politics has come to be understood as power politics – conflictual rather than consensual. Not surprisingly ethics has emerged as a significant research concern for public administration scholars. Their response is to reassert the integral relation between politics and ethics in creating an ethical polity. The ethical discourse within public administration, however, would be both broader and deeper if ethics from a Feminist perspective were to be included.

Ethical reasoning usually equated with an ‘ethic of justice’/ idea of impartiality or a universalistic morality is considered impersonal, gendered and limited. The feminists argue in favour of extending the range of moral reasoning so as to include another form of reasoning called an ‘ethic of care’, which ought also to be recognised. It is said that women are more likely to adopt this ethic of care than men and that to privilege only the ethic of justice is to silence women’s distinctive moral voice. It is claimed that women’s experiences as mothers within private spheres provide them with certain insights and concerns, which are valuable to the public sphere of the Administrative State, but are currently absent from it.

In Carol Gilligan’s (1982) view, women have a different conception of morality, a morality of responsibility, whereas men have a morality of rights. Very early in life, men’s individualism and separation from the feminine gives them an ethic of justice, while women’s affiliation with mothers and others teaches them an ethic of care (White, 1999).

Feminist scholars like Gilligan nowhere endorse the rejection of the ethic of justice in the favour of an ethic of care. Rather they want the ethic of justice to be tempered

by an ethic of care. Their belief is based on the conviction that the recognition and acceptance of 'a different voice' is crucial to the transformation of public bureaucracies.

17.4.2 Expertise

Feminist theorists have drawn upon and contributed to the debates about the image of expertise in public administration. Historically, the need for expertise has been the central tenet of the Wilsonian–Weberian paradigm of public administration. Classical public administration grounded in politics–administration dichotomy was based on the assumption that public administration was legitimate because it was manned by expert professionals. The Wilsonian -Weberian model of professional expertise with an implicit emphasis on objectivity, assertion of autonomy and hierarchy is considered inconsistent with the widely accepted notions of womanhood.

Feminists regret that generally speaking, there has been a tendency to banish norms, which are culturally recognised as 'feminine' – such as passivity, compliance and vulnerability – from public life, thus creating an approach wherein public administrators, both men and women, seek ways to appear technically expert, tough and heroic; in other words, to project a more masculine 'competent image'.

The conventional idea of expertise also privileges a notion of autonomy over and above the public servant's obligation to be politically responsive. From the Feminist Perspective, such ideas of expertise block connectivity and affiliation of the administrator with the world around him. They not only separate the individual from the field, but they also raise the administrator above the field. Professional competence reduces those over whom authority is exercised.

The recognition that the perspectives of all the parties to the situation – clients, citizens, and workers are important in ascertaining genuine public interest, made the feminists campaign for a form of professional competence that is non- hierarchical. They also argue for a form of competence in public administration that moves beyond the myth of heroic male professional who sacrifices 'selfish' family concerns in a single-minded fashion to his career. The central theme of Stivers' account also is her assertion that not only do most women find it difficult or impossible to live upto such an ideal, but that the ideal itself is flawed, in that it compartmentalises life and the men and women who live it, relegating the family to lesser status and the performance of its responsibilities to lesser people. From the Feminist Perspective, the legitimate public administrator will be a whole person, one who is understood to have developed in and to be a continuing member of a family; the work of agencies will be seen as supporting and supported by the wider dimensions of its member's lives, and agency personnel policies will reflect this understanding. Policies such as parental leave and on-site day-care facilities will be seen as in the public interest because they promote the development and the nurturing of children; they will not be viewed solely as meeting the needs of individual employees.

Although the feminists are disturbed by the fact that only a very small percentage of top jobs in business and public administration are held by women in most countries, they are not sure, if simply adding women in key positions will be enough to bring about so fundamental a change. They also want to raise another pertinent question; whether we need leaders at all. Conventional administrative theory sees hierarchy as the inevitable 'given'. Feminists like Stivers, however, see the perceived need for leadership as a function of hierarchy, which socialises those in lower ranks to believe that they are incapable of taking decisions. Widespread dissatisfaction with hierarchy

and control, led women organisations to experiment with non- hierarchical forms of organising, which is a more participatory, flexible, group-oriented style of management. The feminists are not arguing that all women are interactive leaders or that it excludes men. The feminists simply want a shift in the norms of leadership such that feminist leadership is viewed as a compliment, not as a replacement to traditional leadership forms.

The feminist position on the above mentioned themes raises questions that bear directly on organisation theory. The feminists are developing alternative models of organisation, based primarily on their experience in the women’s movement. They are experimenting with new patterns of group activity, which substantially depart from the rational model of administration. They also challenge domination by superior through hierarchical patterns on the grounds that it restricts the growth of individual members. They propose the adoption of fluid, temporary, more flexible and egalitarian forms of organisation. The potential impact of the feminist critique of the key concepts in public administration prompted Robert Denhardt and Jan Powell to predict the demise of ‘the administrative man’ and urge the adoption of an alternative model based on the organisational values of women’s movement.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1) Distinguish between ‘Ethic of Justice’ and ‘Ethic of Care’.

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2) Discuss the parametres of understanding ‘gender’ in administration.

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17.5 CONCLUSION

In this Unit, we have made an attempt to explore the Feminist Approach to the specific aspects of administration. Feminist Perspective of public administration till today remains shamefully neglected and has not received the enthusiasm it warrants. Providing insights into the issues of gender equality, Feminists ask provocative questions such as what it means to be a man or a woman in various cultures, economic or social systems. They believe, women have always been at the receiving end and subjected to various negative stereotypes, also that women have not got a fair share in governance. They challenge the prevalent paradigm of bureaucratic culture and

Administrative State. They describe the Administrative State as patriarchal and gendered. They systematically explain the manner in which the Administrative State reinforces women's subordination and marginalisation.

Feminist scholars seek to overcome this masculinist bureaucratic culture which had been technicist in orientation. Based on their experience, they have developed an alternative perspective of public administration and provided a re-appraisal of administrative concepts such as ethics, expertise, and leadership etc. It has been observed that the objective of Feminist scholarship is to reshape dominant paradigm to give greater priority to women's needs and concerns as well as to sensitive methodologies.

The idea of Feminist ethic, expertise, leadership styles of women, organisation theory and their impact on the way administration have been examined. This is by no means an exhaustive list of avenues of Feminist theorising on public administration. The effort has been very simply to build a persuasive case for a Feminist Perspective to public administration.

17.6 GLOSSARY

Feminism	: Advocacy of women's rights for their equality, empowerment and upliftment.
Gender	: State of being male or female with reference to social and cultural ambience rather than biological being.
Glass Ceiling	: An unseen barrier in the form of overt or covert discrimination against women which blocks their career advancement.
Patriarchy	: A system where descent is through male line. A system where men hold the portion of power and control, excluding women completely.

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17.8 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1) Your answers should include the following points:

- A Feminist Approach to public administration includes calling those shaded boundaries into question that differentiate capabilities/ potential qualities on the basis of gender, giving preference to males over females. It also means exploring the implications of these attitudes in governance.
- Feminists note that thus far the project to reinvent government ignores the gender dimensions of administrative life and feel that women's experiences are no more a part of the new entrepreneurial government than were a part of the old bureaucratic government.
- These scholars of Feminist Perspective seek to render women's experiences visible and argue for a development of feminist perspective on public administration, which constructs the administrative reality in gender-inclusive rather than gender-neutral terms.
- Feminists campaign for a form of professional competence that is non-hierarchical and does not compartmentalise life. Leadership skills have a masculine sub-text.
- Feminists reject stereo-types and attack glass ceilings.
- The Feminist Perspective campaigns for new integrative model of leadership with interactive and indirect leadership.
- It attempts to construct administrative reality in gender- neutral terms.

- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
- Many believe the “macho” tradition of conceptualising politics to be responsible for the exclusion of women from politics.
 - The State bestows political and economic privileges on the culturally masculine qualities at the expense of feminine ones.
 - Gender is a part of organisational fabric of social economy.
 - It is a socially imposed division of sexes.
 - Gender identities are constituted differently according to social and historical context.
 - Differences between men and women are socially produced and are therefore changeable.
 - Administrative State is insensitive to gender.
 - Its features are commonly associated with masculinity.
 - The Feminist writers not only expose the male bias of the Administrative State.
 - They also assessed the effect of such an Administrative State and its policies on men and women.
 - They try to show that an Administrative State, which is a gendered hierarchy produces inequality and assigns different life chances to men and women and reinforces material realities that oppress women.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
- Ethic of justice is associated with the idea of impartiality or universalistic morality.
 - It means taking a detached and dispassionate view.
 - Feminists consider it a product of male psyche, and hence gendered and limited.
 - Ethic of care is the alternative moral orientation centred on emotional relationships.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
- Parameters include ethics, governance and expertise.
 - Feminists are experimenting with new patterns of group activity, which substantially depart from the rational model of administration.
 - They also challenge domination by superior through hierarchical patterns on the grounds that it restricts the growth of individual members.
 - They propose the adoption of fluid, temporary, more flexible and egalitarian forms of organisation.

- Feminists project needs to take its rightful place among theorists and practitioners of public administration.
- Gender is a useful category of analysis.
- Need to take a critical perspective on women's current status.
- Feminists make persuasive arguments in their re-appraisal of administrative concepts such as ethics, expertise and leadership.



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