



NETAJI SUBHAS OPEN UNIVERSITY

STUDY MATERIAL

P.G.P.A.

PAPER - 2
MODULES : 1- 4

POST GRADUATE
PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION

NET

STUDY MATERIAL

P.G.P.A.

PAPER - 2

MODULES - I & II

POST GRADUATE
PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION

PREFACE

In the curricular structure introduced by this University for students of Post-Graduate degree programme, the opportunity to pursue Post-Graduate course in Subjects introduced by this University is equally available to all learners. Instead of being guided by any presumption about ability level, it would perhaps stand to reason if receptivity of a learner is judged in the course of the learning process. That would be entirely in keeping with the objectives of open education which does not believe in artificial differentiation.

Keeping this in view, study materials of the Post-Graduate level in different subjects are being prepared on the basis of a well laid-out syllabus. The course structure combines the best elements in the approved syllabi of Central and State Universities in respective subjects. It has been so designed as to be upgradable with the addition of new information as well as results of fresh thinking and analysis.

The accepted methodology of distance education has been followed in the preparation of these study materials. Co-operation in every form of experienced scholars is indispensable for a work of this kind. We, therefore, owe an enormous debt of gratitude to everyone whose tireless efforts went into the writing, editing and devising of a proper lay-out of the materials. Practically speaking, their role amounts to an involvement in invisible teaching. For, whoever makes use of these study materials would virtually derive the benefit of learning under their collective care without each being seen by the other.

The more a learner would seriously pursue these study materials the easier it will be for him or her to reach out to larger horizons of a subject. Care has also been taken to make the language lucid and presentation attractive so that it may be rated as quality self-learning materials. If anything remains still obscure or difficult to follow, arrangements are there to come to terms with them through the counselling sessions regularly available at the network of study centres set up by the University.

Needless to add, a great part of these efforts is still experimental-in fact, pioneering in certain areas. Naturally, there is every possibility of some lapse or deficiency here and there. However, these do admit of rectification and further improvement in due course. On the whole, therefore, these study materials are expected to evoke wider appreciation the more they receive serious attention of all concerned.

Professor (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar

Vice-Chancellor

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1941

AMERICAN
STANDARD



Module – 1

UNIT 1 □ Public Interest-with Spl. Ref. to RAWLS

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
 - 1.1 The Original Position
 - 1.2 The Maximum Rule
 - 1.3 Two Basic Principles of Justice
-

1.0 □ Introduction

—Ayn Rand

A Society is a cooperative venture for mutual advantage... Social cooperation makes possible a better life for all than any would have if each were to live solely by his own efforts.

While starting the discussion about public interest one should start with two distinct considerations:

On the one hand, there are further developments on this matter in Political Liberalism corresponding with what he refers to in *Political Liberalism* as the *first level* of publicity—Rawls adds the fact that the principles of justice should not only be known, but also *accepted* and known to be accepted (Rawls 1993, 66). Moreover, there are two extra levels of publicity, having to do with the public nature of the justification of the public conception of justice. The second level of publicity indeed applies to “the general beliefs in the light of which first principles of justice themselves can be accepted, that is, the general beliefs about human nature and the way political and social institutions generally work, and indeed all such beliefs relevant to-political justice”. As to the third level, it requires that beyond the rather factual knowledge referred to at the second level, the full justification of the so-called “public conception of justice” be available.

On the other hand, in a paper devoted to the problem of incentives, Williams argues that in *A Theory of Justice*,

Rawls appears to regard institutions’ constitutive rules as public in three respects. Thus, individuals are able to attain common knowledge of the rules’ (i) general applicability, (ii) their particular requirements, and (iii) the extent to which individuals conform with those requirements. Given

such conditions, it is clear that not all norms qualify as public and thus institutional in Rawls's sense. For example, self-effacing moral principles, the success of which depends on some being ignorant of their applicability, are clearly disqualified. So too are those norms which are so informationally demanding that individuals are incapable of mutually verifying the status of their conduct.

Williams' latter example illustrates a distinct use of the concept of publicity. The idea is that rules relying on features that are insufficiently verifiable may not qualify as public-rules. This is arguably the case with the idea of compensating for special labor burdens, which leads Williams to conclude that "the ideal of occupational compensation cannot be institutionalized" (Williams 1998, 239) and that

If [...] such conceptions should facilitate well-ordered social cooperation, we have reason to reject conceptions of justice which, given the facts of limited information, are too epistemically demanding to be public and stable. We should, like Rawls, favor conceptions whose scope is restricted to publicly accessible phenomena (Williams 1998, 245).

It stresses the importance of ensuring that the degree of actual compliance with such rules be itself public. This is related with matters of trust in the State's actual commitment to ensure compliance as well as with concerns for compliance among fellow citizens, both being seen as legitimately affecting our willingness to cooperate.

- Rawls' theory of justice which he often calls justice as fairness-is an example of a social contract theory. Rawls' ideas have a little bit in common with the social contract theories of Hobbes and Rousseau and Locke.
- Rawls' mentions Kant's categorical Imperative and the rule about treating person only as ends and never as means, so people also tie Rawls' theory back to Kant.
- Rawls' theory is considered a liberal theory, meaning primarily that he is in favour of a society which is designed to help out the less fortunate individuals:

1.1 □ The Original Position

Hobbes and Locke and Rousseau each described a state of nature. Instead of a state of nature, Rawls has said about 'original position'. Rawls says that

the original position is just an idea to help imagine the lives of people without any government and rationally discuss what sort of government could be supported by a social contract and achieve justice. Rawls uses the original position not to justify the authority of some particular government, but rather to try to figure out what basic principles should govern any society when it is set up. In the end, Rawls comes up with a society that is not too different from our own. Rawls recognizes that persons act on self-interest. Rawls thinks that a person can be rational about their self-interest. This means that

- a person has a plan to get what they want out of life, that
- a person knows what they need to make their plan work and that
- a person mostly sticks to their plan throughout their lives, even if they are never completely successful. According to Rawls, this would not result in a just society.

To get around this problem, Rawls, has invented the veil of ignorance, which applies to persons in the original position while they are supposed to be figuring out the best social contract. The key point is that, in the veil of ignorance, a person does not know their class position or social status, their natural talents, abilities, intelligence or strength, and about their plan for a good life is. The idea is that persons in the veil of ignorance will end up designing a society that will be fair to everyone because they don't want to risk ending up in an intolerable position themselves.

1.2 □ The Maximum Rule

Rawls says that persons in the veil of ignorance would base their design of society on the maximum rule. The idea is that

- since a person does not know who they are in the real world, they must be prepared to end up being anyone.
- There are a lot of "different societies the persons in the original position could design.
- So each person will want to pick the one society that offers the least bad alternative, meaning they will pick the society that has its least fortunate individuals in the least unfortunate situation.

Rawls suggests a super-simple way to understand the original position: two persons have a piece of cake to share between them by cutting it into two pieces. They each like the cake and want as big a piece as possible. They agree that one of them will cut the cake once and the other will get to choose

one of the two pieces. This guarantees that the cake will be shared fairly. This is the maximin rule applied to just two persons.

1.3 □ Two Basic Principles Of Justice

1. Each person should get an equal guarantee to as many different liberties- and as much of those liberties-as can be guaranteed to everyone else at the same time.
2. Inequalities in society are okay only if they are arranged so that the inequalities
 - actually help out the least fortunate persons in society and
 - the inequalities are connected to positions or offices or jobs in society that everyone has an equal opportunity to attain.

The liberties Rawls is talking about are :

1. political liberty (the right to vote and to be eligible for public office)
2. freedom of speech and assembly
3. liberty of conscience and freedom of thought
4. freedom of the person along with the right to hold (personal) property
5. freedom from arbitrary arrest and seizure

However, Rawls is not talking about complete liberty to do, to have or to keep absolutely anything. He notes two possible cases of restriction: (1) everyone may continue to have equal liberty, but less than they would have had without the restriction; (2) the liberty of some may be restricted more than that of others, so that their liberties are not equal. It may be justifiable to limit liberty of conscience to secure public order by curbing intolerant and violent sects, to limit voting rights to the educated, to limit powers of elected bodies so as to secure basic rights to minorities. Some can be restricted for the sake of the others.

The inequalities Rawls is talking about are :

1. inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth
2. inequalities set up by institutions that use difference in authority and responsibility or chains of command

Rawls says these two principles of justice are ordered : society cannot justify a decrease in liberty by an increase in social and economic advantages.

Rawls distinguishes between what he calls the general and the special conceptions of justice.

The *general* conception is simply the difference principle applied to all kinds of primary goods :

'All social primary goods-liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect-are to be distributed equally unless and unequal distribution of any or all of these goods is to the advantage of the least favoured'.

The general conception would allow inequalities of liberty. The special conception rules out any trade-off between liberty and other primary goods : it will not allow restriction of liberty for the sake of productivity. However, it will allow the restriction of one liberty to enhance another liberty. 'Liberty can be restricted only for the sake of liberty itself. Rawls says that the special conception prevails in all societies except the poorest and least civilized. 'The supposition is that if the persons in the original position assume that their basic liberties can be effectively exercised, they will not exchange a lesser liberty for an improvement in their economic well-being, at least not once a certain level of wealth has been attained. It is only when social conditions do not allow the effective establishment of these rights that one can acknowledge their restriction. The denial of equal liberty can be accepted only if it is necessary to enhance the quality of civilization so that in due course the equal freedoms can be enjoyed by all. Eventually there comes a time in the history of a well-ordered society beyond which the special form of the two principles takes over and holds from then on'. When the obstacles to exercise that reduce the 'worth' of liberty are overcome there is "a growing insistence upon the right to pursue our spiritual and cultural interests'. 'Under favourable circumstances the fundamental interest in determining our plan of life eventually assumes a prior place. Thus the desire for liberty is the chief regulative interest that the parties must suppose they all will have in common in due course'. Self-esteem is an important primary good, and "the basis for self-esteem in a just society is not one's income share but the publicly affirmed distribution of fundamental rights and liberties', 'the public affirmation of the status of equal citizenship'. To trade of equal liberty for income would diminish self-respect-those with less liberty would have to regard themselves as inferior in the public life of their society.

Another consideration supporting high priority for liberty is what Rawls calls the 'Aristotelian principle'. It is best to have a comprehensive and long-

term life plan because its execution will involve a more complex combination of abilities. It follows (and this is Aristotelian) that the good consists in doing things, and for action liberty is more important than material possessions (once a minimum is assured).

Rawls says that there are also principles of justice for *individuals*. To work out what they are we must again retire behind the veil of ignorance, and, assuming that principles of justice have been adopted for institutions, we consider what justice may require of individuals. Rawls distinguishes two kinds of principles of individual justice. Some have to do with obligations, other with duties. Many people use the words 'duty' and 'obligation' as interchangeable. According to Rawls justice at the individual level is not an attempt to distribute income and wealth, and the good things in life generally. In utilitarian theories the point of rules of justice is to maximize the happiness of mankind. The pursuit of happiness often suggests the pursuit of certain sorts of ends, for example, life, liberty, and one's own welfare. Thus persons who devote themselves selflessly to a righteous cause, or who dedicate their lives to furthering the well-being of others, are not normally thought to seek happiness.

The "well-ordered" society, as described by Rawls, has two characteristics: (1) it furthers the interests of its members and (2) it is organized according to a "public conception of justice" (1971, p. 5). When citizens have a public conception of justice "they understand the need for, and they are prepared to affirm, a characteristic set of principles for assigning basic rights and duties and for determining what they take to be the proper distribution of the benefits and burdens of social cooperation" (1971, p. 5). In this optimal society the principles would generally be the same throughout the society and would be enforced by the State. Clearly, this would represent government at its best: everybody agreeing on the governing principles and the State instituting just those principles, in the opening to his book Rawls sketches, then, an outline of a well-ordered society with three components: (1) it advances the interests of its members, (2) it is governed by a public conception of justice which is (3) itself compliant with a concept of justice which incorporates measures of equality and impartiality.

It comes down to this simple question: is there such a thing as a "public interest" distinct and apart from a simple summation of private interests? The libertarians and the regressive right say that there is not. Progressives say that there is a public interest, and both history and common sense bear this

out. In a free society, the appropriate protector and administrator of this public interest is a government of, by, and for the people. Ronald Reagan's 1981 inauguration pronouncement was that : "government is not the solution, government is the problem." The Reagan administration and the two subsequent Bush administrations have crippled and dismantled government agencies almost the point at which, as Grover Norquist puts it, government can be "drowned in a bathtub." And so today it is the unprepared and unprotected city of New Orleans that is drowning in the filthy flood waters left by Hurricane Katrina.

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In December, 2004 tsunami occurred in the Pacific Ocean instead of the Indian Ocean, the death toll would have been much lower. This is because there is an international tsunami warning system in place in the Pacific, and following the earthquake that triggered it, populations..around the Pacific rim would have had advance warning from several minutes to several hours. (In deep water, tsunami waves travel up to 500 mph, and much slower near shore). Because there is no such system in the Indian Ocean, the December 26 tsunami struck without warning.

An international tsunami warning system, and the scientific research and development behind it, is clearly beyond the resources or the incentives of private individuals, or even of corporations. Only governments are capable of such an undertaking. And governments are singularly authorized for such an undertaking, for public safety is not an exclusively private matter, it is, as they say "in the public interest."

The role of government in protecting the lives and property of its citizens,

one of the sole legitimate functions of government recognized by the libertarians, is universally acknowledged in civilized societies, as it was in the United States until, apparently, January 2001.

Michael Brown, Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff, and their sort fail to function as public servants because, as true Randvillians, they believe that "there is no such entity as 'the public'." There are only individuals responsible for their own personal welfare. And so, when the storm approaches, the sole responsibility of government, they believe, is to tell the citizens to "get out of town, now!"

In contrast, Rawlsburgers, readily recognize the existence of public goods and public interest, know how to work together in the common interest. They establish and support an institution, government, to act in behalf of this public, "deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed."¹ Then they put government agencies in the hands of qualified and dedicated individuals. All this requires personnel, equipment and cash appropriations. Adaptability that is "reality based"-founded upon scientific information and practical experience-is the hallmark of intelligence, and of effective and just governance. For proof, look to New Orleans and the Gulf coast.

Rawls, John, *A Theory of Justice*, Harvard University Press, 1999 [1971]
Rawls, John, *Political Liberalism*, Columbia University Press, 1993,

Dworkin, Ronald, (1977). *Taking Rights Seriously*. Cambridge : Harvard University Press.

UNIT 2 □ Jürgen Habermas and the Public Sphere

Structure

2.0 Introduction

2.1 Habermas and the Public Sphere: Critical Observations

2.2 Sources

2.0 □ Introduction

A cyber democracy which opens speech to all parties needs a guiding model which stresses freedom and equality, because institutional forces threaten to use electronic networks for their own gain. A framework, then, like the one outlined in Habermas' public-sphere can serve as an alternative to institutional coercion in the Age of Information. With the pervasiveness of electronic networks in every phase of life, it becomes much more difficult to create a public sphere distinct from government or commerce. Indeed, technologies can reinforce traditional hierarchical structures as easily as they can subvert them.

Electronic networks will neither completely democratic nor completely limit discourse in the future. Inherent within the nature of technology are means for liberation and means for restriction, which hinge on the motives of those who have communicative power.

The key to resistance lies in the formation of virtual communities on the grassroots level, where real and virtual communities can validate the voices of their members. If participants in electronic networks adhere to the guidelines set forth by Habermas, an ideal speech situation can take shape in which the Internet becomes both an instrument and a space for retuning democracy to the people.

After studying with Horkheimer and Adorno in Frankfurt, Germany in the 1950s, Habermas investigated both the ways that a new public sphere emerged during the time of the Enlightenment and the American and French revolutions and how it promoted political discussion and debate. Habermas defended the Frankfurt School conception of a dialectical social theory with practical intent against the conception of a positivistic social theory (Habermas 1976). In *Theory and Practice*, Habermas maintained the unity of theory and

practice central to classical Marxism and the critical theory of society, while fleshing out the moral and political dimensions of critical theory (Habermas 1973). In his early study of students and politics, Habermas defended principles of popular sovereignty, formal law, constitutionally guaranteed rights, and civil liberties as part of the progressive heritage of bourgeois society. His strategy was to use the earlier model of bourgeois democracy to criticize its later degeneration and decline, and thus to develop a normative concept of democracy which he could use as a standard for an "immanent critique" of existing welfare state democracy. Habermas believed that both Marx and the earlier Frankfurt School had underestimated the importance of principles of universal law, rights, and sovereignty, and that a re-democratization of radical social theory was thus a crucial task.

Student und Politik was published in 1961 and during the same period student radicals in the United States developed similar conceptions of participatory democracy, including emphasis on economic democracy. Henceforth, Habermas himself would be concerned in various ways and contexts to develop theories of democratization and political participation. Indeed, from the beginning of his career to the present, Habermas's work has been distinguished by its emphasis on radical democracy.

Habermas sketched out various conceptions of democracy ranging from Greek democracy to the forms of bourgeois democracy to current notions of democracy in welfare state capitalism. In particular, he contrasted the participatory democracy of the Greeks and radical democratic movements with the representative, parliamentary bourgeois democracy of the 19th century and the current attempts at reducing citizen participation in the welfare state. Habermas defended the earlier "radical sense of democracy" in which the people themselves would be sovereign in both the political and the economic realms against current forms of parliamentary democracy. Hence, Habermas aligns himself with the current of "strong democracy" associated with Rousseau, Marx, and Dewey.

Jürgen Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* is an immensely rich and influential book that has had major impact in a variety of disciplines. It has also received detailed critique and promoted extremely productive discussions of liberal democracy, civil society, public life, and social changes in the twentieth century, among other issues. Few books of the second half of the twentieth century have been so seriously discussed in so many different fields and continue, almost forty years after

its initial publication in 1962, to generate such productive controversy and insight. Habermas provided detailed commentary on *Structural Transformation* in the 1990s and returned to issues of the public sphere and democratic theory in his work *Between Facts and Norms*. Hence, concern with the public sphere and the necessary conditions for a genuine democracy can be seen as a central theme of Habermas's work. Habermas developed his study within the context of the transition from the stage of liberal market capitalism of the 19th century to the stage of state and monopoly organized capitalism of the 20th century developed by the Frankfurt School, as observed by Douglas Kellner, in "TV, Ideology, and Emancipatory Popular Culture." *Socialist Review* 45 (May-June, 1979): 13-53.

"The public" and its power in a representative democracy, the role of "public opinion" shaping political power and policy, the system of political power maintained in a democracy were the central questions dealt with by the cultural theorist Jurgen Habermas. He was a student of the Frankfurt School of Social Research which advanced a Marxist critique of western capitalism and its discontents. Habermas wrote *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962) to explore the status of public opinion in the practice of representative government in Western Europe.

Habermas defined the public sphere as a virtual or imaginary community which does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space. In its ideal form, the public sphere is "made up of private people gathered together as public and articulating the needs of society with the state" (Habermas, Jurgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois*, p. 176). Through acts of assembly and dialogue, the public sphere generates opinions and attitudes which serve to guide the affairs of state. In ideal terms, the public sphere is the source of public opinion needed to "legitimate authority in any functioning democracy" Rutherford, Paul. *Endless Propaganda: The Advertising of Public Goods*, p. 18).

In his later work, Habermas made a distinction between "lifeworld" and "system." The public sphere is part of the lifeworld; "system" refers to the market economy and the state apparatus. The lifeworld is the immediate milieu of the individual social actor, and according to Habermas there is an interdependence of the lifeworld and the system in the negotiation of political power; the system alone does not dominate the whole of society. The goal of democratic societies is to erect a democratic dam against the colonizing encroachment of system imperatives on areas of the lifeworld.

A public sphere began to grow in the 18th C. through the growth of literary and other academic societies, voluntary associations, and the growth of the press. In their efforts to regulate the state, parliament and other institutions of representative government this concept of public sphere emerged. For Habermas, the success of the public sphere was founded on rational-critical discourse-everyone is an equal participant and the supreme communication skill is the power of argument. The success of the public sphere depends upon:

- the extent of access (almost universal),
- the degree of citizens' autonomy (free of coercion),
- the rejection of hierarchy (ensuring equal participation),
- the rule of law (particularly the subordination of the state),
- and the quality of participation (mostly rational).

This ideal of the public sphere has never been fully achieved. Ethnic, gender, and class exclusions mostly faded out through the 19th and 20th centuries, and the public sphere approached its ideal more closely. But there occurred some severe problems leading to a concurrent deformation of the public sphere due to fast advent of social-welfare programmes, the growth of culture industries, and the evolution of large private interests. Large newspapers mostly surrendered to business interest: "It became the gate through which privileged private interests invaded the public sphere" (Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 182). Habermas writes of a "refeudalization" of power whereby the illusions of the public sphere are maintained only to give sanction to the decisions of leaders.

He believes that the public sphere can be most effectively constituted and maintained through debate and discussion. In "Further Reflections," Habermas claims that public debate can be animated by "opinion-forming associations"-voluntary associations, social organization, churches, sports clubs, groups of concerned citizens, grassroots movements, trade unions-to counter or refashion the messages of authority. For Habermas, the misuse of publicity undermines the public sphere.

Jacques Ellul reiterates that Habermas' concern in *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. Ellul's term "the propaganda of integration" refers to biased newscasts, misinformation, political education to shape the individual to suit the needs of social mechanisms, though Ellul argues that

propaganda is necessary in a democracy, the people have come to participate in political affairs.

Herbert Marcuse, in *One-Dimensional Man : Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, analyzes the new "voice of command" used by managers, educators, experts, and politicians. This style of address, appropriated from advertising, has a hypnotic effect causing more directness and assertiveness; but it fixes images in people's minds making them incapable of protest or refusal. Marcuse terms it "one-dimensional". For all these theorists, the techniques of advertising and publicity (largely developed in the U.S. in the early part of the 20th C.) have invaded and corrupted the public sphere.

Habermas's focus on democratization was linked with emphasis on political participation as the core of a democratic society and as an essential element in individual self-development. His study *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* was published in 1962 and contrasted various forms of an active, participatory bourgeois public sphere in the heroic era of liberal democracy with the more privatized forms of spectator politics in a bureaucratic industrial society in which the media and elites controlled the public sphere. The two major themes of the book include analysis of the historical genesis of the bourgeois public sphere, followed by an account of the structural change of the public sphere in the contemporary era with the rise of state capitalism, the culture industries, and the increasingly powerful positions of economic corporations and big business in public life. On this account, big economic and governmental organizations took over the public sphere, while citizens became content to become primarily consumers of goods, services, political administration, and spectacle.

Generalizing from developments in Britain, France, and Germany in the late 18th and 19th century, Habermas first sketched out a model of what he called the "bourgeois public sphere" and then analyzed its degeneration in the 20th century. As Habermas puts it "Our investigation presents a stylized picture of the liberal elements of the bourgeois public sphere and of their transformation in the social-we I fare state".

After delineating the idea of the bourgeois public sphere, public opinion, and publicity, Habermas analyzes the social structures, political functions, and concept and ideology of the public sphere, before depicting the social-structural transformation of the public sphere, changes in its public functions, and shifts in the concept of public opinion.

The bourgeois public sphere, which began appearing around 1700 in Habermas's interpretation, was to mediate between the private concerns of individuals in their familial, economic, and social life contrasted to the demands and concerns of social and public life. The involved mediation of the contradiction between bourgeois and citizen, overcoming private interests and opinions to discover discussion and debate when in fact certain groups were excluded and participation was thus limited. Habermas thus provided decisive impetus for conceiving the democratization of the public sphere and civil society. Politics throughout the modern era have been subject to the play of interests and power as well as discussion and debate. It is doubtful whether even one Western bourgeois society has developed any public sphere at all in Habermas's sense.

Moreover, while the concept of the public sphere and democracy assume a liberal and populist existence of diversity, tolerance, debate, and consensus, in actuality white, property-owning males dominated the bourgeois public sphere. Hence, rather than conceiving of one liberal or democratic public sphere, it is more productive to theorize a multiplicity of public spheres, sometimes overlapping but also conflicting.

Despite the limitations of his analysis, Habermas is right that in the era of the democratic revolutions a public sphere emerged in which for the first time in history ordinary citizens could participate in political discussion and debate, organize, and struggle against unjust authority, while militating for social change, and that this sphere was institutionalized, however imperfectly, in later developments of Western societies. Habermas's account of the structural transformation of the public sphere, despite its limitations, also points to the increasingly important functions of the media in politics and everyday life and the ways that corporate interests have colonized this sphere, using the media and culture to promote their own interests.

C. Wright Mills himself tended to utilize the Institute models of the media as agents of manipulation and social control, although he sometimes qualified the media's power to directly and consistently manipulate the public. In *White Collar*, Mills (1951) stressed the crucial role of the mass media in shaping individual behaviour and inducing conformity to middle class values. He argued that the media are increasingly shaping individual aspirations and behaviour and are above all promoting values of "individual success." He also believed that entertainment media were especially potent instruments of social control.

From the standpoint of theorizing the public sphere, Habermas concedes that from the time of developing this distinction, "I have considered the state apparatus and economy to be systematically integrated action fields that can no that can no longer be transformed democratically from within, ... without damage to their proper system logic and therewith their ability to function" (Habermas 1992: 444). That is, like technology and production, Habermas thinks that the economy and state follow certain systemic imperatives that render them impossible to democratically transform. All one can do, from this perspective, is to protect the communicative spheres of the lifeworld from encroachment by the forces of instrumental rationality and action and the imperatives of money and power, preserving a sphere of humanity, communication, morality, and value in the practices of everyday life.

Despite the pessimistic conclusion of Transformation, which posited the decline of the bourgeois public sphere in the contemporary era, Habermas earlier held out the hope for societal democratization of the major realms of politics, society, and everyday life, although he did not specify any particular tactics, strategies, or practices. Over the past two decades, however, his work has taken a philosophical turn that focuses on the discursive conditions of rational discussion, anchored in communicative relations of everyday life. In his later work, Habermas appealed to the "true humanity" operative within interpersonal relations.

The crux of the problem with Habermas's analysis is that he makes too rigid a categorical distinction between system and lifeworld, constructing each according to their own imperatives, thus removing the "system" (i.e. economy and state) from democratic transformation, while limiting the site of participatory democracy to the lifeworld. Habermas himself recognizes, that the lifeworld is increasingly subject to imperatives from the system, but that in the current era of technological revolution, interaction and common interests and to reach social consensus. The public sphere consisted of organs of information and political debate such as newspapers and journals, as well as institutions of political discussion such as parliaments, political clubs, literary salons, public assemblies, pubs and coffee houses, meeting halls, and other public spaces where socio-political discussion took place. For the first time in history, individuals and groups could shape public opinion, giving direct expression to their needs and interests while influencing political practice. The bourgeois public sphere made it possible to form a realm of public opinion that opposed state power and the powerful interests that were

coming to shape bourgeois society. Habermas's concept of the public sphere thus described a space of institutions and practices between the private interests of everyday life in civil society and the realm of state power. Habermas's "bourgeois public sphere" consisted of social spaces where individuals gathered to discuss their common public affairs and to organize against arbitrary and oppressive forms of social and public power.

The public sphere thus recognized freedoms of speech and assembly, a free press, and the right to freely participate in political debate and decision-making. After the democratic revolutions, Habermas suggested, the bourgeois public sphere was institutionalized in constitutional orders which guaranteed a wide range of political rights, and which established a judicial system as mediator between claims of various individuals or groups, or individuals and groups and the state.

This analysis assumes and builds on the Frankfurt School model of the transition from market capitalism and liberal democracy in the 19th century to the stage of state and monopoly capitalism evident in European fascism and the welfare state liberalism of the New Deal in the U.S. in the 1930s. For the Institute, this constituted a new stage of history, marked by fusion, between the economic and political spheres, a manipulative culture industry, and an administered society, characterized by a decline of democracy, individuality, and freedom, Habermas added historical grounding to the Institute theory, arguing that a "refeudalization" of the public sphere began occurring in the late 19th century. The transformation involved private interests assuming direct political functions, as powerful corporations came to control and manipulate the media and state. On the other hand, the state began to play a more fundamental role in the private realm and everyday life, thus eroding the difference between state and civil society, between the public and private sphere. As the public sphere declined, citizens became consumers, dedicating themselves more to passive consumption and private concerns than to issues of the common good and democratic participation.

While in an earlier stage of bourgeois development, public opinion was formed in open political debate, in the contemporary stage of capitalism, public opinion was formed by dominant elites and thus represented for the most part their particular private interests. No longer is rational consensus among individuals and groups in the interests of articulation of common goods the norm. Instead, struggle among groups to advance their own private interests characterize the scene of contemporary politics. Hence, Habermas

describes a transition from the liberal public sphere which originated in the Enlightenment and the American and French Revolution to a media-dominated public sphere in the current era of what he calls "welfare state capitalism and mass democracy.", leading to the historical transformation to the culture industry, in which giant corporations have taken over the public sphere and transformed it from a sphere of rational debate into one of manipulative consumption and passivity. Rational debate and consensus has thus been replaced by managed discussion and manipulation by the machinations of advertising and political consulting agencies. "Citizens" thus become spectators of media presentations and discourse which mold public opinion, reducing consumer/citizens to objects of news, information, and public affairs.

2.1 □ Habermas and the Public Sphere : Critical Observations

Habermas's study of the public sphere has been subjected to intense criticisms, Habermas's critics argue that he idealize the earlier bourgeois public sphere by presenting it as a forum of rational communication play an increasingly important role in the economy and polity that is Habermas's "system."

But democratic theory also developed stronger notions of citizen participation, or what has become known as participatory democracy, in theorists such as Rousseau, Marx, and Dewey. In this conception, famously expressed by Abraham Lincoln, democracy is government by, of, and for the people. For such a conception of radical democracy to work, to create a genuinely participatory democracy, the citizens must be informed, they must be capable of argumentation and participation, and they must be active and organized to become a transformative democratic political force. Habermas limits his analysis of procedural or deliberative democracy to valorization of the processing of rational argumentation and consensus, admittedly a key element of real democracy.

But not only does he limit democracy to the sphere of discussion within the lifeworld and civil society, but he omits the arguably necessary presuppositions for democratic deliberation and argumentation an informed and intellectually competent citizenship. Here one must remember that schooling and the media play a key role in enabling individuals to be informed,

taught to seek information, and, if effectively educated, to critically assess and appraise information, to transform information into knowledge and understanding, and thus to make citizens capable of participating in democratic discussion and deliberation and deliberation. From this perspective, then, the media are part of a constitutional balance of power, providing checks and balances against the other political spheres and should perform a crucial function of informing and cultivating a citizenry capable of activity participating in democratic politics. If the media are not vigilant in their checking of corrupt or excessive power and if the media are not adequately informing their audiences, then they are not assuming their democratic functions and then survival of democracy will be at stake.

Habermas does not adequately delineate the normative character of the media in democracy and does not develop a notion of radical democracy in which individuals organize to democratically transform the media, technology, and the various institutions of social life. In particular, he does not theorize the media and public sphere as part of a democratic constitutional order. In his view the media and public sphere function outside of the actual political-institutional system, mainly as a site of discussion and not as a locus of political organization, struggle, and transformation. The media in the Western globalized democracies is intertwined within the state and economy, serving as a new basis for a participatory democratic communication politics. To seek the difference between a state controlled public broadcasting system and a more commercial model in the era of globalization is a useless effort, as commercial cable television has marginalized public broadcasting in most countries.

The rise of the internet expands the realm for democratic participation and debate and creates new public spaces for political intervention. But for participation in these new public spheres one requires critical intellectuals to gain new technical skills and to master new technologies. Those interested in the politics and culture of the future should therefore be clear on the important role of the new public spheres and intervene accordingly. A new democratic politics will thus be concerned that new media and computer technologies be used to serve the interests of the people and not corporate elites. A democratic politics will strive to see that broadcast media and computers are used to inform and enlighten individuals rather than to manipulate them. A democratic politics will teach individuals how to use the new technologies, to articulate their own experiences and interests, and to promote democratic

debate and diversity, allowing a full range of voices and ideas to become part of the cyber democracy of the future.

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UNIT 3 □ Ethics in Public Administration

Structure

3.0 Introduction

3.1 The Management Of Ethics

3.0 □ Introduction

Interest in ethics within the field of public administration has grown steadily since the late 1970s. Harold Gortner focuses on public administration ethics theory and to him, the literature on public administration can be divided into five meaningful categories: philosophical discussions of ethics; professional aspects of ethics; personal characteristics and their influence on ethics; organizational dynamics and their influence on ethics; and legal aspects of ethics.

Transparency International has made an international comparison between 102 status by the corruption index.

Ten average(M)-59)

Croatia	3.8
Czech Republic	3.7
Latvia	3.7
Marocco	3.7
Slovakia	3.7
Sri Lanka	3.7
Columbia	3.6
Mexico	3.6
China	.5
Dominique Republic	3.5

Bottom ten:

Moldova, Uganda, Azerbaizan, Indonesia, Kenya, Angola, Madagascar, Paraguay, Nigeria, Bangladesh.

Sense of ethics is internal to ourselves, dictated by our consciences. Most people have generally equal potential for moral and ethical behavior with some exceptions. This innate potential is forged by the values one absorbs

from our families and society at large, then tempered by our reactions to life's experiences and our choices. The social context within which one grows has a significant impact on the development of his/her ethical standard. Public administrators make decisions regarding a community's resources in manner that affects other individuals in that community. The implications of unethical behaviour can be far reaching and affect the nature of the community itself. Public administrators have a unique responsibility in a democracy in service to the public, the sovereign people. Public administration is viewed differently in different societies and therefore attracts people with different motivations for a career in public service. These motivations strongly reinforce ethical behaviour when the individual identifies closely with the general public interest. This is true in degrees among the mature democracies of the developed world, but less so in younger democracies that are still striving.

In a mature democracy such as the United States, David Resenbloom argues that ethics in public administration is influenced by two political cultures—a political-machine-based culture and a civic culture. The machine-based culture is based on political exchanges between a political 'boss' and citizens, and between the machine and businesses, where patronage is used to obtain votes and other forms of support. The patronage could be jobs, favours, contracts, etc. The system is inherently corrupt as it leads to the transgression of administrative norms and fosters an environment where the occurrence of corruption becomes normal. A civic-culture is one in which the good of the community is the main value and is based on law and universally applicable rules. Its goal is fair and equal treatment of all citizens and professional stewardship of the government's resources. It is "community regarding" and views the state as the protector of citizen interests. It is the ideal of modern public administration.

Most democracies begin with a machine-based culture and evolve towards a civic-culture. The two cultures can co-exist in most cases to varying degrees. Public administration in the United States is primarily influenced by a civic-culture, however vestiges of a machine-based culture remain throughout the levels of government from the municipal level to the office of the president. Compared to a younger democracy corrupt behavior by individual bureaucrats is relatively rare but unethical and self-serving choices continue to be made.

In India, a young democracy, people who go into public service have a variety of motivations but often stem from the value that government work is a means to wealth and status. The civic-culture is weak in India from the top to the street-level and the machine-based culture fosters a spoils system where most are out to accumulate as many resources as possible regardless of the public interests. Unethical behavior related to the distribution of resources is widespread and prevalent in all areas and sectors. At the same time, India has also evolved a bureaucracy that can launch satellites from Bangalore and potentially lob nuclear missiles at Islamabad. This has been achieved with the widespread understanding that most players involved in these undertakings are corrupt.

Democracy is best served by a through commitment to the public interest above all else at all levels of government by public employees. However, a culture of loyalty to the constitution needs to infuse the upper reaches of government and other areas where partisanship is rife. The result would be to change the system itself, causing it to be more democratic, transparent and a condition that also supports our economic well being in the long run. We may not be able to change systems on our own, but through infusing a public administration career with the values of civic culture as well strengthen our democracy and we will each much to offer our counterparts in other parts of the world.

The political system of the United States encourages ethical behavior through its constitutional checks and balances, yet there is always room for independent action and therefore choice on the part of individual bureaucrats. The overall culture for the federal and most state and local governments is strongly "community regarding" and as mentioned, bureaucrats are generally personally motivated to do a good job. Examples of blatant corruption such as accepting bribes for favors are rare. However, ethical dilemmas are pervasive and real for functionaries in the modern American administrative state and often involve the issue of who one serves.

In a machine-based culture bureaucrats need to please their patrons above all as their livelihood depends on it. In modern America the ideal is that the public is served above all else as manifest in the civic-culture. However, many people experience a tension in their professional lives when the demands of their political masters conflict with the public interest. Often what is at stake is no less than what a bureaucrat in India may face, the loss

of livelihood and friends. In India the choice is clear, one generally protects one's livelihood because of lack of alternative. In the United States there are alternatives, a variety of other jobs are available in private and non-profit sectors. Also, American law has developed some protections for whistleblowers in the public service. An environment that offers alternatives when an individual is faced with a compromising demand better supports ethical choices. However, the higher up the chain of responsibility in government one goes, the fewer alternatives exist due to one's level of authority and reputation in a narrow circle of government, corporation and foundation positions. Ethical dilemmas get oddly closer to the ones faced by the common Indian bureaucrat.

According to Daniel Ellsberg there are 12 levels of security clearance in the federal government and each reflects one's ability to tell lies and perjure oneself. Among his cynical list of priorities is, one's highest loyalty is to the president and if he wants you to lie, your job is to support him. This ethic filters through the administration and emerges as part of the civic-culture. The cost may be a limited chink in your reputation as in the case of Clinton's cabinet during the Monica Lewinski affair, or it may be a more serious cost to society such as the Vietnam War or the current action in Iraq. Richard Clarke upheld his oath to the constitution by telling the truth to the American people about the non-existent Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and the Iraqi threat to the United States in general. Many people in government had similar knowledge but kept silent. Ellsberg felt he served his country best by exposing the misrepresentation of the truth at the highest level during the time of Watergate. He feels that it is worth the risk to one's professional life to reveal the truth.

Good European Governance is ethical project to improve European identity. As an analytic schema it strongly resembles the measures of administrative development taken both in the member-and the candidate-countries: nation-building of a welfare-state. This means that in developing national administration ethical issues have the key role: reforms do not cover only the mechanical organizational design, well-functioning procedures and machine-bureaucracy but also qualitative and not measurable features.

Within EL a comprehensive analysis of fraud, mismanagement and nepotism was published in 1999 (First Report on Allegations regarding Fraud,

Mismanagement and Nepotism in the European Commission).

Report includes ethical preamble where is listed the definition of "maladministration":

Maladministration means poor or failed administration i.e., an institution failing to do something it should have done, or doing it in the wrong way or doing something that ought not to be done indulges itself into Maladministration. Maladministration involves

- administrative irregularities
- unfairness
- discrimination
- abuse of power
- lack or refusal information
- unnecessary delay.

"Common core of minimum standards" Mn according to the report of the Independent Experts:

- acting in the general interest of the Community and in complete independence which requires that decisions are taken only in terms of the public interest, on the basis of objective criteria and not under the influence of their own or of others' private interests;
- behaving with integrity and discretion in accordance with principles of accountability and openness to the public. It implies that, when decisions are taken, the reason for them and the process by which they were taken are transparent and any personal conflicting interests are honestly and publicly acknowledged.

To earn the authority and credibility public administration needs to maintain principles of Good governance:

- participation
- accountability
- effectiveness
- coherence.

Czech Republic is good example of combat against fraud. The Ministry of Interior has published recently a report about corruption, Czech Republic has also National Programme of Combating Corruption which followed-up. Report is handled on Government-level. In Czech Republic there is also separate code of ethics of public servants. The aim of the code is to promote desired standards of behaviour for civil servants and inform public about the standards.

The basic principles listed in the code (art.2) are service of public, high-level expertise and know-how, service-mind, correctness, objectivity, promptitude; all features of good governance and corporate administrative culture.

Fresh and illustrative example is Italy. The Italian Minister for Public Administration has approved a new Code of Conduct for Government Employees. It came into force in April 2001; former code was from 1993. The new code reinforces the principles impartiality, efficiency, responsibility and confidentiality of administrative information. Interesting features of the Italian code as follows:

- the code has been prepared together with bargaining partners, trade unions and employee; s,
- main principles are good performance, impartiality, independence, obedience to law, taking care of public interest, not to harm interest or the image of public administration, gifts and benefits are not allowed up the forth degree of relatives, employee have to notify the memberships of organizations if their interests may
- affect on decisions excluding political parties and trade unions.

Transparency in financial interests demands to inform head of unit of all financial relations in the last five years; a manager has to notify shareholdings and other financial interests that could cause conflict of interest up to the forth degree. Employee has to abstain himself from taking in decision-making.

Employees are not allowed to use material or equipment for private purposes. Neither are they allowed to make public declarations harmful to the image of administration. Employees and heads of units have to provide internal control officer (auditor) with all the information necessary to a full evaluation of the results achieved.

Finland is lacking a special code of conduct for civil servants. Ethic orders are partly written in a law of administrative procedures. Its main aim is to guarantee the rights of citizens while transacting with administrative bodies. Another tool are the ombudsmen, the parliamentary Ombudsman in national institute to guarantee the day-to-day rights and proper treatment citizens in Finland. In Finland since October 2002 a new law stipulates that if deputies accept or asks for a bribe it is a crime. The aim of the law is to strengthen the credibility of the Parliament and politics in general.

In *Sweden* the auditors of parliament were critical about sponsoring.

Agency called "Financial Inspection" received sponsor-money to participate in an international congress of IOSCO. Also within army had been cases. State auditors passed remarks that sponsoring of state agencies might weaken the credibility of agencies. No measures were taken because the Government regarded that the sponsoring was proper.

In the United States there is a special agency of ethics : U.S. Office of Government Office.

3.1 □ The Management of Ethics

The management of ethics is an essential part of good governance. It is way to ensure the credibility of public administration which suffers for lack of respect and is criticized to be bureaucratic in the negative meaning of the word.

In practice the principal responsibility of qualified ethical behaviour belongs to the top-management. Day-today work to ensure qualified ethical behaviour is part of modern auditing. The proper use of their reports is essential. Auditors also draw up risk-analyses. To manage ethics the auditors have to work directly under the highest management of administrative unit (ministry, agency), their status must be independent and they must have access to all information.

In the Finnish Ministry of Industry and Trade internal auditing-unit, subordinated to the permanent secretary, is the operative tool. The reports of auditors are analyzed in the ministerial steering group, chaired by the Minister. The permanent secretary personally initiated that administrative ethics was recently discussed in the network of the heads of agencies. The aim was to send a signal and an impulse to the heads of agencies so that personally have duty to inform their about the demands of ethics.

Other operative measure is the annual work-programme of the internal auditors accepted by the permanent secretary. This annual work-programme includes practical measures how ethical issues are handled. So everybody knows that there is a real risk that mismanagement and actions of fraud are found.

Practical means to monitor ethics and good governance is to set up risk-analysis. It is an activity-based chain, where work processes are divided into phases and in every phase there ar list of persons responsible for preparations and decision-making etc.

In annual result-negotiations one subtitle of report is auditing and ethics.

Module - 2

Module - 2

UNIT 1 □ Riggs on Bureaucracy

Structure

1.1 Development Administration

1.2 Political Context

1.3 The Economic Context

1.4 Social Organisation and Development Administration

1.5 References

1.1 □ Development Administration

After the second world war, the newly independent nations which emerged out of imperial exploitation, all embarked upon a complex process of nation building and rapid social reconstruction. Poverty, illiteracy, disease, low levels of agriculture and industrial productivity posed a tremendous challenge of development to the governments of these new nations. The concept of development administration has almost exclusively been used with reference to the developing nations of Asia, Africa & Latin America. The idea of development administration as a direct state engineered effort to intervene in the processes of socio-economic transformation was therefore born during the aftermath of decolonization.

Broadly speaking, there are two schools of thought with regard to definition and scope of development administration. Among them, the important school of thought which is represented by Lucian Pye, Fred W. Riggs and Weidner, used the term development administration in a broader sense. According to it, development administration refers to the process of guiding an organization towards the achievement of progressive political, economic and social objectives, authoritatively determined in one manner or another. Understood in this sense, development administration would include the entire process of nation building, particularly in the developing states of the world. In this connotation, development administration becomes an integrated concept for the study of public administration. In short, it may be said that development administration is essentially a concept of administration which is action oriented rather than structure oriented. While it involves the

study of a traditional and routine type of administration, it is more concerned with the dynamics of an administrative system with a view to judging its capacities as an instrument of planning and execution.

Structurally development administration is concerned with the organization of new agencies for development or refashioning of established agencies. The internal organizations with authority structure and hierarchy engaged in development tasks have also to be differently conceived. The emergence of the new nations out of colonial, administrative framework and their urgent need for rapid socio-economic reconstruction necessitated a radical change in government organization and procedures. It was in this historical context that a new administrative thrust called development administration arose. The colonial legacy of routine administration was found unsuitable for the accomplishment of nation building tasks and programmatic goal achievement like agricultural and industrial development, removal of socio-economic inequalities, etc. Revenue collection, export of raw material, providing essential public services and law and order were the prime concerns of colonial administration. It was centralized, authoritarian, unaccountable and unresponsive to the public. But participative, responsive and accountable management constitutes the essence of development administration. As George Cant has aptly said, development administration is characterized by its purposes, its loyalties and its attitudes.

● Development Administration-A New Thrust

Development administration refers to organized efforts to carry out programmes or projects thought by those involved to serve developmental objectives. The phrase arises by simple analogy with such expressions as agricultural administration, educational administration, and social welfare administration each of which involves organized efforts to implement agricultural, educational, and social welfare programmes, respectively. However the word "development" carries more elusive meanings than such familiar programmatic expressions as agriculture and education. There has arisen of course a substantial literature on development and to effort will be made here to recapitulate these discussions. Much of this literature relates to economic growth, the increased production of capital and consumer goods. No doubt, for poor countries the demand for increase in gross national product is overriding and claims top priority. But one must also recognize that as the more industrialized or post industrial countries approach the stage of affluence, the pressure for increasing production becomes less intensive. Other objectives,

such as the purification of air and water, or the improvement of human relations take an even higher priority.

Consider the proposition that man's freedom of action is always constrained to a greater or less degree by limitations built into his environment. The more primitive a society, the smaller the degree of freedom it enjoys in attempting to change its environment. Food gathering nomads, for example, can eat only what nature provides, whereas agricultural people have learned to manipulate the earth, to increase the natural supply of food. Industrial societies have learned even more potent ways of reshaping their environment to satisfy their needs.

The essential idea of development lies in this increased ability of human societies to shape their physical, human and cultural environments. They do this as societies, as collectives, not as individuals. In other words, they learn to make collective decisions, to formulate proposals for social action, and to implement programs already agreed upon.

From a developmental point of view then the capacity of a government to make and carry out decisions designed to change its environment is itself a variable. We cannot therefore treat all governments as relatively equal in their capabilities. Clearly, a burden one government can shoulder with ease may be so far beyond the capacities of another.

So the development administration refers not only to a government's efforts to carry out programs designed to reshape its physical, human and cultural environment, but also to the struggle to enlarge to government's capacity to engage in such programme. No doubt, many of the doctrines of administrative theory were formulated precisely for this purpose to increase load-carrying capabilities of government agencies. But the governments for which they were designed had already reached a rather high level of development. They were able to implement these doctrines. Political, economic and organizational contexts of administrative development determine the success of development administration.

1.2 □ Political context

The public bureaucracy is the main instrument of all governments to implement programmes. The legislative bodies, courts, political parties, private organizations and the average citizen also play an important part in determining the success or failure of governmental programmes. However,

it is convenient to focus our attention on the state bureaucracy, defined as a hierarchy of all offices under the formal authority of the head of state in any polity. Much can be learned about the effectiveness of a government by studying the performance of its appointive public officials.

Everyone knows that bureaucrats do in fact exercise political functions. But it is often said that in so doing bureaucrats abuse their power. Administrative reformers often urge that public officials be content with tasks which have only administrative consequences for the polity.

In the foregoing analysis Riggs argued that the administrative and managerial doctrines which have shown their usefulness in United States and other Western politics are of limited utility in many non-Western countries where an imbalance exists between the power of bureaucracy and the power exercised by constitutive systems. In other words our administrative principles may prove helpful in bringing about some improvement in administrative performance in balanced politics. By contrast they may further undermine administrative performance in unbalanced politics. In these systems priority needs to be given to efforts to achieve balance, either by strengthening the constitutive system or the bureaucracy depending on the relative power of these key institutions. This is not to suggest that all non-western countries have governments in which power is unbalanced. To the extent that the distribution of power between bureaucracy and constitutive system is balanced in some of these countries, we may expect our administrative ideas to be relatively helpful and relevant to them.

The idea of a balanced political system is not the same as the idea of a democracy. Indeed Riggs believes, it is quite possible for a one-party dictatorship whether under communist ideology or not to achieve a form of balance. A party dominated constitutive system can share power with an official bureaucracy. According to Riggs the administrative doctrines are relevant to the needs of these governments as well as to those which are democratic. There are some of the less developed countries where conditions exist which makes it possible to introduce improved administrative practices and where democratic values can simultaneously be strengthened.

1.3 □ The Economic Context

The salary system of the public employees not only provides an inducement to public officials to work effectively but also makes it possible,

by the threat of withdrawal to impose constraints on administrator. The existence of a salary system that is a system in which wages paid are adequate to cover living expenses is a necessary prerequisite for the relevance of established administrative doctrines. Where or not a salary system exists however, depends not only on the mobilization of funds by taxation and the distribution of wages through a responsible payroll system, but also on the existence of an adequate economic base. The level of economic production must be high enough to cover not only the consumption needs of primary producers but also to support an army of employees, both public and private, who engage in secondary and tertiary occupations. All though these later activities add to the total national product, a society cannot afford to maintain them unless it can provide an adequate base in its primary, notably its agricultural production.

The enlargement of bureaucratic organization and the proliferation of specialized government agencies involve great expenses. The limited availability of surplus production and paucity of funds create another range of problems. But the transformation of a subsistence or fee-leased bureaucracy into a salaried-class brought in its turn may produce consequences that may well have been dysfunctional for development. A corrupted bureaucracy virtually by definition is one that does not do what it is supposed to do since illegal payments to officials are presumably not made unless these who receive payment can and do contravene the intent of the laws they are supposed to apply, although formally salaried bureaucrats in such quasi-salary systems indulge in self enrichment on a large scale.

The introduction of salaries created other consequences. In poor countries job opportunities outside of agriculture were scarce. The pressure for public employment increased as the gulf widened between the impoverished masses in agriculture and unskilled labour and the growing white-collar class of salaried clerks and office holders. In countries under colonial rule the discrepancy in living standards between alien administrators and native populations became even more dramatic.

A system of salaried officials can work in an economically advanced country as a means of building a public bureaucracy capable of carrying out laws which enhance economic productivity and contribute to development.

1.4 □ Social Organisation and Development Administration

Most theorists of public administration take for granted a pattern of organization that is not in fact universal but flourishes only in those countries that may be considered relatively advanced. They scarcely note that the relevance of their doctrines depends on the prior existence of formal organizations. The relationship between organization and development is not coincidental. Only the more advanced countries create "Organization" in the sense that this term is used in the sociological literature. Effective formal organizations play an important role in developed countries, enhancing the ability of a society to widen its range of choices in manipulating its environment.

Underdeveloped countries cannot create such organizations, that are relevant for carrying out the development projects. The position taken here is that the less developed a social system, the more difficult it is for that system to create organizations, the fewer the organizations in a society the more difficult it is for that society to develop.

In Western countries the non governmental organizations first arose as a widespread phenomenon. They took such forms as monasteries, guilds, trading companies, universities and leagues of cities. Through them knowledge was accumulated and transmitted, entrepreneurship encouraged and innovation fostered. Gradually from these beginnings modern forms of complex organizations have evolved corporations, public bodies.

The situation in non-western countries is quite different. Here just as the salary system was imported during the processes of modernization, so also forms of organizational behaviour have been introduced by international emulation of European example. One is struck by the rapid growth in Asia, Africa and Latin America of what appear to be formal organizations setup on the Western model, political parties, legislatures, governmental agencies, private and public corporations, trade unions, professional societies. Yet, closer scrutiny often reveals the ineffectual character of these bodies. Although they look like organizations they do not behave as we expect organizations to behave.

Perhaps the most notable difference is that instead of representing the interests of their members in relations with government officials, those groups are often dominated by their leaders who are officials of the state bureaucracy or bases in a powerful political party. Thus the organizations tend to serve

the interests of their heads rather than the heads striving to serve the interests of their members.

The organizations can enhance development by mobilizing the knowledge, skills and energies of members for coordinated action designed to enhance a society's control over its environment. Thus organizations seem to be both a consequence of development and a cause of further development. The administrative doctrines framed to meet the needs of a society where organizations are ubiquitous, may well generate unexpected results when applied to societies where quasi organizations prevail.

Riggs believed the close link between the political, economic and organizational contexts. In other words, the maintenance of a balance polity requires the successful introduction of salary system and the prevalence of organizations. Similarly organizations are not likely to flourish except where balanced polities and salary system are found and the salary system itself requires a balanced polity and organizations.

It is suffice to say that one way of judging the level of development of a society or social system may be the degree to which it exhibits the characteristics of balanced policy, organizational maturity and the prevalence of a salary system in its bureaucracies. This in turn will determine the extent to which modern administrative principles are relevant to the solution of problems in the administration of development programmes.

- Problems in the administration of development are created due to some environmental conditions that create constraints for social systems and hence create problems in the administration of development.
- Problems in the physical environment occur due to imbalances in physical conditions. Geographic, climatic, and locational conditions are prime determinants of development. On such a basis one might feel that temperate one climates were auspicious for development but tropical conditions inauspicious. Governments with developed administrative capabilities can solve both sets of problems, but those with limited capacities cannot cope with either. The more developed systems are those, which can deal more effectively with the handicaps imposed by their environments. The environment imposes tough problems, less developed systems are easily defeated by them and environmental variables therefore determine to a greater degree the fate of underdeveloped social systems. But the more developed a system the

greater its capacity to transform its environment and the greater is its capacity correspondingly, to assure economic growth. As a result of such transformations, the environment will also appear to be more supportive of human purposes and less of an obstacle to development. Environments appear to impose greater obstacles to the success of undeveloped systems because these systems are unable to deal with their environmental problems.

- There are also problems in the human environment. Human beings occupy roles and clearly engage in interaction but an actor may be distinguished analytically from the role he plays and the actions in which he is engaged one person may carry out different roles and different persons can play same role. The characteristics of human beings set limits to the performance capabilities of social systems and these characteristics may also be modified by social systems. We can think of the human environment at several levels: the demographic, biological, psychological and vocational.

At the demographic level we are concerned with the numbers of people involved in social system, their absolute and relative number, distribution in space, degree of mobility and rate of increase or decrease. It is a fact that the number of persons in polity determine its quality. It would be difficult to organize an effective political system if there were too many or too few. Development is compatible with a wide variation in the size and density of a state's population.

Physiological variables relating to development have attracted a good deal of interest in recent years. Everett Hagen, for example has argued that large number of authoritarian personalities mitigates against innovation and development in traditional and many transitional societies. In highly developed countries many authoritarian personalities are found often in positions of considerable influence and in innovative roles. Moreover in contemporary non-western societies there are grounds for thinking that a considerable number of non-authoritarian personalities can be found.

It seems to Riggs that authoritarianism involves a rigid adherence to one of several alternative ways of life in the face of challenges to that mode of thinking and acting. By contrast in traditional societies we find people who adhere to one way of life because no alternatives have been presented to them and they can scarcely conceive of a different mode. Thus the lack of

innovation in traditional societies may be attributed more to the lack of available options than to personality traits, where as authoritarianism can be viewed as a consequence of development. Efforts to change personality traits through educational or family guidance programs may be a relevant subject for the administration of development.

Turning to the vocational qualifications of a population it is argued that development is impeded because of the lack of suitably equipped persons with the experience, skills, knowledge and capabilities required by an industrial society. It is considered that schools and other appropriate educational facilities can be used to speed up the training of persons possessed of the requisite skills and knowledge.

Developed social organizations can socialize members helping them cultivate the skills and knowledge needed but the problem is this that undeveloped quasi organizations will not only find it difficult to make effective use of professionally qualified persons, but will in fact resocialise them so that their advanced skills are prostituted for unworthy objectives. The appropriate political, economic, and organizational contexts are then the primary requisites for making the administrative apparatus of the developing countries suitable for development purpose, incentives are then built into a polity to motivate the public servants to acquire the skills required to improve the systems' administrative capabilities.

- Problems in the cultural environment create constraints for enhancing administrative capabilities. The term culture is used very broadly to refer to any practice, norm, technique or currency invented by man and transmitted from generation to generation. It may of course be modified in the course of transmission but the relative continuity of traits is a mark of culture.

Language is one familiar item in the cultural environment of any polity. There are those who argue that some languages impose severe impediments to scientific thought and that hence those who speak them cannot readily modernize or industrialise. Any language can be utilized by a developing society. But of course it has to be modified to meet the needs of development.

Similar arguments have been advanced about religion. Some thinkers have argued that protestantism was not only a decisive force in the rise of capitalism but the non-Christian countries can scarcely be expected to become civilized. This view is probably as unpopular today as the racial argument.

The only way therefore, by which development change can safely be introduced is completely particularism. Each culture must be studied as a

whole by specialists who have mastered its language, history, religion-its total configuration of traits.

In the seventies and eighties the development problem has been re-conceptualised in various ways. Rather than looking at growth as a measure of development, meeting basic human needs, equitable distribution of socio-economic benefits, and people's empowerment are being increasingly looked upon as development goals. Development scholars no longer treat the third world as a homogeneous group of countries, but increasingly recognize the importance of cultural context to development.

A single comprehensive theory of development does not exist. The contemporary theoretical approaches to development are : (1) Pluralistic, recognizing many pathways to development, and (2) less western in their cultural assumptions.

Key elements in contemporary development approaches, reflected in the thinking of Rogers, Korten and Klaus, Bjur Brayant and White, include :

- (a) Greater equality in distribution of development benefits,
- (b) Popular participation, knowledge sharing and empowerment to facilitate self development efforts by individuals, groups and communities
- (c) Self reliance and independence in development, emphasising the potential of local resources.
- (d) Integration of 'appropriate' technology with 'big' modern technologies in order to facilitate development.]

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UNIT 2 □ Public Choice-A Challenge to the Traditional Administrative Behaviour

Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
 - 2.1 The Concept of Bureaucracy
 - 2.2 Max Weber's Concept of Bureaucracy
 - 2.3 Beyond Weberian Bureaucracy
 - 2.4 Marx On Bureaucracy
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2.0 □ Introduction

All over the world the democracies are undergoing radical transformation, the object being the continuous and sustainable development. In view of the recent trend towards liberalisation and globalisation, the traditional role of the state administration is now facing severe challenges at different levels. The notions of market-economy and individual satisfaction on the one hand and revolutionary changes in science and technology on the other are giving rise to newer societal demands. The internationalisation of market wants a kind of administration which is more dynamic and transparent. Both the politicians and the bureaucrats now need to behave more efficiently, ethically and in a responsible way. Effective governance is the need of the hour.

In Great Britain, since late 1970s (Thatcherism) there has been an attempt to redefine the scope of state activities. There has been a growing tendency to limit the authority of the state. Market has emerged as the new yardstick to measure the extent of state activity. Thatcherite market-friendly programme discourages state investment in economy, resulting in the growth of consumerism and import penetration, perhaps being the chief cause of persistent weakness of the British economy.

Not only Britain, but various other countries as well are keen to accept the basic postulates of public choice theory, as propounded by Vincent Ostrom, Buchanan, Tullock, Niskanen and others.

Attainment of individual satisfaction i.e., maximisation of individual utility is the primary goal of the public choice theorists. They regard man as

a rational and economic being and consequently lay stress on individual citizen's choice. To them possibility of individual choices among a variety of alternative collective units manufacturing the same collective activity produces benefits at minimum cost and time. They discard the central assumption of Weberian formulation that hierarchical ordering maximises efficiency. Public choice theorists prefer decentralised and democratic decision-making in order to ensure accountability and efficiency. To them, efficiency can never be an end in itself, rather it is the means to achieve the goal of effective governance. Ostrom, in this connection, mentions that "No presumption should be made that administration is separate and distinct from politics, as administrative rules and procedures are 'not a matter of political indifference to the users of public goods and services.'" Consumer's utility is the ultimate concern of the public choice theory. Claus Offe opines in this context that outcomes of administrative action are not, thus, the outcomes of authoritative implementation of pre-established rules.'

Weber's bureaucratic theory, under such circumstances, becomes irrelevant to the welfare state situation.

The public choice theorists in their desire to maximise individual utility, have argued for alternative organizational structure, but failed to provide adequate guidelines as to how to make them effective.

The decentralised market like arrangement is designed to maximise individual benefit, but it is not beyond doubt whether they will equally serve the cause of social utility specially in the developing and under developed countries.

Extreme privatisation will definitely serve the interest of the stronger section of the community, which in no way serves the public interest. So the new agenda should be to ensure accountability and efficiency on part of the state administration and develop transparent administrative culture to keep pace with growing complexities of the changing time.

The Weberian conceptualisation of bureaucracy has dominated the public administration stream since its very beginning. To Weber, 'bureaucracy is the rational-legal authority, and hence most efficient, whereas the traditional (hereditary tribal chief) and charismatic (spontaneous leadership) authorities are primarily irrational and extra-legal'.¹

Weber suggested some very significant attributes of bureaucracy: fixed and official jurisdiction, hierarchy, written files, training, full-time and permanent assignment, rule-boundedness, discipline, impartiality. He laid stress

on efficiency, precision, certainty impersonality and neutrality.

Bureaucracy's strict adherence to the principles of hierarchy, specialisation and impartiality often is considered to be contrary to the democratic values of equality. participation.

In early liberal democracies the bureaucracy was assigned only a limited role, restraining itself only to the role of implementing the policies, predetermined by the political executives. It was accepted that "value-laden decisions are in the domain of politicians while public servants merely implement these decisions with no room to influence policy-choices."

In course of time, with the changes in socio-economic scenario the concepts of police-state and laissez-faire economy suffered a setback. Challenges from different quarters evolved a newer concept of welfare state, where the bureaucracy was expected to perform a more positive role through a variety of education, health and rural development programmes. In the context of the developing countries, the administration was desired to be more responsive to the popular demands.

Administration is now going to confront some new challenges in this millennium. From 1990s, instead of traditional public administration, new public management, better known as entrepreneurial government has come to dominate the field, aiming at efficiency, economy and effectiveness. The traditional bureaucratic hierarchy and centralisation of authority have now been subject to severe criticism, in the context of liberalisation and globalisation.

Since 1980s a view is emerging that similarities in public and private administration is greater than the differences. Richard Parry argues in this context that '....the preferred strategy for improving the quality of public service is the private sector notion of doing simple things well according to the competitive advantage of the producer.'² Thus originates the basic notion of 'public choice', which is actually an attempt to apply the rules of economics in the study of politics and of public administration. The public choice theory challenges the traditionally established social utility services of a democratic government. Public choice theorists argue that career bureaucracy neither can be responsive to social welfare, nor can respond to market needs.

Bureaucratic excesses and bureaucratic inefficiency now have been found to be intolerable and therefore debureaucratisation and decentralisation of the decision-making process are thought to be more convenient to deal with the variety and uncertainty.

Western developed countries since late 1970s have sought to introduce a policy of state-minimalism. Reducing the scope of bureaucratic interference in the process of development. State investment has been tapered, leaving a wider scope for the private sector to contribute in the course of development. This process of thought is not at all foreign in the developing and under developed countries. The question of public choice is getting enormous importance in view of the fact that in this post-industrial phase, polity and economy is supposed to come closer to facilitate the process of growth.

Clause offe, in this connection has maintained that "efficiency is no longer defined as following the rules, but as causing of effects. "Welfare state administration now becomes dependent on '... the substantive realisation of some values (rather than compliance with rules) and upon the resulting processes of empirical consensus formation' This is how the public choice theorists discard the bureaucracy as 'rational' and 'efficient'; rather they think that bureaucrats prefer self-interest to public interest.

The chief proponents of this school are Duncan Black, Kenneth Arrow, M. Buchanan, Gordon Tullock, Vincent Ostrom, William Niskanen etc.

Dennis Mueller defines public choice approach as 'simply the application of economics to political science'. Its focus is on efficiency and rationality. The public choice theorists like Niskanen have argued that bureaucrats are always very keen to maximise their own departmental budget and to expand their scope of activities. Niskanen in his book *Bureaucracy and Representative Government*, argues that to raise the quality of performance of bureaucracy, it is required to reduce the monopoly of bureaucracy in supplying public goods and services. Increasing competition, both within the bureau and outside in the market and change in the system of incentive can make the government effective. The politicians are merely power hungry. So they are actually interested in fostering narrow individual desires, instead of distributing public benefits. Therefore, public enterprises should now be asked to lower their investment and to leave it to the private sector. Public sectors only increase expenditure and fail to maintain the quality of the work and products. The government should no longer exist as the 'doer of public activities, but should be the distributor of benefits and facilitator of change. Questioning the very efficacy of bureaucracy, Ostrom suggests that 'when the central problem in public administration is viewed as the provision of public goods and services, alternative forms of organisation may be available for the performance of those functions apart from an extension and perfection of bureaucratic

structures. Bureaucratic structures are necessary but not sufficient structures for a productive and responsive public service economy." Public choice theory introduces competitive approach in the understanding of public administration. It advocates plurality in the institutional setup of providing public goods and service, the thing now being introduced in India, in the areas of air travel, telecom etc. The individual now has his choice as per his rationally designed self interest.

The basic assumption of public choice is that an individual actor, whether he is the manager or the consumer, is a utility maximiser, who will act in accordance with his self interest in order to maximise his net benefits. So a rational man selects the best course of action from among the available alternatives and he tries to minimise the amount of risk and uncertainty on the basis of relevant information remaining within the limits of lawful conducts.

Therefore, political action must be understood as the out come of the actions of motivated atomistic individualism. For that the initial constitutional requirement is to construct the political institutions that will best suit the cause of individual liberty. The public choice theorists regard the notions of organic views of social and political organisation or that of "general will" or "public interest" as mystical, even they are not ready to accept marxist idea of class domination. Their primary concern is the utility-maximising individual. Niskanen is of the view that 'a better government would be a smaller government'.

Public choice theorists believe that each individual in search of maximising his net benefit, contribute to public good. For instance defence, law and order fall in this category which individual would not like to disturb for the sake of his own interest..

Sometimes, public goods become private goods when they benefit only a section. For example, industries are necessary for economic prosperity, but they may create pollution, The government is desired to regulate the process of industrialization in a way to maximise the utility and minimise the undesirable effects, and thus to respond to consumer's demand. One may think of the resemblance of the theory to the conceptual framework suggested by early individualists. But main difference may be in the fact that along with outright privatisation drive, the responsible government may strive for regulating the private sector in a way to realise the value of sustainable development, instead of adhering to the path of traditional development.

Public choice theorists prefer decentralisation, democratisation and organisational competitiveness. It is not just people's easy access to governmental units, rather it creates opportunity for the individual to have a choice from among several public organisation, performing similar functions. Moreover, they hold that authority should be divided to limit arbitrary use of power by the government organs and to control their corruptibility. Ostrom observes in this connection that 'To stimulate healthy and democratic competition among government agencies, multi-organisational arrangements are better than monocentric administrative apparatus structured hierarchically'. Ostrom's individualistic, consumer-oriented organisational design was meant to maximise efficiency at least possible cost and resources. He mentions that 'Producer efficiency in the absence of consumer utility is without economic meaning "So the need of the hour is to increase administrative effectiveness, as David Beetham viewed it and to ensure the quality of service at least possible cost. To that extent Ostrom observes that administration can never be indifferent to politics.

The public choice theories are not free from its negative effects on the socio-economic setup of a political system and from its inbuilt contradictions.

- The public choice theorists are never clear as to how alternative organisational structures will evolve and how they will serve public interest. Public interest in general interest, i.e., not just the sum of some individual's interest.
- Public choice theory's assumption is that man is a rational being and he is in a position to recognise his self interest, that can be realised with the help of market-like organisational arrangement. To what extent it is applicable in the context of developing and underdeveloped nations is doubtful.
- State minimalism and market-friendliness minus social utility programmes can never be adequate for the course of development in the development world countries. Diversity of interests may be very dangerous and even it can be disastrous for country's stability.
- Even in the Western developed countries it can produce benefit only for the dominant class, a high-income group pursuing a high-tech consumerism. If the self-seeking bureaucrat and the vote seeking politician are to be replaced by the utility maximising individual,

it will not only be a very simplistic understanding of the politico-administrative process, but as well be understood as the current global sweep of capitalism. To take an extremely negative view of the behaviour pattern of the politicians & the bureaucrats is also supposed to be very cynical.

- Market can never be the substitute of good governance; rather in view of growing dissatisfaction among the people, both the politicians and the bureaucrats must learn to behave more efficiently, ethically and effectively.

In view of growing public awareness and mounting grievances, the government should do actual service for the benefit of the people. Both the politicians and the bureaucrats must be much informative with a sound technological knowledge and the size of the bureaucracy should not be so large as their salaries and allowances would eat away most of public revenues. 21st century public administration wants to get rid of the over loaded ever growing bureaucrats. People of cybernetic states have started thinking of devolutionisation. So what is needed is perfectionist performance orientation on part of the bureaucrats. The bureaucrats should realise the course of global economy. The bureaucrats must keep in mind that.

- Effectiveness generates output

6 Productivity is the only thing that can ensure sustenance in the global economy

- Mobilisation and utilization of resources in an effective manner are the prime considerations for development,
- The bureaucrats must be aware of the fact that effectiveness means selecting the best task to perform from all the alternatives available and then doing it in the best possible manner in order to generate desired output

To combat the challenge of devolutionisation, the bureaucrats are required to promote efficiency and effectiveness not only in public services, but also within government. To face the challenge of globalization competitiveness and productivity have to be increased.

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2.1 □ The Concept of Bureaucracy

The word bureaucracy has its origin in the French word 'bureau' meaning a 'post' or an 'office'. The 'bureaux' or public office in some form or the other existed in the world. Even in China in 186 B.C. public officials were recruited through competitive public examinations. The word 'Bureaucracy' was first coined by Vincent de Gournay (1712-1759), an Economist of France. He observed, "We have an illness in France which bids fair to play havoc with us; this illness is called 'bureauania'. In 1765, the Baron de Grimm, the French philosopher, wrote, "The real spirit of the laws of France is that bureaucracy... Here the offices, clerks, secretaries, inspectors and intendents are not appointed to benefit the public interest, indeed appears to have been established so that offices might exist".

But it was in the nineteenth century, under conditions of increasing state intervention, that the term came into regular use among European writers. In England, it became current in the 1830's during resistance to the centralization of poor relief and public health. An exhaustive treatment of the concept came in 1939 in *The Ruling Class*, where the author regarded bureaucracy as being so fundamental to the governing of great empires that all political systems could be classified as either feudal or bureaucratic. Bureaucracy means, simply a 'desk government'. In the words of John A. Vieg, "Through distortion and caricature, the term 'bureaucracy' has come to imply bungling, arbitrariness, waste fullness, officiousness and regimentation". However some times the term is used with approbation, and a bureaucrat symbolizes a man eminent for experience, for knowledge and for responsibility. The word 'bureaucracy' had an undisguisedly negative image even at the very time of its origin. Even today* especially the eyes of the uninitiated, the term continues to be one of abuse, even if of a mild intensity. Bureaucracy lends itself to two usages; it refers to the tasks and procedures of administration, as well as being used as a collective word for a body of administrative officials. Frequently it also stands for inefficiency and an improper exercise of power on the part of officials, and thus has become a term of abuse.

Pfiffner uses the term in this sense : Bureaucracy is the systematic organization of tasks and individuals into a pattern which can most effectively achieve the ends of collective efforts. Gladden too uses the term to mean "a regulated administrative system organized as a series of interrelated offices".

2.2 □ Max Weber's Concept of Bureaucracy

It was, however, Max Weber (1864-1920) who founded the modern sociological study of bureaucracy, freed the term from pejorative connotation and implied its indispensability for the rational attainment of the goal of an organization. Indeed, his name is indissolubly associated with any study of bureaucracy, so much so that it is considered to be rather imprudent as well as impudent on the part of a student of modern bureaucracy not to show acquaintance with Weber's writings on this subject.

Max Weber developed a typology of authority and distinguished three 'pure' types- 'traditional' 'charismatic' and 'legal'. He regarded bureaucracy, sustained and sanctified by the purest type of exercise of legal authority, as the most efficient form of organization.

The purest type of exercise of legal authority is that which employs a bureaucratic administrative staff. Only the supreme chief of the organization occupies his position of authority by virtue of appropriation, of election or of having been designated for the succession. But even his authority consists in a sphere of legal competence. The whole administrative staff under the supreme authority then consists", in the purest type, of individual officials who are appointed and function according to the following criteria :-

1. The officials are personally free and subject to authority only with respect to their impersonal official obligations.
2. They are organized in a clearly defined hierarchy of offices.
3. Each office has a clearly defined sphere of competence in the legal sense.
4. The office is filled by a free contractual relationship. Thus in principle, there is free selection.
5. Candidates are selected on the basis of technical qualifications. In the most rational case, this is tested by examination or guaranteed by diplomas certifying technical training, or both. They are appointed not elected.
6. They are remunerated by fixed salaries in money, for the most part with a right to pensions. Only under certain circumstances does the employing authority, in private organizations, has a right to terminate the appointment, but the official is always free to resign. The salary scale is

primarily graded according to rank in the hierarchy but in addition to this criterion, the responsibility of the position and the requirements of the incumbent's social status may be taken into account.

7. The office is treated as sole or at least the primary, occupation of the incumbent.
8. It constitutes a career. There is a system of promotion according to seniority or to achievement; promotion is dependent on the judgment of superiors.
9. The official works entirely spared from ownership of the means of administration and without appropriation of his position.
10. He is subject to strict and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of the office.

Bureaucracy as enunciated by Max Weber is based on the notion of rational legal authority—that is, an authority which employees recognised as legitimate being inherent in the administrators in the hierarchical structure. Included in the rational legal authority, are written rules and procedures and their primacy. Each position in the bureaucracy has its duties and rights which are all clearly defined. Bureaucracy promises a stable organization, despite the fact that its incumbents come and go. Its functioning does not necessarily depend on the knowhow of individuals working in it, knowhow is instead embodied in rules, regulations, procedures and other written records which always remain within the organization—in contrast to individuals who could join and leave. Other attributes of bureaucracy are the hierarchy, division of labour, functional specializations etc.

At the hands of Weber, bureaucracy emerged as neutral, hierarchically organized, efficient and inevitable in contemporary society. This was the ideal type bureaucracy. In fact the ideal type is never actualized. The characteristics of bureaucracy were: precision, continuity discipline, strictness, reliability. These characteristics made it technically the most efficient form of organization. Max Weber has defined bureaucracy in terms of its structural characteristics.

In Weber's ideal type construct, authority in the bureaucratic organization inheres in the office and not in the particular person who happens to be the office holder at any given period of time. This stress on depersonalization of office is reflected in the bureaucrat's trained impersonality since functionaries

are supposed to minimise personal relations and resort to detached work procedures. Thus the concept of an impersonal order has within it the seeds of latent conflict between the officials and the public. In fact, it is greatly dysfunctional to the emerging concept of human relations oriented administration and harmful to the interests of a developing nation.

In this model, the organization of official functions is bound by rules. In achieving developmental tasks, very often new rules have to be framed or old ones modified to suit the changed conditions of society. In the changing set-up of developing societies rules application should be rational and dynamic which requires special training on the part of bureaucrats.

Bureaucracy includes certain negative behavioural traits also, subsequent sociologists have taken Weber's concept as a starting point but have not been content to be limited by his definition. In particular, one stream of writing has emphasized that Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy entails the features which are responsible for inefficiency that the term bureaucracy so frequently possesses. These are dysfunctional and pathological and even frustrate the attainment of organizational goals. Robert Merton has made a classic statement of this point of view. He is concerned with the fact that "the very elements which conduce toward efficiency in general produce inefficiency in specific instances", and "also lead to an over concern with strict adherence to regulations which induces timidity, conservatism and technicians". The implication is that behaviour which is most typically bureaucratic is behaviour emerging from overemphasis on the rationality of bureaucratic organization and dysfunctional in its effects, suggesting a model for bureaucratic behaviour which would stress these contradictory or self-defeating traits.

Michel Crozier described his valuable study, *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon* as a scientific attempt to understand better this "malady of bureaucracy". He explains that the subject to which he refers in speaking of the Bureaucratic Phenomenon is that of the maladaptation, the inadequacies or the dysfunction which necessarily develops within human organization.

Rapid changes in organizations in the last century have caused these shifts in the meaning of bureaucracy and while the term retains its usefulness in indicating a broad set of related problems it can only be used precisely. Moreover, today, bureaucracy is a power group, and as such it is a distinctly separate group within a state with its own special interests, values and power basis.

2.3 □ Beyond Weberian Bureaucracy

Max Weber argues that in bureaucracy lie the advantages of certainty, precision and predictability. But the Weberian model has been criticized from a variety of standpoints. It has been generally characterized as "machine theory and a closed system model taking little account of organizational interactions with the environment. The Weberian model, the critics point out, is subject to the dysfunctional consequences of failing to consider the individual or behavioural aspects of the people in the organization. The bureaucratic design can at best function in a stable environment. It will be unsuitable for an unstable environmental situation.

The structural features of bureaucracy, according to the critics, might be suitable for routine and repetitive tasks, but these would produce the dysfunctional consequences in terms of human behaviour if the jobs would involve innovation and creativity.

Robert K. Merton, the eminent social scientist, points out that although close control by the rule favours reliability, and predictability of employee behaviour, at the same time it accounts for lack of flexibility, and a tendency sets in to turn means into ends.

Selznick conceives the control dilemma in bureaucracy as arising out of the need for delegation of power to organizational sub-systems. The increasing complexity of organizational tasks compels decentralization and delegation of responsibility to intermediaries. Such a measure brings forth the organizational paradox of goal displacement, the bifurcation of interest between the central system and its decentralized sub units.

Alvin Gouldner examined aspect of Weber's theory of bureaucracy in relation to stricture, management and control, and his findings included a marked proneness on the part of the bureaucracy to cling to rules and regulations. As a control mechanism, organizational rules produce unintended consequences. In the case of rules, the employees come together knowledge of minimum acceptable behaviour and their performance conforms to this minimum. The law performance in its turn increases closeness of supervision leading to promulgation of additional rules and regulations.

Warrent Bennis a social scientists predict that bureaucracy is likely to go out of use in the wake of new social systems better suited to the 20th century demands of industrialization. According to him, the forecast is based on the evolutionary principle that every age develops an organizational form

appropriate to genius. The vacuum created by eclipse of bureaucracy, according to Bennis, will be filled up by temporary work systems which will be more adaptive to rapid social change.

Lloyd Rudolph and Susanne Rudolph have questioned the central theme of the Weberian model of bureaucracy as the most rational construct in terms of production of organizational efficiency. They described that, "Formal rationality can contribute to organizational efficiency, but can also contribute to organizational ineffectiveness by building up the sources of alienation and resistance, and fueling the struggle for power against authority. The persistence or retention of patrimonial elements in bureaucratic administration can mitigate if not eliminate the struggle, just as the presence of bureaucratic features in patrimonial administration can enhance its efficiency and effectiveness.

Selznick also finds that bureaucracy tends to be conservative and overly in support of the status quo. This is the thesis of Robert Michels (author of *Political Parties*) also, whose concept of the "Iron law of oligarchy" is a classic description of the tendency of organization to become conservative as the need for more specialized competence intensifies.

Chris Argyris, professor at Yale University, has advanced his own recommendations on bureaucratic behaviour. His studies indicate that an organization member experiences frustration and conflict in any of the following ways-

- (a) He may leave the organization,
- (b) He may work hard and become a top performer
- (c) he may adopt, by lowering his work standards and becoming apathetic and
- (d) He may adopt, though the use of defence mechanisms.

In recent times, a very incisive comment on the Weberian model has been made by Claus Offe. The bureaucratic administration, as Offe points out, is "that improbable and conditional form of organization of social action that precludes the thematization of its own premises". The rule-bound bureaucracy means that the premises of action are not at the disposal of the actors themselves. As Offe observes,

"under conditions of developed, Welfare state capitalism, the rationality of bureaucratic action does not guarantee, but rather perhaps conflicts with the functional rationality of the political system."

Most post colonial societies are faced with this dilemma, and any attempt

to innovate new modes of administration is often frustrated by bureaucratic dominance. The kind of systematic" rationality offe has in mind will have its source in the societal environment. Instead of fixed bureaucratic rules predetermining administrative action, the social expectations of programmes and results will be the main motor of government policy and action.

2.4 □ Marx On Bureaucracy

As wright observes, "Marxists have generally continued to focus on the dynamics and contradictions of capitalist society seen as a total system, while paying relatively little attention to the organizational dynamics of the state". In his earlier writings Marx showed interest in the internal organization or the state. He analyzed specific events as a journalist, and later made a pretty through going job in conceptualising the role of the bureaucracy in the corpus of state organization. One has to examine carefully if in his monumental macro social theory there are explicitly stated ideas about the role, structure and working of public organizations. While trying to develop a critique of the political economy of capitalism in 19th century Europe, Marx has been a sensitive and keen observer of European public administrative organizations. His writings on 'administration' are scattered over numerous books, monographs, letters, and editorial comments. It was never his purpose to build up a theory of public administration as such. From his many facted writings, each discipline has tried to scrape as much as possible public administration has been rather late in joining this effort to look for disciplinary cues in Marx. We would, of course benefit from such efforts as public administration exports, but to dismember Marx is to destroy him. Marx's ideas on administration must be related to his wider macro-social concern that cannot be tortured into disciplinary cubicles.

More precisely, Marx's ideas on bureaucracy and administration need to be situated within his sociology of politics. Scientific treatment of bureaucracy is generally attributed to Marx Weber. But must before him, Marx wrote very inclusively on the bureaucratic structure and behaviour, and the relationship of bureaucracy with the state and the society.

'Early' Marx was concerned with the relationship between the state and bureaucracy. In his 1843 critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right-which to besure, was intended more as a critical analysis of the hegelion dialectical method than as a general theory of the state-Marx advanced the preposition

that for from a 'universalistic,' rational institution 'above' particularist interests, the state (bureaucracy) was in fact embedded in the conflict of interests and classes in capitalist society. Marx argues that bureaucracy does not know better since hierarchical and functional differentiation leads to mere combination and mutual reinforcement of incompetence. Bureaucracy as a whole has a corporate particular interest to defend against other specific corporations and classes in society. So, the external relations of bureaucracy are of a conflictual and 'private' nature.

Bureaucracy, as Marx saw it in the Feudal-capitalist Prussian situation, is a form of society dominated by the state, and its tendency is to separate itself from the conflict. It assumes a 'formalism' and as such presents itself as a superior 'consciousness'-as the will of the state. Thus a particular interest lays claim to universality while the general interest is reduced to the status of a special interest. It is a issue of practical illusions. Examinations to recruit bureaucrats are a formality. These do not reflect an objective bond between the individual and the state, rather they stress the need for a dual knowledge one required for life in civil society and one required for life in the state. "The examination is merely a baptism into bureaucratic knowledge". The bureaucracy reserves to itself the rationality condensed in the social world, sets up a monopoly over it and the consequence is that rationality is changed into its opposite." Thus Marx's view stands in sharp contrast to the Weberian conception of Bureaucracy as rationalization of organization.

The other attribute Marx exposes clearly is much more serious. Bureaucracy changes knowledge into secrecy and competence into mystery. Its actual operations are surrounded by secrecy. The higher functionaries do not reveal their secrets to their subordinates, while the closed character of Bureaucracy as a corporate body protects its secrets from the view of outsiders.

But the reality as described by Marx, is that bureaucracy captures and holds the substance of the state. It stands between the state and public opinion to prevent profanation of the state, the crown on the bureaucratic pyramid. The bureaucratic mentality expresses itself fully in the worship of authority. The only bond between bureaucratic minds is passive obedience to the next higher rank in the hierarchy.

Marx's analysis of the role of the bureaucracy under feudal capitalist prussian situation, and the classical capitalist French situation needs to be supplemented by his fragmentary writings on the British civil service in his 'Capital'. Referring to the enactment of the Factory laws at the end of a

process of power struggle between the establishment reflecting agrarian and commercial interests and the industrial middle class, Marx noted the contribution of the corps of Factory inspectors and the Health Inspectors in terms of recording of crucial facts. No doubt, here, as some critics have painted out, Marx's account points to a double edged consequence : small concessions by the capitalist state may not have endangered its continued existence, rather the concessions insured the reproduction of the working population. But at the same time, the bureaucracy and the state appear malleable and somewhat amenable to pressure passing thereby a possibility of gradual reform of the regime.

Marx's later writings did not engage in detailed discussions on bureaucracy or state administration. He was more and more engrossed in the real momentum of developed capitalism as originating in the struggle between the capitalist and the worker, in the face of which bureaucracy had no choices but to act formally and negatively. As he said, 'where bourgeois life and activity begin, the power of the state bureaucracy ends.

Also, one should mention another line of thought in Marx called the labour process in the capitalist system which illuminates the work organization in production organization. This has been further elaborated by writers like Braverman and Stephen Marlin. Even ~~the~~ can stretch out to include Gramsci's thoughts on the factory council in this stream of explanation.

Public administration as a discipline has not cared much for Marx's views on bureaucracy. It has generally been held that bureaucracy is subsumed in Marx's macro theorization of the capitalist state. Recent Marxist scholarship admits the concept of relative autonomy as the state opening up thereby a fresh line of thought on the analysis of bureaucracy as a fairly autonomous social category.

Module - 3

Module - 3

UNIT 1 □ New Public Management

Structure

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- 1.1 New Public Management: Concept
- 1.2 Public Administration and New Public Management : Distinction
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1.0 □ Introduction

Globalisation is the key word of the twenty first century. It has a multidisciplinary perspective and offers varied meanings. While an economist looks at it as removal of trade barriers, promotion of foreign direct investment across the globe, entry of multinational enterprises, the sociologists make a case for examining it from the social, political, technical, cultural perspectives. Anthony Giddens defines globalization as political, technical, cultural as well as economic. Since its onset, the roles of individuals as well as institutions globally are undergoing change. Markets have come to occupy a key place. The nature of state is undergoing transformation from the earlier traditional welfare state to a corporatist state. Other consequences include

interdependencies among the states, reduction of trade barriers, increasing use of information technology, communication revolution, realignment of public and private sectors. These developments have a profound influence on public administration.

The transformation of economies, in the past few years, from command to market oriented, all over the world, has raised serious concerns about the failure of the 'traditional' state model to implement appropriate policies and deliver effective services. A need for developing an alternative model of administration was being felt. Beginning 1980s, debates and discussions centered around making a deliberate conscious choice between "the 'old' public administration which relied on bureaucratic efficiency and the present day public administration with a significant management orientation which is labeled 'New Public Management'. This wave introduced a series of managerial concepts and techniques in the governmental systems, with a view to making public service efficient, economical and effective.

An attempt is made in the unit of this module to examine the concept of New Public Management (NPM), distinguish it from traditional public administration, its salient features and components. The reforms initiated globally are highlighted and an appraisal of the NPM as a key reform strategy in the arena of public administration is done.

1.1 □ New Public Management : Concept

New Public Management (NPM) is the new managerial approach to public administration that gained prominence since late 1980s throughout the world. It aims to make public administration more goal, and result oriented by application of managerial principles and concepts. It attempts to make the traditionally bureaucratic oriented administration business like, customer focused, entrepreneurial, innovative and risk taking.

Public Administration, as we all know, right from its inception since 1887, advocated a conceptual distinction between policy and administration, gave prominence to the social and economic functions of the state and implementation of policies, programmes through the instrument of bureaucracy. Traditionally, its basic tenets included:

1. A distinct separation between politics and elected politicians on one hand and administration and appointed administrators on the other;

2. Administration to be stable, continuous, predictable, rule governed;
3. Functional division of labour and a hierarchy of tasks and people;
4. A clear cut distinction between public and private interest, the public servants with the responsibility to serve public interest; and
5. The appointment of administrators on the basis of qualification and make them trained professionals.

This framework, which has been dominant for quite sometime, as later been subjected to criticism by the public policy perspective. This public policy school of thought in public administration concentrates on policy processes rather than formal institution¹; This approach that became dominant during the 1960s focused on the :

- political context in which public administration operates thereby establishing a politics-administration continuance;
- the organizational and personal networks involved in the formulation and delivery of policies;
- evaluation of the successes, failures and desirability of policies thereby establishing a link between implementation mechanisms to results; and
- "state" was to occupy a central place which facilitates a better understanding of the relationship between the political and administrative systems, and between politics, economy and society (Me Court and Minogue. 2000).

The public policy approach attempted to widen the domain of public administration. Later, the public management perspective, which gained momentum during late 1980s, has subjected to critical questioning the size, roles, and structure of public sector. Concepts such as efficacy of state vs. market, managerial orientation in Governmental activities, contracting, privatization started gaining supremacy in the theory and practice of public administration. There have been two significant initiatives of NPM One has been the shedding of responsibilities by the state by letting in market forces and the other is promoting 'customer' driven measures in service delivery. NPM attempted to prescribe ways for renewed governmental functioning in the globalisation scenario. Some term it as efforts towards government renewal.

NPM intended to promote a new thing that :

- the present changing scenario requires government reforms;
- there is a need for change in mind set of government from mere execution of task to performance orientation; and
- the public organisations need to be risk taking, mission-oriented and service-oriented. NPM reforms are centered around three key values—Economy. Efficiency and Effectiveness.

1.2 □ Public Administration and New Public Management : Distinction

Public administration, as a practice, always emphasised on promotion of public interest, especially of the citizens. The crux of public administration is public policy making and implementation. According to Resenbloom, any definition of public administration must lay heavy stress on the "public". Public administration is concerned with administration of the public interest, it is constrained by constitutions and relatively unconstrained by market forces, and it is considered a public trust exercised on behalf of the sovereign. Literature suggests that earlier also, the management orientation in public administration, has been advocated. But the significance of 'publicness' in public administration has kept the impact minimal. David Garson and Sam Overman (1983) have identified certain differences between public management and public administration. These are :

1. A focus on management functions rather than social values and conflicts between bureaucracy and democracy;
2. A focus on economy and efficiency in lieu of equity, responsiveness or political salience;
3. A focus on mid-level managers in lieu of political or policy elites;
4. A tendency to consider management generic or at least minimize the difference between public, and private sectors in lieu of accentuating them;
5. A focus on the organization in lieu of a focus on laws, institutions and political bureaucratic processes; and
6. A strong philosophical link with management study in lieu of close ties

to political science or sociology (Garson and Overman, 1983).

There are some core values administration needs to adhere to in public organisations, which are different from other organisations.

The following Table brings out the basic differences between New Public Management and Traditional Public Administration

Table 1

Comparison of New Public Management and Traditional Public Administration

<i>Components</i>	<i>New Public Management</i>	<i>Traditional Public Administration</i>
<i>Focus Principal means Characteristic of Public Servants</i>	Clients Management Entrepreneur (acting)	Citizens and communities Policy-making Analyst (thinking)
<i>Values</i>	Entrepreneurship, freedom for managers, flexibility, creativity, enthusiasm, risk taking	Ministerial responsibility, prudence, stability, ethics, probity, fairness, transparency
<i>Vocabulary</i>	Service to clients, quality, skills, managerialism, empowerment, privatization	Public interest, democracy, social equity, due process
<i>Culture</i>	Private sector, innovation, business management, accountability by results, politics-administration dichotomy	Bureaucratic (hierarchical), functionalism, stability, process accountability, politics-administration continuum
<i>Structures</i>	Civil service as organizational units, simple and frugal government, introduction to quasi-market mechanism.	Civil service as an institution, large departments, government-wide systems, central authority resource allocation

Source : New Public Management and Public administration in Canada. Mohammed Chanh and Arthur Daniels. 1997.

1.3 □ New Public Management : Is it a New Orientation in Public Administration

The propagation of management philosophy, principles and techniques in the domain of public administration, if probed into indicates that this has not been a recent development. Management which is considered to be aggressive, action oriented, yielding, quick results has always gained more significance. In the work 'The Study of Public Administration', in 1926, Leonard White argued that the study of administration should start from the base of management rather than foundations of law. Willoughby in Principles of Public Administration (1927) made a case for managerial role of the Public Administration.

Research indicates that there are similarities in the propagation of doctrines of present day NPM and Cameralism, which had its roots in Europe in the sixteenth century and came into prominence in the eighteenth century. The term 'cameralism' has been developed from the word that denotes treasure-chest or chamber in which taxes were collected, which implied science of effective fiscal management. Cameralism though believed in the presence of a strong state, which was necessary for sound development, yet favoured a professional public service for the government, which shared certain key doctrines of present day public management philosophy. Like NPM, it emphasised on administrative technology as the key to effective state management, separation of policy from execution, sound financial system of state through economy measures, avoiding direct state management of complex transactions or processes, and a centralist top-down approach.

There is literature that indicates that public management philosophy came into favour in Europe in the progressive era of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It has been termed as 'Progressive Public Administration' (PPA) It has been used to denote a general current of turn-of-the century thinking about government and public services. These PPA doctrines are said to have been propagated in Germany during sixteenth century and in China as reflected in Confucious ideas about 2000 years back. Hence these ideas are considered to be historically rooted and recurrent.

The central issue of public management as far the PPA doctrine was to devise ways of limiting corruption, waste and incompetence in government. The politicians as well as the private business were criticised as perpetuating corruption. Hence it emphasised on two basic doctrines of organisational

design First is that the public sector should be distinct from private sector In terms of continuity, ethos, methods of doing business, organisational design, the type of staff recruited and the rewards and promotion structure. The other was to limit the discretionary powers of the politicians and senior public officials through elaborate structure of quasi-independent institutional and general rules of procedure.

These notions received a setback in 1980s when several Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries started moving towards NPM in place of PPA model. The term NPM was coined to label a shift in public management styles. NPM differs from PPA in its doctrine of lessening the organisational differences between the public and private sectors with a view to reducing public sector inefficiency. It propagated shift from heavy emphasis on general rules of procedure and focusing more on getting results.

New Public Management is said to differ from the traditional managerial perspective in certain ways :

1. NPM is more than mere imparting of management philosophy in government. It is a reform strategy encompassing a series of methods and techniques that aim at government reform;
2. It gives emphasis to jobs, missions, processes rather than routine tasks: functions, and activities;
3. It aims at debureaucratisation, layering of levels in organisation through decentralisation, delegation of authority and responsibility to various teams,
4. Customer orientation and satisfaction is the focus of NPM. It gives primacy to identification of customers, assessing their needs, choices and ways of meeting their requirements;
5. New Public Management derives its key elements from public choice theory, principal agent theory and transaction cost economics.

As students of public administration, we know that F.W. Taylor's Scientific Management had laid significant foundation for scientific basis of public administration. Hence it is generally debated whether NPM is an extended version of Taylorism which was propounded in late 1880s. Scholars such as Christopher Pollitt distinguish between the two viewpoints. According to them, the early stage of NPM was neo-Taylorism phase concerned with tightening of labour discipline and cutting costs by measurement of work

output in the manner propagated by Taylor in 1980. The later phase is considered to be quality oriented that focuses on specifying and monitoring performance targets to improve public service standards.

Neo-Taylorism advocated private sector model of production, measurement of performance against set targets, personal responsibility for each step in the performance of task, introduction of individual than collective incentives.

1.4 □ New Public Management : Evolution

From the early 1980s, serious challenges have been posed to administration to curtail the growth of expenditure and seek new ways of delivering public services. New Public Management offers a set of reform measures of organising and offering of services to the citizens. The rise of this is the result of culmination of several reasons. These include :

Increase in Government Expenditure : During the 1970s and 1980s, the excessive increase in government expenditure, in many countries brought to light the wastage, mismanagement, increasing debts coupled with corruption, inefficiencies in governmental operations. Concerns were shown toward bringing efficiency and effectiveness in governmental operations. The rise in government expenditure along with poor economic performance led to questioning of the need for large bureaucracies. Hence attempts were initiated to slow down and reverse government growth in terms of increasing public spending as well as staffing. This paved the way for shift towards privatisation, quasi privatisation of certain activities and moving away from core government institutions.

influence of neo-liberalism : There has been powerful influence of neo-liberal political ideology during the 1980s and 1990s. Neo-liberalism favoured dominant presence of market forces than the state. The efficiency of markets, competition, supremacy of individual over collective decisions had gained predominance.

Free markets unrestrained by government, removal of barriers to facilitate free flow of goods and money, privatisation were considered significant measures for economic growth. The then prevailing scenario favoured roll back by the state and the space created by it to be filled with the private sector. The state was expected to promote the efficient functioning of markets.

The New Right philosophy propagated then, in U.K. as well as USA favoured markets as more efficient for allocation of resources. The managers were considered to be selfish who serve their own interests rather than those of the people. Excessive reliance on state was not considered appropriate and -it propagated lesser role for the state and opted for self reliance. This perspective had a global impact in generating a consensus about the efficiency of market forces.

Public Choice Approach

The public choice approach had a major impact on the evolutions of the new public management framework. It was propounded by economists such as Tullock, Niskanen, Buchane, and the central tenet of their approach is that all human behaviour is dominated by 'self interest'. The human being is considered to be a utility maximiser, who intends to increase net benefits from any action or decision. The voters, politicians and bureaucrats are considered to be motivated by self-interests. The vote maximising behaviour of politicians and self-aggrandising bureaucrats tend to affect the collective interests of the society. There is said to be an absence of incentives to control costs. Such attitudes, according to the public choice theorists lead to the increase in size and costs of government and inflated departmental budgets.

This thinking led to the new paradigm of 'government by market', which meant remodeling of government according to concepts to competition and efficiency. The efficacy of concepts such as market, decentralised service deliver)' has gained supremacy as a consequence of this approach.

The impact of automation especially information technology in the production and distribution of public services has also contributed to the rise of NPM.

The emergence of NPM has been one of the recent striking trends in the discipline of public administration. Its focus basically is on :

1. Restructuring government operations along market lines;
2. Distinguishing strategic policy formulation from implementation;
3. Emphasising performance evaluation and quality improvement; and
4. Setting explicit measurable performance standards for public organisations.
5. Controlling the performance of public organisations by pre-determined output measures.

6. Preference for private ownership, contracting out and competition in public service provision.
 7. Promoting competition both among public sector organisations as well as public and private sectors.
 8. Strengthening of strategic capacities at the centre.
 9. Making services more responsive to the needs of the customer and ensuring value for money.
 10. Strengthening role of government rather than a direct provider of goods and services.
 11. Use of Information Technology to facilitate better service delivery.
-

1.6 □ New Public Management : Components

1. Emphasis on the role of public managers in providing high quality, effective services required by citizens.
 2. Increased managerial autonomy with reduction of central agency controls.
 3. Simplification of organisational structures, flattening of hierarchies and creating conditions for more positive and productive managerial leadership.
 4. Rigorous performance measurement of individuals and organisations.
 5. Receptiveness to competition and flexible attitudes towards involvement of private sector.
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1.7 □ Concept of Entrepreneurial Government : Concept and Features

In USA, in 1992, David Osborne and Ted Gaebler introduced the concept of entrepreneurial government. Their work published in the form of a book 'Reinventing Government. How the Entrepreneurial spirit is transforming the Public Sector', stimulated several debates and discussions. They made an elaborate case for transforming the bureaucratic government into an 'entrepreneurial' one. Their prescription is not 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 envisaged the need for a government, which is essential for a developed society. But the system of government matters a lot. The enterprising government that they prescribed is not so much concerned with what government does, but how it does it. They emphasised two points that the :

- a. government cannot simply be like a business "because government and business serve different puposes, both of them being valuable and necessary" and
- b. question is not how much government we have, but what kind of government. Hence they made a case for government undergoing a change or reinventing itself.

Osborne and Gaebler prescribed ten principles thorough which government needs to assume an entrepreneurial role and bring about massive governmental reforms. These are :

1. Steet the ship than row it.
2. Empower communities, rather than simply delivery services.
3. Encouraue competition rather than monopoly.
4. Be mission driven rather than rule driven,
5. Fund outcomes rather than inputs.
6. Meet the needs of customers rather than bureaucracy.
7. Concentrate on earning resources, not just spending.
8. nvest in prevention of problems rather than cure.
9. Decentralize authority
10. Solve problems by makign use of the market place rather than by creaing public programmes.

These, the authors considered are the marks of entrepreneurial government. This model has been conceptualised in the following ten forms :

1. **Catalytic government:** providing not only services, but also catalyzing all sectors into action in the solution of problems.
2. **Community - oriented government:** empowering of citizens in servic delivery.
3. **Competitive government:** promoting competition amongst various service providers.

4. **Mission-driven govern incut:** being driven by missions and not rules and regulations.
5. **Result-oriented government:** measuring the performance of organizations on the basis 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:** mobilizing efforts towards earning money instead of just spending
8. **Anticipatory government:** being proactive in the sense of preventing problems before they emerge.
9. **Decentralized government:** resorting to decentralizing authority with a view to taking decision making close to the citizen.
10. **Market-oriented government:** relying on market mechanisms in the provision of services rather than bureaucratic meachanisms.

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 organizations.

Business Process Re-engineering: Concept and Features

The concept of business process reengineering (RPR.) acquired significance with the publicaton of work of Michael Hammer and Champy in 1993. It advocates radical redesign of business processes to achieve improvements pertaining to cost, quality, and service.

The basic tenets of reengininnering include :

- Developing key processes and examining their outcomes.
- Flattening of organizational structures and hierarchy.
- Redesigning work systems through the use of information technology and also facilitating the task of decentralized decision-making.
- Promoting customer orientatonwith a result-oriented and team-based approach.

- Introducing rewards linked with achievement of results.

All these developments attempted to provide a new direction and approach of Public Administration. The present times are dynamic situations, demanding innovative, flexible and proactive organisation, public administration need not always be rule-bound. What is important is goal achievement and effectiveness. NPM makes a case for collaboration of public and private sectors whenever necessary and feasible, in the larger societal interests.

1.8 □ New Public Management Reforms : An International Perspective

The New Public Management reforms gained supremacy by propagating the need for alternative mechanisms instead of traditional state model. The emphasis on market, its mechanisms as efficient means, transformation of public administration culture from 'bureaucratic' into an 'entrepreneurial' one started gaining momentum. Autonomy to public managers and provision of choices to citizens, have given NPM more validity.

These reforms have been quite wide and pervasive especially in Britain, U.S.A., Australia, and New Zealand. There is a significant change in the structures and processes of government with the objective of improving efficiency and effectiveness. A host of initiatives were ushered in the form of creation of new agencies, instructing, privatisation, contracting out, performance linked incentives and so on. These attempted to address certain that include productivity, marketisation, service orientation, decentralisation, and accountability for performance.

In the United Kingdom, the NPM reforms were quite extensive. In 1991, a White Paper 'competing for quality' was published which clearly stated that "public services will increasingly move to a culture where relationships are contractual rather than bureaucratic". An Office for Public Service was created and entrusted with the responsibility of overseeing the reorganization of government. A unique procedure known as the 'prior optins review' was devised to examine the various activities of the government, whether the work being done was necessary or it can be done away with. Another measure initiated has been the creation of 'next steps' or executive agencies, which are autonomous agencies created for discharge of specific set of activities. Around 138 agencies, were created which employed 3,86,000 civil servants and around

90 agency Chief Executives. They were appointed through open competition.

In order to make the services of government more responsive to the citizens, the citizens' Charter Programme was initiated in 1991. The citizens' charter emphasised public organisations to draw, publish and work towards a clear set of service standards, which make them more user-friendlier. The charter of public organisations had to :

- set standards of performance and assess performance against these standards;
- provide information about services;
- treat customers with courtesy and helpfulness;
- provide for setting right the things when they go wrong and ensure value for money (Cabinet Office 1997).

In India also citizens charters are in existence. We shall be discussing this in detail in the unit on Reforming Public Administration of this module.

In the U.S.A., in 1993 under the influence of Osborne and Gaebler's views of entrepreneurial government, the Vice-President Al Gore, had initiated National Performance Review (NPR). This report published was entitled 'From Red Tape Results: creating a Government that works Better and Costs Less'. The basic objective of this has been to transform the culture of federal organizations by making them performance-based and customer-oriented. It identified adherence to certain steps which include among others: putting customers first, making service organizations compete, empowering employees to get results, decentralizing decision making power. The NPR promoted certain measures in achieving the above mentioned objectives :

Cutting Red Tape : The goal was to cut unnecessary red tape and to achieve this certain steps were proposed. This included :

- a) Streamlining of budgeting process;
- b) Decentralisation of personnel policy to promote effective appointment, promotion, reward, resignation policies; and
- c) Abolition of insignificant rules.

Putting Customers First : This gave importance to citizens as users of public services and proposed to :

- a) Provide scope to customers to voice their problems;
- b) Dismantle government monopolies; and

c) Utilise market mechanisms to solve certain problems.

Empowering Employees to Get Results : This aimed to stimulate employees in the provision of high quality results thorough :

- a) Decentralised ways of functioning;
- b) Emphasising responsibility for results;
- c) Education and training; and
- d) Improvement in work environment.

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- c) Education and training; and
- d) Improvement in work environment.

Cutting Back to basics : This meant a return to the core activity of government through :

- a) Investing in effectiveness of government institutions;
- b) Reformulating the programmes to save costs; and
- c) Eliminating unnecessary tasks and activities.

Many states and local governments adopted these measures. For example Oregon in the U.S. initiated Benchmark Programme establishing clear quantified goals for improving health, education, housing, public safety and

so on. This enabled the government agencies, service institutions, citizens, assured the achievement of results and thereby the progress. Research studies indicate that there has been significant savings in the costs of government, ? reduction in the number of positions and field offices.

In the Australian Government, the adoption of NPM measures aimed at slimming the state and use of market mechanisms in provision of services. Certain activities were outsourced, partial user-pay charges for health and education services were introduced and privatization of government business enterprises was also undertaken.

In New Zealand, corporatization of government commercial enterprises, contractual relationships between government and civil servants to ensure accountability, performance orientation, customer service were initiated. A Senior Executive Service (SES) was created comprising the Chief Executives of government departments and (SES) was created comprising the Chief Executives of government departments and new group of senior officials. They were appointed on five-year renewable contracts. To examine the social consequences of corporatization, a Specialist Social Impact Unit (SIU) was set up. The SIU was entrusted with the responsibilities of identification of mechanisms by which central government could work constructively with regions, communities and employer organisations during transition, policy areas where the government might need to consider alternative means of meeting social objectives, issues which might be treated as non commercial objectives and funded on a contractual basis etc. Contracting out certain services to the outside agencies, local government bodies was also resorted to for example, though education and health services are publicly funded, the delivery of those services has been contracted out. Charters are formulated, between the minister and boards of trustees in case of management of schools, that incorporate broad guidelines in the form of locally negotiated goals and requirements.

The developing countries such as India also introduced reforms as part of the aid conditionalities imposed by donor agencies such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. This included reduced budgetary support to public sector enterprises, disinvestment, corporatisation, outsourcing of certain activities. Attempts have also been made to introduce citizen's charters, strengthen redressal grievance mechanism, e-governance initiative and so on. These shall also be discussed in detail in the unit on Reforming Public Administration.

1.9 □ New Public Management-Reforms - An Appraisal

Public administration is a key component of all human endeavours towards betterment of lives. In the present day globalisation scenario, alternative approaches have emerged in the arena of provision of public services. The New Public Management (NPM) is no such model, which attempted to create a new entrepreneurial, user-oriented culture in the public organisations with focus on performance measurement, autonomy to the organisations and individuals. It intends to replace the orthodox welfare state model. But the basic question is can private sector interests and initiatives replace the pursuance of public service motives. Market philosophy cannot substitute the 'Public interest' which is the one of the governmental operations.

The ongoing reforms focus on privatization, marketisation, contracting out, debureaucratisation, downsizing etc. Doubts arise regarding the efficacy of this management framework to the developing countries especially, due to divergence between market economy's interests and pursuance of social concerns.

The New Public Management (NPM) does not propagate just implementation of new techniques, but also makes a case for propagation of new set of values derived from the private sector. Public service as distinct from the private sector is characterised by certain basic norms such as impartiality, equality, justice and accountability. These seem to be overridden by market allies such as competitiveness, profitability, efficiency and productivity. Some apprehend that this could lead to weakening of public interest, challenging the legitimacy of public service.

New Public Management (NPM) relies on competition within government, between government and private sector market oriented incentives for performance, penalties for non-performance. Some scholars such as Christopher Hood consider this as a shift or moving away from traditional modes of legitimizing public bureaucracy towards confidence in markets and private business practices.

Daniel Williams in an article, compares the entrepreneurial government principles as prescribed by Osborne and Gaebler with Gulick's principles of administration criticized by Herbert Simon as proverbs, since they almost always occur in mutually contradictory-pairs. For instance, while competitive government is recommended by Osborne and Gaebler to leaders to avoid duplication in government agencies as recommended by Osborne and Gaebler.

this leads to duplication in government agencies as there will be several agencies providing the services. But at the same time this duplication⁷ is opposed by Osborne and Gaebler. They want 'competition' but oppose 'duplication'. Similar to government it is permitted to act like a private business when it raises revenues without direct taxation. It can intervene in the private market to control development. However, it should not intervene in the market to meet socialist employment or income distribution objectives. Hence it is not clear as to when the government is permitted to participate in the private sector and when it is not (Williams Daniel, 2000). Such contradiction is bound to create some confusion.

NPM fails to establish a relationship between citizens and politicians. In any democracy people have a key role having direct relationship between their elected representatives. The politicians also are expected to be responsive to their needs and demands through varied ways. This way, the state is able to control the society on the basis of a democratic mandate from the people. But for NPM model, market mechanism plays a dominant role and fails to indicate the ways through which people in a market system can contribute towards creating a suitable democratic system.

Accountability, is a key goal of NPM but it focuses more on results or outputs. But it is managerial in nature politically which emphasises on the strategic role of public managers. Yet it lacks clarity in defining the roles of politicians and bureaucrats.

New Public Management is considered to be an individualistic philosophy that fails to take cognisance of the collective demands of the society. The market-oriented restructuring, especially, in a developing country is bound to affect certain categories of society particularly the poor, peasants, labourers due to its repercussions such as withdrawal of subsidies, reduction in the work force, and cutback in welfare programmes.

The current trend of state minimalism, some scholars consider it as bringing in a form of 'recolonisation', especially with regard to developing countries, in terms of ushering in some changes as part of aid conditionalities.

New Public Management (NPM) provides customer orientation to the citizens. It calls for empowerment of customers, increased citizen choices, strengthening the government in providing public choices in meeting the needs of the customer. The increasing emphasis on customer orientation is the fallout of the public choice theory, application of the market economics to the government that promotes provision of choices by the market forces. George

Frederickson in bringing out the differences between the New Public Administration and Reinventing Movement propounded by Osborne and Gaebler in USA, pointed out that the latter focused on empowerment of individual customers to make their own choices. The value of individual satisfaction is judged more than the value of achieving collective democratic consensus (Frederickson 1996).

New Public Management's emphasis on efficiency is considered by many, as negating the values of social justice and equity. The anti-state ideology it pursues leads to decline in basic social services provision, creating a bunch of inequities. The NPM reforms' reigning themes are achievement of objectives of economy and efficiency. But the issues of social equity, justice, accountability, responsiveness, transparency, participation are equally important to be taken cognisance of by any system.

New Public Management reforms are not generalised prescribed solutions that can hold good for all the countries. It cannot be a single dominant administrative reform strategy for developing countries. Any reform initiative has to be a conformity with the local conditions. Public administration has to be set and looked at from its own environmental context. NPM reform basically originated in the west and hence its impact is bound to vary. As Caiden remarks "unless reconciled with local ecology, universal formulas of administration reform based on western concepts were unlikely to work."

1.10 □ Summing Up

New Public Management (NPM) has emerged as a management technology for achieving developmental goals. Despite its propagating of roll back of state, still there is a growing concern about the government's crucial role in creating a sound environment for its citizens. Public administration, no doubt, is slow-moving, cautious as compared to management. But the 'publicness' aspect in it should not be sidelined. Managerial orientation as applicable to public domain has to support government and citizens. What is needed is public service orientation, decentralization, networking of public agencies. No doubt, there are clear evidences of greater exchanges between public and private sectors and a desire to bring reforms in the structure, functions, work culture of government organisations.

In the Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and

Management (CAPAM) Conference held in Canada in 1994, the need for strengthening the civil society especially in the developing countries was emphasised. They operate almost as a third sector with citizens. 'Empowering' the citizens also assumes crucial significance. The focus, it was reiterated, is at the grass roots where people are striving hard to create a democratic space for themselves.

Any reforms under the influence of NPM need to be introduced in any country keeping in view its political, socio-economic set up. The advocates of NPM focused on benefits of managerial autonomy, exposed the over-protected bureaucracy to managerial models which if carefully adopted can bring about improvement in traditional public administration.

Public administration, in the present times is becoming complex and in this scenario, it is moving towards enlightened public governance. It is the co-existence of government, market, civil society organisations working towards enhancing opportunities for well being of its citizens. As Denhardt and Denhardt suggest, NPM needs to evolve along the lines of New Public Service (NPS) which propagates, public interest, acting democratically, ensuring accountability of public servants not only to market, but also to community values, citizen interests, valuing people, citizenship, public service above entrepreneurship. This calls for different kinds of collaborative partnerships, networking, thereby striving towards combining economic with social values. A balance needs to be maintained between managerial reforms and governance challenges.

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UNIT 2 □ From Government to Governance

Structure

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2.0 □ Introduction

Public Administration, as we all are aware is not a new activity. It has been there from times immemorial, when the rulers and kings were entrusted with the responsibility of ruling their kingdoms. Administration is a key component of the government. Governments everywhere are assigned the tasks of governing. Now the question arises as to the reasons for 'governance' suddenly assuming a prominent place in recent times. Is governance not the activity of the government or if we assume that it is, how is it different from the traditional public administration? The Latin words 'ad' and 'ministrare' denotes to 'serve' and to 'manage'.

As we have discussed in the earlier two units of this module, the entire complexion and nature of public administration is undergoing a change in

the present times, due to the impact of globalisation. Globalisation accompanied by removal of trade barriers, largescale entry of multinational enterprises, dramatic developments in information technology, is affecting all domains of activity which include economic, political, technological, military and so on. The area of public administration is not isolated from this impact. Globalisation is ushering in new societal expectations, changing value systems, altering the nature of state and governing systems.

We have discussed in the previous unit on new public management about the state undergoing a change in role, entry of competition, market forces leading to managerial orientation in administration. This had a global impact wherein along with developed countries, developing countries including India introduced managerial reforms in the form of disinvestment, corporatisation, outsourcing of certain activities, reduction of subsidies with the government concentrating on core activities. As you must have discussed in the earlier modules, traditionally, the practice of public administration has been dominated by the government playing a key role in provision of goods of services. The instrument of bureaucracy occupied a predominant place. Slowly, the inadequacies in governmental operations, focused attention in looking for alternative modes of service delivery, which brought in market forces to the point. Yet the "publicness", which is distinct in public administration, got sidelined, due to impact of market and it gave way to not just a single mode of operationalising of services to the citizens, but towards a collaboration between government, market and civil society. The interaction between the various key actors started influencing the decision-making process, making it broad-based. There has been a gradual shift from government to a broader notion of 'governance'. Governance encompassing the collectiveness of state, government, market and community became dominant. This has been a global phenomena. In this unit, we shall unfold the various facets of the concept of governance, its key characteristics, components and key concerns.

2.1 □ From New Public Management to Governance

The New Public Management has, undoubtedly, triggered intellectual discourse about evolving ways of optimising resources, alternative market mechanisms for delivery of public services with a focus on performance measurement, efficiency, economy, and value for money. The plea for roll

back of state, increasing role for private sector raised tears of private sector interests and initiatives replacing the social concerns, thereby diminishing the significance of public administration. Above all, there is a thing called 'public interest' which lies at the heart of government operations and it is irreplaceable by any market philosophy (Bhattacharya, 2000).

The earlier minimalist state approach has slowly given way to establishing complementary roles to government, market and the people in the form of civil society organisations.

While government is much narrower in scope, which refers to a fixed agency, or department, governance is more broader in nature. As Rosenau explains "Governance is a more encompassing phenomenon than government. It embraces governmental institutions, but it also subsumes informal, non-governmental mechanisms whereby those persons and organizations within its purview move ahead, satisfy their needs, and fulfill their wants..... Governance is thus a system of rule that is as dependent in inter subjective meanings as on formally sanctioned constitution and charter.....it is possible to conceive of governance without government-of regulatory mechanisms in a sphere of activity which function effectively even though they are not endowed with formal authority". It is not just about the organs of government. It is concerned more about the quality of the functioning of various governing organs.

The public management reforms' focus has been on the achievement of the objectives of efficiency and economy and an explicit emphasis upon the dominance of individual over collective preferences, whereas governance is intended to reflect boarder concerns over and above efficiency and economy. This includes :

- Establishing accountability between the state and people;
- Treating people not merely as customers or consumers, but as citizens who have the right to hold their government accountable for their actions;
- Protecting citizens' rights, their voices heard, have their values and preferences respected;
- Facilitating the participation of people in the governance processes;
- Empowering people towards better development; and
- Ensuring responsiveness of public as well as private institutions to the people.

The traditional approach to governance was based on the premise that the government was solely responsible for formulating and implementing policy decisions. It was based on excessive reliance on bureaucratic forms of organisations, hierarchy, adherence to rules and regulations, notions of permanence and neutrality, and citizens were considered as passive acceptors of goods and services. But the current notion implies greater participation by the citizens in the affairs of government to strengthen the quality and effectiveness of policy making and outcomes.

There is increasing realisation that state power is immense and hence to check its abuse, effectiveness and efficiency need to bring about in state institutions and processes. Hence governance intends to ensure this objective.

Globalisation, which has ushered in changes in the economic, political and social systems, world over has resulted in significant improvements in communications, information technology, science and technology, infrastructure development and so on. Simultaneously, it has led to certain uncertainties especially in unemployment, social security, widening gap between income and capabilities and so on. The role of the state has also been in question, due to the failure of government in neglecting certain priority areas. Hence this resulted in government enabling the private sector as well as civil society emerging to expand their activities also. Governance, which earlier remained a closed system, has acquired a wider connotation to take advantage of globalisation, in making efforts to provide a stable and secure social and economic domestic environment.

2.2 □ Concept of Governance : Evolution

Globalisation, as we have referred to before has resulted in generation of global pressures exerted by institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), in the form of economic reforms programmes to be adhered to especially by the developing countries. The aid given to these countries were accompanied by certain market-oriented reforms. It was observed after a certain period of time that the results as expected were not that forthcoming or the growth has been slower than was originally anticipated. This made the World Bank examine and publish its first major analyses based on the experience of Sub-Saharan Africa in 1989. The Bank published its document entitled Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth which brought to light the key factors that thwarted the

implementation of successful market-oriented reforms. The major factor was considered to be the failure of public institutions, responsible for weak economic performance. Good governance, the Bank considered as sound development management. It has four main dimensions; a) Public Sector Management b) Accountability c) A Legal Framework for Development; and d) Transparency and Information Accessibility.

For the first time, the concept of 'Good Governance' was formulated by the World Bank in 1992. It was defined as the "manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development". In this report titled 'Governance and Development' good governance was considered central to creating and sustaining an environment which fosters strong and equitable development and it is an essential complement to sound economic policies.

Three distinct aspects of governance were identified :

- 1) form of political regime (parliamentary, presidential, military or civilian);
- 2) process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources; and
- 3) the capacity of governments to design, formulate and implement policies.

The problems, faced especially in developing countries in the process of governance were identified. These include :

- i) Improper implementation of laws;
- ii) Delays in implementation of policies, programmes and projects;
- iii) Lack of clarity about the rules, regulations to be adhered to by the private entrepreneurs;
- iv) Absence of effective accounting system; and
- v) Failure to involve beneficiaries and others affected in the design and implementation of projects leading to the substantial erosion of sustainability.

The World Bank outlined the need for economic, human and institutional development and achieving it through key governance activities and processes. Its conceptualisation of governance included :

- 1) Political accountability;
- 2) Freedom of association and participation by different groups in the process of governance;

- 3) An established legal framework based on rule of law and independence of judiciary to protect human rights, secure social justice and guard against exploitation;
- 4) Bureaucratic accountability with emphasis on openness and transparency in administration;
- 5) Freedom of information and expression needed for formulation of public policies, decision-making, monitoring and evaluation of government performance;
- 6) A sound administrative system leading to efficiency and effectiveness; and
- 7) Co-operation between the government and civil society organisations.

The concepts of governance and good governance have gained prominence and presently occupying a key place in promotion of sustained all-round development, Let us now, discuss the features of these concepts.

2.4 ☐ Governance and Good Governance

In general, governance is associated with efficient and effective administration in a democratic framework. It involves the exercise of political, economic and administrative powers in managing the country's affairs, and includes the processes of formulation as well as implementation of decisions. But as discussed in the preceding section, over the past decade, the concept of governance got a wider compulsion integrating a number of key elements and principles. Governance has been propagated to promote good government. Government is considered to be effective and good if it is able to fulfill its basic commitments efficiently, effectively and economically. Governance tries to establish quality relationship between good government and the governed or citizens. Good government has been defined by John Healey and Mark Robinson as a high level of organizational effectiveness in relation to policy formulation and the policies actually pursues, especially in the conduct of economic policy and its contribution to growth, stability and popular welfare. Good government also implies accountability, transparency, participation, openness and the rule of law. It does not necessarily presuppose a value judgment, for example, a healthy respect for civil and political liberties, although good government tends to be a prerequisite for political legitimacy.

Governance, in the present context is an attempt to widen the scope of

public administration by stretching beyond formal governments. It is broader in nature extending to private sector, non-governmental mechanisms along with governmental institutions. Collective problem solving is taking the place of individualised decision-making. There are many forms of community organizations, voluntary, collective selfhelp approaches through which people are organising themselves to achieve common goals and objectives. It is the concept that intends to make public administration more open, transparent and accountable. According to UNDP, the challenge for all societies is to create a system of governance that promotes, supports and sustains human developemtn especially for the poorest and most marginal. (UNDP policy document Good Governance and Sustainable Human Development).

The process of governance has gained a transformative perspective in recent times due to changing nature of the concept of development. Development has now acquired a wider meaning, not just confined to growth in Gross National Product or increase in national income, or per capita income as was the notion earlier. Development is no longer indicated by economic growth, but progress in all spheres political, social, environmental, cultural. It encompasses all aspects of human life. The first Human Development Report (HDR) 1990, included three distinct components - longevity, education and income per head as indicators of human development index (HDI).

Human Development Report 2001 indicated that human development is about much more than the rise or fall of national incomes. It is about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive and creative lives in accord with their needs and interests. People are the real wealth of nations. Development is thus about expanding the choices people have, to lead lives that they value. And it is thus about much more than economic growth, which is only a means-of a very important one of enlarging people's choices (Human Development Report, 2001).

Development, here is being looked upon as a process of creating a suitable enabling environment for people to lead long, healthy, productive, creative lives. In facilitating this, the governance processes need to be effective and efficient. This is good governance.

2.5 □ Concept of Good Governance

Good governance aims at achieving much more than more efficient management of economic and financial resources or public services. It is a

broad reform strategy to make government more open, responsive, accountable, democratic, and strengthen institutions of civil society and regulate private sector. Good governance is a combination of efficiency concerns of public management and accountability concerns of governance.

Good governance aims at :

1. Improving the quality of life of citizens;
2. Enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of administration;
3. Establishing the legitimacy and credibility of institutions;
4. Securing freedom of information and expression;
5. Providing citizen-friendly, citizen-caring administration;
6. Ensuring accountability;
7. Use of Information Technology based services to improve citizen-government interface;
8. Improving/enhancing the productivity of employees; and
9. Promoting organizational pluralism-state, market and civil society organisations for governance.

Good governance, hence relates to the quality of governance through attributes such as participation, empowerment, accountability, equity, and justice. Adherence and promotion of these provides avenues to the citizens especially the poor and marginalised to articulate their interests, exercise their rights and improve their living standards. One thing, which is clear from the discussion till now is the concept of governance is broader in nature than government. It focuses more on collective action, networking of various stakeholders. As Stoker describes Governance refers to the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred. The essence of governance is its focus on mechanisms that do not rest on recourse to the authority and sanctions of government.....(Stoker, 1998).

2.6 □ Concept of Humane Governance

The 1999 Report of Human Development in South Asia adds a new dimension to the concept of governance the need for '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 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 adds a new dimension to the concept of governance; the need for humane governance. Human governance is defined as good governance dedicated to securing human development. It requires the effective participation of people in state, civil society and private sector activities. The concept of good governance, it is argued has to be broadened and refined, it has to go beyond good politics or even good economic management. Human governance, must lead to broad-based economic growth and social development as a means to greater human development.

Humane governance has three dimensions:

- 1) good political governance;
- 2) good economic governance; and
- 3) good civic governance.

Good political governance emphasises the rule of law, accountability and transparency.

Good economic governance denotes the role of the state in securing economic stability, removing market distortions, investment in basic infrastructure, protection of natural environment.

Good civil governance gives importance to civil society groups, media, professional groups, which are vital in securing political, social and economic rights. Civil society organisations based on the principle of self-organisation supplement the activities of government in promoting humane governance.

2.7 □ Good Governance: Key Characteristics

The goal of governance initiatives should be to develop capacities that are needed to realize development that gives priority to the poor, advances women, sustains the environment and creates needed opportunities for employment and other livelihoods (UNDP, 1994).

Researchers, policy makers, international institutions, attempted to conceptualise governance, and identify its basic characteristics. These include :

- 1) **Participation** : This is considered to be the core of good governance. Governments aiming to ensure the requisite freedom to the citizens to participate in the decision-making process articulate and represent their interests, which gets reflected in policies and programmes.

- 2) **Rule of law** : Governance does not imply arbitrary use of authority. Anyt governance to be effective needs to be supplemented by a fair legai framework. This should be supported by appropriate enforcement machinery, independent judiciary, which instills confidence in the people.
- 3) **Transparency** : This is based on the premise of free flow of informarin and its accessibility to those affected by the decisions taken in the governance process. people, especially shally be in a position to understand and monitor governmental, other sectors' activities on information being accessible to them within reasonable limits.
- 4) **Responsiveness** : The earlier governance mechanisms lacked in their approach of governing which did not bring all the stakeholders in their ambit In the present times the emphasis is more on institutions being responsive to the needs of all those who are going to be affected by their actions.
- 5) **Equity** : A Governance structure and mechanism, since aims at participation, has 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.
- 6) **Effectiveness and Efficiency** : Good governance, Jike the New Public Management needs to aim at effectiveness and efficiency in usage of resources in consonance with the societal needs and demands. Result-orientation needs to be the key concen.
- 7) **Accountability** : This occupies a central place in good governance Accountability has to ensure answerability as well as proper enforcement for violating certain laid down norms. Not only the public institutions, the private sector, civil society organisations need to be accountable' to the public at large and to other related institutions and stakeholders.

These characteristics reinforce each other. A proper governance strategy needs to take cognisance of these features. Many countries in the present times, striving towards good governance are bringing in administrative reforms to foster these key features.

The World Bank also outlined certain basics of good governance. These include :

- 1) **Operation of rule of law** : This involves adequate laws to ensure personal

security and facilitate the functioning of market, which are adequately enforced through an independent and predictable judiciary and the absence of official corruption.

- 2) A policy environment, which facilitates economic growth and poverty reduction. This includes sound macro economic and fiscal policies, sound budgetary institutions and good prioritization of government expenditure and predictable and efficient regulation of the private sector, including the financial sector.
- 3) Adequate investment in people (Particularly through public expenditures on basis health and education) and in infrastructure, involving good allocation of public expenditures between and within sectors.
- 4) Protecting and vulnerable through affordable and targeted safety nets and generally ensuring an appropriate "pro-poor" emphasis in public expenditures.
- 5) Protecting the environment including assuring that economic growth does not cause environmental degradation (David Shand, 2001).

Governance, with its emphasis on rule of law, human rights, empowerment, participatory development, attempts to provide a countervailing force to the excessive managerial orientation. The World Bank observes 'Governance is a continuum and not necessarily unidirectional, it does not automatically improve over time. It is a plant that needs constant tending. Citizens need to demand good governance. Their ability to do so is enhanced by literacy, education and employment opportunities. Governments need to prove responsive to their demands. Neither of these can be taken for granted. Change occurs sometimes in response to external or internal threats. It also occurs through pressures from different internal groups, some of which may be in the form of populist demands. Although lenders and aid agencies and other outsiders can contribute resources and ideas to improve governance, for change to be effective it must be rooted firmly in the societies concerned and cannot be imposed from outside' (World Bank 1992). In a UNDP workshop of Governance for Sustainable Human Development, certain characteristics of good governance were identified. These include :

- Participatory
- Responsive to people

- Able to develop the resource and methods of governance
- Able, to mobilize resources for social purposes
- Operates by rule of law
- Enabling and Facilitative
- Regulatory rather than controlling
- Service-oriented
- Sustainable
- Acceptable to people
- Promotes equity and equality
- Promotes gender balance
- Accountable (Sobhan, 1998)

2.8 □ Multiple Models of Governance

The traditional public service delivery model relied slowly on government which was hierarchically organised, with reliance on civil service, central controls, rules and regulations. The legislature and judiciary had key roles in the policy formulation and implementation process. Moving from government to New Public Management and then to governance has led to significant changes in the public Service delivery. According to Guy Peters there are basically four types of governance models. These include (1) Market; (2) Participatory; (3) Flexible Government; and (4) Deregulated Government Model. Let us now discuss in brief the features of these models of governance.

- 1) **Market Model** : This model relies on markets as the efficient manner of public service provision. Influenced to a great extent by the Public choice approach as discussed in the unit on New Public Management, bureaucracy is not favoured as it intends to maximise its own interests. This model favours decentralization of policy-making and implementation, privatization, breaking down of large government monopolies to smaller agencies, quasi-private organisations to deliver public services. We have discussed the various experiments being carried out in different countries, in our earlier unit on New Public management in this module. The market model considers the recipient through provision of various options or choices.
- 2) **Participatory Model** : This model is in tune with the reigning theme of

public administration in the 1990s i.e. participation. This basically evolved in the USA in the aftermath of the Minnowbrook Conference which we have discussed in the first unit of this module, about making administration participatory. It focuses on participation of lower echelons of administration, grass root workers, citizens in the decision-making process. Another important feature of this model is the involvement and association of social interests in the governance process. Communitarianism is also one of the set of ideas in this model, which propagates involvement of community, assessing the impact of policies on community, rather than individualism as inherent in the market model. Communitarianism, denies the significance of bureaucracy and instead emphasises association of people in public service delivery. The citizens' charters about which we have dealt in the unit on New Public Management, could be considered as a measure in this direction.

- 3) **Flexible Government Model:** This model offers alternative structural arrangements within government through availing the services of part time employees, temporary workers instead of permanent civil servants and employees. This model assumes that employees are almost an interchangeable part in the governmental apparatus and can be replaced whenever needed. In this model organizational values and civil service ethos are considered impediments to good government.
- 4) **Deregulated Government Model:** The deregulating model propagates deregulating the government sector to enable it undertake new activities aimed at welfare of the society. This aims to remove internal controls in the organisation to enable managers to function efficiently. Public interest, this model believes would be better served by a more active and interventionist public sector.

The initiatives being undertaken in various countries indicate a mix of different governance models. Governance is being considered as an outcome of the intervention efforts of all involved actors in a socio-political system. A study on the governance strategies in four countries (i) Australia; (ii) Netherlands; (iii) New Zealand; and (iv) United Kingdom has indicated four variants. These are :

- 1) Procedural, that corresponds to older forms of public organizations bound by laws, rules and regulations;

- 2) Managerial or corporate governance that conforms to managerial initiatives and performance;
- 3) Market type, which involves an attempt to combine public service aspects with competition, private ownership and market incentives;
- 4) 'Net Work' governance involving co-operation with various agencies, certain organized interest groups, private bodies which needs a limited but interesting form a resource-sharing across the borders. Net working stresses upon multi-agency coordination, reciprocation and lateral communication. The binding characteristic of this is creation and sustenance of interdependence through 'strategic partnership' and 'joined up' governance (Considine, 2001).

2.9 □ Good Governance Initiatives : Indian Context

In India, efforts are afoot and have also in some respects gained momentum, in the direction of good governance reforms. The major administrative reforms in our country during the 1950s and 1960s were basically structural in nature with a view to improving the administrative machinery. The nature of administration which is undergoing a change in the 1990s from traditional bureaucratic to responsive, citizen-oriented, the reforms are also geared in this direction. Evolving a citizen-centered bureaucracy, transparency, right to information, streamlining the public grievances machinery, code of ethics, citizens' charters are some landmarks in this effort. The 73 and 74 constitutional amendments are important reform measures fostering empowerment and participation of people in the governance process.

We shall be discussing these administrative reforms in detail, in the succeeding unit dealing exclusively on Reforming Public Administration.

The current changes in government under the impact of reinvention is often considered to be market oriented, neo-liberal approach, and initiatives towards furthering this are visible in both developed as well as developing countries. The role of government, which was earlier direct in nature, is now assuming a facilitating, indirect role. Governance, as a strategy in the context of managerial reforms, assigns a steering and regulating role to the government vis-a-vis the private sector and a productive partnership between government and societal organisations.

2.10 □ Governance in State Market-Economy Context

The state, in the present context also, has a key role in creating an enabling environment for both public and private sector institutions. Market economy needs a strong government institutional basis, which promotes entrepreneurship and ensuring its sustenance through appropriate regulatory mechanism. Market economy cannot totally replace the state. The state though is not the sole, but a big force for development. Governance in fostering state-market economy cooperation demands adherence to sound business practices through appropriate measures such as corporate governance code, enterprise restructuring, infrastructure reforms and so on. In the present globalisation scenario ensuring the credibility, trustworthiness, transparency of the operations of the enterprises, public or private is important.

In ensuring state-market coordination, the role of state centers around :

- 1) Creation of a stable macro economic environment;
- 2) Maintenance of competitive markets;
- 3) Setting standards of services;
- 4) Providing appropriate regulatory/legal framework for players in the market;
- 5) Attempting to make the private players socially responsive; and
- 6) Protecting the interests of consumers, employees and other stakeholders.

A significant challenge before the state is to ensure sound economic governance, in not only trying to make the private players competitive but ensure a level-playing field for others, who are disadvantaged in the market place through suitable investments in the basic human needs, appropriate fiscal measures, and legal framework.

2.11 □ Governance in Fostering State-Society Synergy

Governance does not imply strengthening the process, institutions of the state, private institutions but also the governed, making them partners in the process of development, strengthening their capacities and empowering them. The traditional notion of governance institutions comprising only Executive, Legislature and Judiciary and other bodies such as local government, civil society as external components now no longer holds valid. Now the state

itself is encouraging the private sector as well as civil society to participate in the governance process.

Civil society is a conglomeration of voluntary, social welfare organisation, professional bodies, trade unions, community-based organisations, special interest groups, research organisations etc. which are involved in provision of services, advocating social reforms and so on. In present time civil society has come to play a key role in promotion of good governance as they mobilise social capital and enable the community to participate and benefit from development activities. In many developing countries, the self-help groups, micro credit societies, Grameen banks etc. are contributing towards good governance.

Sl. No.	Type	Activities
1	Media (Press, Radio, TV)	Public opinion forming, information dissemination, entertainment, etc.
2.	Trade Unions	Collective bargaining, awareness creation among members about their rights and public policies relating to them.
3.	Professional Bodies	Maintaining high standard of the profession, protecting the rights of the members, promotion of interests etc.
4.	Private Voluntary Organization	Advocacy of social change in particular areas, provision of limited public goods to their clientele (credit, primary health, adult literacy, etc.) manufacture and distribution of consumer goods to members of the public (milk processing, fisheries, textiles etc.) protection of the rights of disadvantaged groups (e.g. minorities, tribal people, destitute women, street children, etc.).
5.	Sports and Cultural Bodies	Promotion of sport and culture through the activities of their members.
6.	Social Welfare Organisation	Promotion of social welfare of members or limited clientele in particular areas through voluntary services of various types.

Source : Hasnat Abdul Hye in Governance-South Asia Perspective.

Civil society organisations attempt to connect individuals with the public realm and the state. They play a key role in canalising people's participation in political, social and economic activities that have a powerful influence on public policies and their implementation.

Civil society organisations are participating in a big way in governance. As we shall be discussing the right to information movement in India, in another module of this programme, it is sufficient to know at this point that a people's organisation Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS) in Rajasthan spearheaded the movement which proved successful. There are success stories of mobilisation of social capital in various states such as Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, in implementation of rural water supply, sanitation projects, building of dams, employment generation through micro credit and so on.

An appropriate governance strategy in this context needs to :

1. Develop, strengthen and sustain collaborative and participative processes;
2. Strengthen human capacities;
3. Foster institutional development that facilitates resource mobilisation, coordination and networking.

2.12 □ Good Governance : Key Concerns

Governance, in the context of market-oriented reforms, assumes a new form that harnesses the efforts of varied economic, political, social, administrative players in the society, which strive to create something new by establishing a balance between different problems and desired ways of resolving them.

Pursuing of good governance needs a multi pronged strategy, which includes :

1. Reorienting the priorities of state through appropriate investment in the human needs, provision of social safety nets for the poor and marginalised;
2. Strengthening the state institutions;
3. Introducing appropriate reforms in the functioning of parliament and increasing its effectiveness;
4. Enhancing the civil services capacity through appropriate reform measures that matches performance and accountability;

5. Forging new alliances with the civil society; and
6. Evolving a new framework for government-business cooperation.

Pursuing good governance by any country, requires measures in ensuring proper balance in the roles of the public, private and civic sectors, economic development and social justice. The state, private sector and civil society with their strengths and weaknesses, in pursuit of good governance, needs to strike appropriate balance in their roles to strive toward people-oriented development.

2.13 □ Summing up

The concept and practice of governance, with several interpretations has gained prominence over the past decade. While, in a narrow sense, it focuses on improving public administration structures, processes, institutional development, broadly speaking, it places emphasis on qualitative improvements in the administration. Hence principles such as accountability, transparency, participation, and empowerment are emphasised to enable the development move towards new, productive directions. Governance, as we have observed, is bringing about a creative intervention, participation by not just a sole actor, but by various key players to enhance the legitimacy of public realm. Governance emphasises the involvement of institutions's actors from the beyond government, encouraging flexibility in public service provisions and cost-effective policy outcomes.

Globalisation has positive as well as negative repercussions. It is for the country concerned, to adopt locally specific governance strategy, to exploit the benefits of globalisation and work towards sustainable development. The market forces continue to play a key role and the state cannot wither away. What is needed, in the present scenario is to strike a right balance between the state, market and civil society organisations and aim at long-term stability.

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UNIT-3 □ NEW PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 New Public Administration: Emergence and Growth
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3.1 □ Introduction

The discipline and practice of Public Administration since 1987 underwent several changes. The politics—administration dichotomy, propounded initially, by Woodrow Wilson, slowly gave way to propagation of science of management. F.W. Taylor's Scientific Management movement and Elton Mayo's Hawthorne Experiments in 1920s, had subjected the structures and processes of public organisations to a critical analysis. Efficiency had become the key concern in public administration. Gradually, during the post-war period, concepts such as informal organisations, work groups, team work, leadership, cooperation gained prominence. The need to gauge the influence of these in organisations, thereby giving importance to the human aspect of the organisation was emphasised especially by the protagonists of the Human Relations School. Herbert Simon's 'Administrative Behaviour' in 1940s, brought to the fore the significance of logical postivism in the arena of policy making and the need establish a link between the means and ends. The scope of the discipline of public administration got widened, with efforts made to relate it to other disciplines such as economics, political science,

psychology and sociology. Change was visible with the abandonment of politics—administration dichotomy and reestablishing a link between the two in the context of public policy making. Policy making was considered the essence of public administration.

The discipline and practice of public administration which emphasised more on principles, procedures, all along traditionally, gradually underwent transformation the influence of New Public Administration¹ movement has been a turning point in this change process.

The American society, by the end of 1960s was undergoing a severe social crisis. A plethora of problems which included the Vietnam war, population explosion, environmental problems, increasing social conflicts, economic crisis made the younger generation of intellectuals question the efficacy of the response of the political and administrative systems to handle the crisis. Serious concerns were raised regarding the efficiency and economy in administration. It was felt that dissatisfaction arising from the persisting turbulent environment calls for restoration of values, public purpose in government. Human and value oriented administration was propagated. A need has been felt to inject the goals of being responsive to the needs of clients and ensuring social equity in service delivery. This thinking led to the emergence of New Public Administration (NPA). It intended to provide a philosophical outlook for public administration.

In this unit, an attempt shall be made to trace the genesis of New Public Administration, highlight the thrust areas of the Minnowbrook I and Minnowbrook II conferences, to enable us appreciate the need for change in the discipline and practice of public administration. The broad areas of distinction in the dominant themes between the two conferences shall be focused. This will enable us comprehend the transformation the discipline of public administration is undergoing in the recent years.

3.2 □ New Public Administration : Emergence and Growth

It was during 1967-68 that various efforts were initiated in the USA, with the aim of providing a multidisciplinary, public policy and social equity-oriented focus to public administration. The significant landmarks in this direction include:

1. The Honey Report on Higher Education for Public Service
2. The Philadelphia Conference on the Theory and Practice of Public Administration.
3. The Minnowbrook Conference-I
4. The Minnowbrook Conference - II

The American Society of Public Administration (ASPA), for quite sometime was concerned about the growth of public administration as a discipline with distinct identity and enlarging its scope in the form of a university department. In 1966, John Honey of Syracuse University undertook an evaluation of Public Administration as a field of study in the US universities. Certain problems confronting the discipline were highlighted. This include :

- Uncertainty and confusion over the status of the discipline
- Inadequate funds at the disposal of the university departments for promoting the discipline
- Institutional shortcomings; and
- Lack of communication between the scholars and practitioners of Public Administration

It recommended generation of resources from government and business, encouraging higher studies in public administration, interlinking university departments and government through appointment of professors to positions in government and vice versa, and setting up of a National Commission of Public Service Education to provide leadership in the field.

The report, inspite of its shortcomings, laid the basis for examining the role of Public Administration in generating social awareness.

3.3 □ The Philadelphia Conference on the Theory and Practice of Public Administration

In 1967, the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences under the chairmanship of James C. Charlesworth organised a Conference on "The Theory and Practice of Public Administration". The major view points that emerged out of the conference included :

- Flexibility in the scope of the discipline that would facilitate its development. The massive increase in the functions and responsibilities

of the government calls for widening of the scope of public administration;

- The dichotomy between policy and administration was considered meaningless, due to the interlinkages between the policy making and implementation functions of the discipline;
- Public administration as a discipline and practice needs to focus more on social problems such as poverty unemployment, environment and so on.
- Promoting social equity and other values such as efficiency, accountability, administrative responsiveness, people's participation in decision-making;
- Excessive emphasis on adherence to other internal mechanisms increases the hierarchy, and administrative rigidity. Hence to enhance its efficacy, there is need for management flexibility and other innovations;
- Training of administrators in professional schools; and
- Training programmes in Public Administration to sharpen not just managerial abilities and skills but to deepen the social sensitivity of the trainees. Administrative ethics also needs to be emphasised in these programmes.

This conference is considered quite significant, as it provided a broad philosophical basis to the discipline of public administration. The outcome was the convening of the Minnowbrook conference of 1968.

3.4 □ The Minnowbrook Conference (1968)

The 1960s in the USA, was marked by an optimistic view about public administration's ability to solve the country's technological as well as social problems. The social atmosphere was characterised by a steady decline in the commitment of Americans to institutions such as family, church, media, profession, and government. This was due to prevalence amongst the younger people, of cynicism towards the institutions. Also the Black Americans were denied the share in the prosperity of the country in the 1950's and 1960's. It was against this backdrop that in 1968 Dwight Dwaldo of Syracuse University had taken the initiative of examining certain key concerns. The idea was to

analyse the changing perspectives in the field of public administration, amongst those who experienced the Great Depression, New Deal, World War II and those who entered the field in the 1960s. It was intended to examine the enduring effect of varying perspectives on public administration and government.

This conference was held at Minnowbrook, by the young scholars of Public Administration under the guidance of Dwight Dwaldo. The basic objective of this was to examine the ways of making public administration responsive to social concerns and assume the role of a change agent in reforming the society. The New Public Administration, in fact, Secured a wider recognition in this conference.

3.5 □ The First Minnowbrook Conference

The Minnowbrook Conference focused on certain important concerns of public administration. These included :

1. The public policy approach to public administration, which has become important as it has a significant effect on the quality of government.
2. In addition to efficiency and economy, in implementation of policies social equity, was considered, as the key area.
3. The earlier notion of public administrators being mere implementers of fixed decisions, it was felt, is no longer valid. In addition, values such as ethics, honesty and responsibility in the provision of public service holds good in the practice of public administration.
4. The Minnowbrook perspective argued that, as public needs change, government agencies often outlive their purposes. Hence wherever needed, cut back of government agencies, needs to be resorted to.
5. Responsive government has to manage change, not just growth.
6. Active and participative citizenry, it has been considered, needs to be a part of public administration.
7. The efficacy and usefulness of the concept of hierarchy have been challenged.
8. Implementation processes in the process of decision-making have come to occupy a significant place.
9. Though Pluralism is accepted as a useful device for explaining the

exercise of public power, it was felt, that it has ceased to be the standard for the practice of public administration.

The young academicians who participated in the conference were sensitive to the failures of American democracy. Hence they attempted to provide a new focus to public administration. This through did not find much favour with the then prevailing situation in the 1960s in the US, in the present times, it seems more relevant.

New Public Administration : Goals

The scholars emphasised on five major goals that public administration needs to take cognisance of namely relevance, values, society equity, change and client orientation

Relevance : Traditionally, efficiency and economy have been the key concerns of public administration. The discipline, the conference felt, needs to be done away with and public administration has to deal with political and administrative implication of administrative action. The scholars desired radical changes in the curriculum of the discipline to make it more relevant to the public life realities.

Values : The earlier view regarding the value - neutral orientation of public administration has been vehemently criticised and rejected. The conference made a plea for more concern with values and issues of justice, freedom, equality and human ethics. It was held that commitment to values would enable the discipline promote the causes of the disadvantaged sections in society and enables the administration to assess the impact of administrative actions and outcomes.

According to Nicholas Henry "The focus was disinclined to examine such traditional phenomena as efficiency, effectiveness, budgeting and administrative techniques, conversely the NPA was very much aware of normative theory, philosophy and activism. The question it raised dealt with values, ethics... if there was an overriding tone to the NPA, it was a moral tone".

Social Equity : The then prevailing social unrest in the society, strengthened the belief that social equity needs to be the primary aspect of administration. The conference made a plea for distributive justice and equity to be the basic concerns of public administration.

George Ferderickson considered that Public Administration which fails

to work for changes with a view to redress the deprivation of minorities will likely to be eventually used to repress the minorities. The NPA protagonists were in favour of making the discipline proactive towards major social issues.

Change : Public Administration is generally considered to be status-quo oriented. The conference attempted to make the discipline more relevant and social equity oriented through change and innovation. The administrator was considered a change agent and through necessary social, economic changes, the discipline needs to be receptive to change.

Participation : The conference advocated greater participation by all employees in an organisation in matters of public policy formulation, implementation and revision, [n addition, participation from individuals and groups from outside the organisation was sought to make public administration, more responsive and client-oriented.

Client Orientation : It was the first Minnowbrook conference that had taken the lead in identifying client orientation as a key goal of public administration. This called for a change in the attitudes of bureaucrats to be people-oriented.

The Minnowbrook conference made a significant contribution in changing the complexion of public administration by advocating client orientation, social sensitivity and normative concerns. The normative approach called for the government's objective to be reducing the economic, social disparities and enhance the life opportunities for everyone in the society. The conference attempted to inject new ideas in the administration by making it comprehend real life situations than being de-humanizing in nature.

New Public Administration : Features

George Fredinckson in his writings has referred to certain key features of New Public Administration. These are:

1. **Change and responsiveness :** There is change all over in the social, political, economic and technological environments. This calls for administration to bring about necessary appropriate changes internally as well as externally to the environment. Necessary flexibility and adaptability also needs to be introduced in the functioning of administration.
2. **Rationality :** This calls for judging the efficacy of administrators' actions not only from their point of view but also from the citizens' perspective.

3. **Structural Changes:** New Public Administration calls for experimenting with different organisational structures in tune with the relevant situation and needs of environment. There is need for small decentralised flexible hierarchies to facilitate citizen interaction.
4. **Emphasis on Multi-disciplinary Perspective :** Public Administration is influenced not just by one single thought but several knowledge streams. Hence and understanding of various approaches including political, management, human relations, is essential to contribute to its growth.

New Public Administration -Anti Goals

Robert Golembiewski identified three anti-goals or situations that the NPA needs to abandon. These are:

1. **Anti-Positivism :** Positivism impliesm implies absolute uncertainty about facts which are not certain. This makes administration more rigid. The NPA movement intended to reduce the rigidities in administration to make it more adaptable, receptive and problem-solving.
2. **Anti-Technology :** This implied human beings not to be treated as cogs in the machine, to foster the traditional goals of economy and efficiency.
3. **Anti-Hierarchy :** Hierarchy as an organizational principle promotes bureacracy, brings in rigidities, kills creativity, innovation and isolates the administrator from the surrounding environment. Hence the NPA scholars condemned hierarchical structures as traditionally been propagated by public Administration.

The extensive body of literature arising out of the conference, appeared in the form of these books:

1. Frank Marini's Toward a New Public Administration, The Minnowbrook Perspective;
2. Dwight Waldo's Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence.
3. George Frederickson's New Public Administration.

The dominant themes deliberated in the conference which included relevance and anti positivism, dissatisfaction with the state of the discipline, ethics, motivation, improved human relations, client-centered responsiveness and social equity are dealt with extensively in this literature.

3.6 □ The Second Minnowbrook Conference

The Second Minnowbrook Conference was held after a gap of twenty years in September 1988. The conference held on September 4, 1988 attended by sixty-eight scholars and practitioners of public administration and other disciplines such as history, economics, political science, psychology and so on, was funded by three universities in the USA-The Syracuse, Kansas and Akron. The conference was held against the backdrop of changing role of state and government, more privatization, contracting out and increasing role for non-state actors in the governance process. It was a scenario of private interests outplaying the public interests.

Change in the Context of Public Administration

The first Minnowbrook Conference held in the 1960s, was a period, which was characterised by influence of public purpose, and also by Vietnam War, urban riots, accompanied by growing cynicism towards all institutions especially the government. But the scenario in the 1980s was entirely different, with domination of private interests. The Minnowbrook II aimed to compare and correct the changing epochs of public administration. This was attempted through comparison of theoretical and research perspectives of the 1960s with 1980s to examine its influence on the conduct of government and other public affairs.

Since 1968 there has been a sea change in the context of American Public Administration. Due to change in the nature of state, emphasis on governance, privatisation, contracting out, a general feeling amongst the American public has been towards having lesser government. People failed to devise any new methods of improved responsiveness of government. Added to this, has been, increased levels of poverty, unemployment especially amongst urban areas.

The discipline of public administration underwent significant changes. Its field expanded since 1960s, with many universities in USA offering programmes in public administration. Also it became more interdisciplinary in nature compared to 1960 when it was a part of Political Science.

The conference, which drew participants from diverse areas such as policy sciences, economics, planning, urban studies, attempted to deliberate upon wider themes such as ethics, social equity, human relations and so on thereby ensuring continuity in intellectual interests. Due to changing scenario,

some new thrust areas such as leadership, technology policy, legal and economic perspectives also found place in the deliberations. The conference reiterated the necessity of government as a tool for strengthening society. Public administration, in the changing scenario, was to renew its capacity to cope with the problems of emerging future. The administration and administrators and other government officials was emphasised. We shall be discussing in detail about the major thrust areas of this conference.

3.7 □ Minnowbrook Second Conference : Dominant Themes

There were eleven themes that emerged out of the deliberations of Minnowbrook II. The first five themes provided an historical perspective, which aimed at comparing the discussion at Minnowbrook II to the legacy of Minnowbrook I. The last six themes focus on the current and future visions of the theme. These are discussed below:

1. Though Social equity was a predominant theme at Minnowbrook I, it was felt that in the present times it is much closer to reality than it was in 1968.
2. Strong concerns were expressed about democratic values and the centrality of public administration in promoting them. The concern was manifest in the focus on ethics, accountability and leadership, in public administration.
3. The debate between the normative and behaviorist perspectives has not diminished.
4. Diversity in society and in the work force was accepted as a basic value among the participants. Diversity was identified in three main contexts : the issue of generalists vs. specialists; racial, ethnic and sexual diversity; and gender diversity. But not much attention was given towards the reality that heterogeneity brings, and on the conflict resolution strategies, arbitration skills and values clarification.
5. The tone of Minnowbrook II was one of constrained hopefulness. In 1968, the government was looked upon as an instrument of social change. But with changes in the nature of public service, privatization taken for granted in many enterprises, a revised sense of what

government should do and what government can do is currently under debate.

6. The radical reforms that emerged from the discussions in the conference were considered to be in the nature of short-term goals. It was felt that the environment in which public administration must perform is so complex that a meaningful long-term vision is neither reasonable nor perhaps even possible.
7. The discussions, gave an impression of the prevalence of "a professional ethnocen-tricity" or parochialism indicating that public administration as a field, is not much concerned with examining interdisciplinary issues. These include issues of human development, social psychology, economics, law and so on.
8. There was a strong adversarial attitude towards business as an enterprise. The deliberations exhibited a disdainful acceptance of capitalism and business. One of the challenges fo public administration it was felt is to manage the "seams" of society, than building on the best that business as well as public sector offer.
9. Impatience with the constraints of public personnel systems was evident. A need was felt for innovative personnel practices, to bring out the best in the employees and reinforce high productivity.
10. Unwillingness to address technological issues was evident, though issues such as artificial intelligence, design science, expert systems etc. formed part of some of the themes.
11. Unwillingness to look at the specifics of what government should do was evident. In spite of the discussions focusing on the inevitability of administrators exerting control over policy agendas, the politics-administration dichotomy was still alive (Guy 1989, *Paraphrased*).

The deliberations of Minnowbrook II Conference, highlight certain key, concerns, the first is the changing nature of American public administration, the diversity in the problems faced by the government such as AIDS, nuclear wastes, budget and trade deficits and so on. Hence the environment withing which the administrator works has become substantially more complex than it used to be. This makes it essential for them to rely much more on facilitation, dialogue and negotiation. The schools of public administration have a key

role in this context. The curricula need to be revised with a view towards highlighting the societal as well as political context, emphasising inter-personal skills and techniques. This, the conference participants, opined makes a strong case for developing a theory of public administration.

A second proposition emphasised the need for administrators to keep in view the requirements of democracy and employ democratic process based methodologies in the performance of their duties. This was felt necessary due to (1) need for positive action by public officials for fulfillment of its potential by the representative government (2) the underlying obligation to advance democracy, which is an ethical requirement of public service.

A major thrust at Minnowbrook II was on correcting the imbalance between the public needs in the present times and the resources devoted to their amelioration. To, maximise the value of the administrator's role in these situations, it was felt that a bureaucracy which is concerned more with dialogue and consensus was required. In the backdrop of the American system of government, the bureaucracy needs to consciously utilise the democratic methodologies in its work. Hence it was emphasised that practicing public administrators need to be more proactive in the performance of their duties. Also openness and public participation in administration needs to be encouraged (Ceary, 1989, *Paraphrased.*)

According to Mohit Bhattacharya, the distinctive character of the Second conference is evident from its emphasis on the following thrust areas :

1. The second conference set its visions to the near future, without trying to be radical. There was a tacit acceptance of the fact that the environment of public administration is exceedingly complex and the problems are of huge proportions. Hence, a meaningful long-term vision is neither reasonable nor feasible.
2. The Scholars in the discipline, while aware of their indebtedness to other disciplines, exhibited a strong sense of intellectual parochialism. The general model was not to lose disciplinary identity. Rather, there was keenness to rebuild the discipline.
3. Even if 'Privatisation' was accepted tacitly, there was a strong adversarial attitude toward business. The Minnowbrook-II world view was expressed in terms of a curious tension between capitalism and democracy that resulted in "an unusual form of a truncated capitalist economy operating within a truncated democracy". Against this

backdrop, public administration has to rely on the best that business offers as well as the best that the non-profit public sector offers.

4. Public personnel practices came in for closer scrutiny, and the discussions underlined the need for innovative personnel practices in order to move away from public managers' current inability to hire employees on a timely basis, promote the best employees and reinforce high productivity.
5. As regards technology policy the participants had been generally unwilling to deal with the technological issues "Technology was faulted more than vaunted", and there was general reluctance to idolize technology as a necessary tool for improving public policy.
6. The specifics of what government should do were avoided (Bhattacharya, 2001).

The second Minnowbrook Conference made an attempt to examine the theory and practice of public administration in the changing scenario. It tried to project a future vision for public administration by balancing the business and public sector. The effort has been on rebuilding the discipline and not to lose its identity.

3.8 □ First and Second Minnowbrook Conferences : Distinction

The Second Minnowbrook Conference was held in a changed scenario especially in American Public Administration. It was marked by cynicism towards government, increasing public opinion towards lesser government. The state underwent a change in nature from the positive to the regulatory state. It has been characterised by more privatization, contracting but, predominance of private over public purpose values. In addition there has been a change in the nature of the discipline of public administration. The field, which was an integral part of the political science in the 1960s, became more multi-disciplinary, analytical and theoretically sophisticated.

The objectives of holding the second Minnowbrook Conference were not only to facilitate an analysis of future of public administration but also to look at the differences between the perceptions, attitudes of the people who were a part of public administration in the 1960s and those who entered it in the 1980s.

It has been inferred that there has been increase in the female representation in the 1980s group compared to the 1960s, which had only one member. But minorities were* better represented in the 1960s group.

Another difference between the two groups pertained to the age factor. Almost all of the 1960s groups were in their 30s, while in 1980s group many of them were in their 40s or early 50s, having entered public administration after working in other occupations. The increasingly widespread availability of continuing education in public administration in 1980s was reflected with the presence of those having done the masters and doctoral work as a part of continuing education.

The first Minnowbrook Conference had participants, with political science background while the 1980s group had members trained in diverse fields such as policy analysis and policy studies, economic, planning, urban studies and law.

It was inferred that there were variations in the mood and tone of the two conferences. While the 1968 conference was contentious, confrontational and revolutionary, the 1988 conference was more civil, and practical. The 1968 conference dialogue was considered anti-behavioural, while the 1988 conference was more receptive to the contributions of behavioural science to public administration.

3.9 □ Summing Up

Minnowbrook I Conference, intended to redefine public administration at the then prevailing socio-political and economic scenario. During the intervening setting of public administration underwent a sea change. People's confidence in public administration, especially the bureaucracy decreased considerably. Managerialism, and privatisation has assumed increasing proportions. Yet it was marked by a sense of confidence in public organisations in tackling societal problems.

The conferences according to Marc Holzer evidenced as 'constrained hopefulness' for the 1990s. They sketched two arguments for public administration as a challenging pursuit, first is the citizen seeking a renewed sense of community and shared endeavor emphasising inter personal values and de-emphasising personal gains and the second is to look at public administrators as an important link in the social system, since government is an inevitable tool for strengthening society. Hence this involves adherence to

two key measures, firstly, to establish a linkage between theory and practice and between public administrators and other government officials. To facilitate this, the schools of public administration need to build the theoretical capacities of the practitioners of public administration by providing clarity in the theory, its effective interpretation by use of several pedagogic techniques such as cases, literature, films etc. and effective interpretation and consideration of theory by providing access to certificant and exchange programmes, as well as continuing education to the students.

Secondly, public administration, it was felt, must be amenable to radical reforms. To build, equitable, sensitive, open and productive organisations some key concepts require attention which include competitiveness not only between the sectors but between public sector organisations, compensation systems, improved capacities, changes in recruitment practices, management-employee relations.

The first Minnowbrook Conference challenged public administration to become proactive with regard to social issues. The second Minnowbrook Conference focused its attention on examination of issues such as ethics, responsibility, philosophy, and economics. A key assertion that emerged at the end of the conference has been that public administration offers the hope for developing policies that ameliorate problems because it operates at the margins of all the disciplines and is that ameliorate problems because it operates at the margins of all the disciplines and is the only institution that interacts with all other institutions and individuals within the society. No doubt the second Minnowbrook Conference identified certain basic concerns that if taken cognizance of and put in practice, can lead to the development of the discipline of public administration. What is urgently required is the development of a theory of public administration, with epistemological and research methodology components. Public administration, it has been felt needs to draw components from the various disciplines that intersect the field and construct a relevant discipline integrating other disciplines. It has to be more practitioner-oriented and the academicians have an onerous responsibility to develop programmes and resources to attract minorities and empower them to become scholars and practitioners.

There have been criticisms against the New Public Administration. Some academicians considered it as nothing new except that it made a plea for administration being responsive to a societal problems prevalent doing that

period. Also doubts were expressed whether the new thinking would sustain for long.

Yet New Public Administration, made a moderate impact, by redefining public administration by emphasising on certain key concepts such as participation, responsiveness, client-orientation and so on. An attempt was made to bring administration closer to people and strengthen its capacities to solve societal problems. It stirred intellectual thinking towards democratizing public administration, building a theory of public administration in tune with its inter disciplinary nature, thereby attempting to reform public administration in its outlook and functioning.

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UNIT-4 □ REFORMING PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
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4.1 □ Introduction

Administrative change is a key component of Public Administration. As we have discussed in the previous units, of this module, ushering changes in administration, structure, processes has been an endeavour that picked up momentum in the last one decade. This has been a global phenomenon. Any reform attempts to bring change in administration. In this unit, we shall discuss the meaning of administrative reform, need for reform and highlight certain reform measures initiated in India in the recent times.

4.2 □ Administrative Reform : Meaning

Administrative reform, transformation, administrative reengineering, revamping attempt to bring change, and transformation in administration. Administration in any type of scenari cannot remain static. It intends to bring the needed transformation through a planned, systematised and well-directed process.

Gerald Caiden has defined administrative reforms as the "artificial inducement of administrative transformation against resistance". Administration involves not just methods, processes but it comprises human beings, who need to be convinced of the need for change and hence the resistance needs to be lessened. Change is always accompanied by a certain degree of uncertainty, apprehension as the status quo undergoes a change. The old order paves way to the new one.

Administrative reforms can be introduced at macro as well as micro level. They can be structural, procedural as well as behavioural. Structural reforms aim at bringing necessary changes in the administrative structures such as splitting of organisation into smaller units, creation of new units, decentralisation etc.

Procedural reforms involve changes in the procedures, rules, techniques, and methods of governmental operations. Behavioural reforms aim at changing the attitudes, and behaviour of people working in the organisation. It attempts to change their mind-set, make them responsive, innovative, client-oriented.

Administrative reform efforts aim at changing the bureaucratic methods of functioning improving public service delivery, promote efficiency and economy, inculcate a sense of responsiveness towards citizens amongst the administrative personnel.

The entire issue of introducing reforms in public administration needs to be looked at as a process, which has several phases. Gerald Caiden has suggested four distinct phases :

- a) awareness of need for administrative change;
- b) formulation of goals and objectives, strategy and tactics;
- c) implementation of reform; and
- d) evaluation of reform in terms of the reformer's objectives.

4.3 □ Administrative Reform Efforts in India During 1950s and 1960s

In India, on attaining independence, attempts have been made to bring changes in the administration. The reforms ushered in during this time, were basically structural in nature, with the objective of improving the governmental functioning. In India in 1947, the Secretariat Reorganisation Committee headed by Girija Shankar Bajpai, examined the improvement of methods of work in

the Central Secretariat, better utilisation of personnel and' so on. This was followed by a comprehensive review of the working of the central government by N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar in 1949. In its report submitted in 1950, reorganisation of government machinery, regrouping of ministries, improving the competence of the personnel were suggested

In 1951, another committee headed by A. D. Goiwala, examined the adequacy of the existing administrative machinery and methods to meet the requirements of planned development. It recommended reorganisation of the government for greater speed, efficiency, effectiveness and responsibility.

In 1953, on the Government of India's request, Paul H. Appleby of Syracuse University USA, submitted two reports, which was considered a milestone in the efforts towards reforming administration. In his first report namely Public Administration in India : Report of a survey, he made several recommendations for improving work procedures, creation of and Organisation and Methods Division etc. In his second report on Reexamination of India's Administrative System, with special reference to Administration of Government's Industrial and Commercial Enterprises (1956), suggestions relating to streamlining of organisation, work procedures, recruitment, training etc. were given. Out of the several recommendations made, the Government of India accepted only two. The first is the establishment of a professional research and training institute in the area of public administration. The second was the setting up of a central office entrusted with the responsibility of looking into the structures, management and procedures of the government.

Accordingly in 1954, the Indian Institute of Public Administration was set up and similarly the Organisation and Methods (O and M) Division was established in the Cabinet Secretariat. The division was entrusted with the task of improving the speed and quality of disposal of government business and streamlining procedures.

In 1956, the Planning Commission set up 'Committee on Plan Projects' with a view to facilitate training about better work methods and techniques in achieving maximum economy and efficiency in the execution of plan projects.

No doubt these efforts at reforming public administration aimed at improving the effectiveness of governmental operations through better structures, methods and processes. The need for having a single and a nodal agency for giving direction to administrative reforms led to a review of the existing machinery for administrative reforms. This led to the setting up of

a Department of Administrative Reforms within the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1964. The O and M Division was transferred to it from the Cabinet Secretariat. The Department's major function has been to carry out extensive studies covering organisation, methods, personnel etc. and suggest suitable administrative reform measures.

4.4 □ Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC)

The most comprehensive set of recommendations including that of administrative efficiency emerged from the reports of the Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC). It was set up in January 1966. Its terms of reference were the widest that have even been entrusted to any Committee or Commission. It covered the entire gamut of administration at the centre as well as the states. The Commission during its working of nearly four and a half years, presented twenty major reports, comprising 537 recommendations.

The ARC was guided by major concerns, which included:

1. A rational distribution of work in the Secretariat and a regrouping of subjects among the executive agencies;
2. Reduction in the number of agencies and staff;
3. Improving coordination;
4. Strengthening of top management and integrating specialists and technical experts into the administrative hierarchy;
5. Reducing the number of levels of consideration in administration to reduce delays and promote quick decision making;
6. Integration of the Secretariat with field agencies; and
7. Delegation of powers.

The ARC also recommended that the Department of Administrative Reforms be entrusted with the task of building up O and M expertise in various Ministries and Departments, reactivating of the existing O and M units in different Ministries and Departments etc. Based on the recommendations of the ARC, a separate 'Department of Personnel' was created in the Cabinet Secretariat on 1st August 1970. Later it was transferred, in 1948 to the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The Department was elevated to the full-fledged Ministry of Personnel and Training, administrative Reforms, Public Grievances and Pensions in March 1985. In December 1985, this was redesignated as the Ministry of

Personnel, public Grievances and Pensions, with three departments, Department of Personnel and Training (DOPT), Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances (AR&PG) and Department of Pension and Pensioners' Welfare.

In India, reform efforts at improving administration led to creation of the Central and State Vigilance Commissions, Central Bureau of Investigation. In the light of the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission, on the setting of Lok pal and Lok Ayukta on the pattern of Swedish Ombudsman, measures have been taken. These institutions have the mandate to investigate allegations of maladministration and injustice in the absence of legal remedy to the aggrieved party. Though the institution of Lok Pal and Loke Aykta have not been set up at the central level, many states such as Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka have appointed Lok Ayuktas.

4.5 □ Reform Measures Towards Responsive Administration

During late 80s and 90s, it was realized, that there is an increasing crisis in Indian Administration. The public image of the bureaucracy is one of inaccessibility, indifference, procedure-orientation and non-accountability for results. It was being felt that there is need for efficient, responsive, accountable, clean and dynamically adjusting administration at all levels. As we have discussed in the previous unit of this module, with increasing emphasis on governance, it was perceived that it has to extend beyond conventional bureaucracies and involve citizens, consumer groups, local bodies etc.

Conference of Chief Secretaries and Conference of Chief Ministers (1996 & 1997)

This issue of responsive administration was discussed in the Conference of 'An Agenda for and Effective and Responsive Administration'. The convening of the Conference of Chief. Secretaries of States and Union Territories on 20th November 1996, resulted in the Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances (DPAR& PG) generating a debate on the key issues that evolved out of the conference, amongst various sections of the society. A concrete Action Plan was developed which was later discussed in the Conference of the Chief Ministers held on 24th May 1997.

Key components of the Action Plan include Ensuring Accountable and Citizen-Friendly Government.

Formulation of Citizens Charters

The action plan indicated the need for citizens' charters that specify standards of service, time limits for its delivery, and grievance redressal mechanisms.

Redressal of Public Grievances

The facilities available at various levels, for the redressal of public grievances, review of existing mechanisms and proper streamlining of the system, was to be undertaken.

Review of Existing Laws, Rules and Regulations

The action plan provided for simplification of existing laws, regulations, procedures repealing of outdated laws, reducing the levels of approvals and sanctions.

People's Participation, Decentralisation and Devolution of Powers

The Action Plan indicated people's participation in the delivery of basic services in accordance with the 73 and 74 Constitutional Amendments, decentralisation and devolution of administrative powers and resources at all levels in both rural and urban areas.

Transparency and Right of Information

The Action Plan indicated the need to ensure transparency in government activities and right to information to the citizens. Legislation for Freedom of Information and amendments to the relevant provisions of the Official Secrets Act 1923 and the Indian Evidence act were to be initiated by the states and the centre. With a view to make information available to the citizen computerised information and facilitation counters are to be set up in the various central and state government offices, especially those dealing with matters such as passports, land records, issue of permits and licenses etc. These measures the action plan envisaged would facilitate better administration-citizen interface.

Improving the Performance and Integrity of the Public Services

The performance and integrity of the civil service, both the conferees, considered, need to be enhanced. Hence the action plan provided for formulation of Code of Ethics for central and state civil services, amendment of existing rules and legal provisions to deal stringently with corrupt officials and encouraging those with integrity and good performance. This also calls for strengthening of the vigilance machinery, net working of various agencies such as Lok Ayukta, Comptroller and Auditor General of India, Central Bureau of Investigation and so on.

4.6 Administrative Reforms to Foster Citizen-Friendly Administration

Efforts to reform public administration have resulted in introduction of several citizen friendly measures. One such initiative is the citizens' charters. It attempts to redefine the relationship between the citizen and administration in terms of accountability, transparency, quality, and choice of services. As we have discussed in the previous unit on New Public Management, the concept of citizens' charter originated in 1994 in UK. In India also, the Department of Administrative Reforms introduced this in various ministries, departments at the central and state levels in a phased manner since 1997. The basic idea is to provide easy, unhasselled, quality services to the citizens by the service providers.

The charters :

1. Lay down the statement of services a department offers ;
2. Indicate service standards and remedies available to users in the event of non-compliance with stipulated standards;
3. Insist on display of the requisite procedures and costs involved in obtaining the desired services;
4. Provide a structure for obtaining user feed back;
5. Institute easy-to-follow procedures for follow-up of complaints and time-bound redressal of grievances;
6. Indicate response time for various public transactions; and

7. Set up machinery for system-audit, performance monitoring and independent agency evaluation (Sharma, 2003)

About sixty-eight organisations of 17 central government ministries/ departments have formulated citizens' characters.

Use of Information Technology in Improved Service Delivery

The use of information technology in provision of efficient and effective services and promoting transparency and accountability is making significant inroads reforming public administration. Let us discuss a few initiatives in this direction.

The state of Kerala has experimented with the-concept of Citizen-Integrated Service Centres (FRIENDS). It stands for Fast, Reliable, Instant, and-Efficient Net Work for Disbursement of Services. The basic Philosophy of this concept is to treat the citizen who is paying for the services as a valued customer. The objective is to provide and integrated electronic interface whereby the citizen can pay bills, remit taxes, access commonly required government services and to provide information on government programmes. This system is in operation in 12 out of 14 districts of Kerala. Andhra Pradesh has also experimented with this concept by setting up e-Seva Centres. Another measure initiated has been a project of Vlsakhapatnam Municipal Corporation on line Civic Service that is the first of its Kind in the country. It is called SAUKARYAM (Facility). It has been a private-public initiative with on additional cost to the corporation. It facilitates:

- Online tracking of building plan status;
- Filing and settlement of complaints and grievances;
- Online tracking of grabage lifting; and
- Online registration of births and deaths

The Gyandoot programme in Dhar district of Madhya Pradesh show how strategic innovation can keep achieve success in e-governance. Under this, Computers in 31 villages have been set up in Gram Panchayats, which provide user-charge based services to the people. A local matriculate is entrusted the responsibility of operating this and the entire expenditure is met by the Panchayat and the community. The services provided include agriculture

produce auction centre rates, online public grievance redressal, and information regarding government programmes.

4.7 □ Right to Information

It has been increasingly felt that the secrecy and lack of openness in governmental operations is the main cause for abuse of authority by public functionaries. Hence efforts have been on in recent years to ensure and bring about greater transparency in administrative decisions, to enable people have easy access to information relating to government operations and decisions, except in the interests of national security. The Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS) movement in Rajasthan has been a turning point in this right to information movement. This campaign, which started in Rajasthan in 1994, gathered momentum and it stirred thinking amongst the people that they had the right to information about the government's expenditure on various development activities. Then public hearings (Jansunwai) were held in several places. This ultimately pressurised the Rajasthan Government to accept that the people had the legitimate right to demand and secure information regarding expenditure on development works in their villages.

In January 1997, a Working Group on Right to Information and Promotion of Open and Transparent Government under the Chairmanship of H.D. Shourie was set up by the Government of India to examine the feasibility and the need either to have a Right to Information Act or its introduction in a phased manner with a view to meeting the needs of open and responsive government. The Group reviewed important provisions of Official Secrets Act, Code of Conduct Rules and formulated a Statutory Scheme to ensure freedom of information subject to certain safeguards in public interest. The working Group indicated that disclosure of information should be the rule subject to certain exceptions, which should be clearly defined and provided for independent mechanism for the adjudication of disputes between the citizens and public authorities.

A "Freedom of Information Bill" has been drafted by an expert group and is under the consideration of government for enactment. The bill has been aimed at providing freedom to every citizen to secure access to information under the control of public authorities consistent with public interest, to promote openness, transparency and accountability in administration. The

bill provides for setting up of National Council for Freedom of Information and State Councils also, to review the operation of the act and relevant rules and procedures to secure to the citizens the fullest possible access to information. The Councils are also expected to advise the government on matters relating to presentation, development of employees to promote culture of openness and transparency.

The draft, Freedom of information Bill 2000 has been passed by the Parliament. Seven State Governments including Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka have already passed the Right to Information Acts.

This dimension of administrative reform, that stressed on transparency and right to secure lawful information is significant, as the people have spearheaded it. It is a change that has been attempted by the people and not the government or administration.

4.8 □ Grievance Redressal Machinery

The machinery for redressal of public grievances has been strengthened through operationalising of several measures. A Directorate of Public Grievances was set up in the Cabinet Secretariat in 1988 to examine complaints relating to those Ministries and Departments having public interface. Nodal Officers and Directors of public Grievances have been appointed to oversee the function of disposal of grievances.

A software namely Public Grievances Monitoring System (PGMS) developed by the Department of Administrative Reforms with the help of National Informatics Centre is operational in various Central Ministries. It facilitates online monitoring of public grievances.

To enhance the accessibility of information to the public, Information and Facilitation Counters (IFCs) have been set by several Ministries and Departments.

4.9 □ Code of Ethics

The Objective of reforming public administration is to bring changes not just in the processes of administration but is also aimed at improving the civil service, the personnel's integrity and conduct. Though presently, Civil Service conduct Rules are in existence, which are basically in the form of do's

and don'ts, the need to have a comprehensive Code of Ethics has led to its formulation.

The code is quite comprehensive which lays down certain standards of integrity and conduct in the following matter.

- a) The civil servant's interaction with the citizen to be gauged with reference to certain yardsticks such as quality of service, courtesy, freedom from bias and so on.
- b) The code underscores the importance of the civil service's commitment to the values enshrined in the constitution, rule of law, carrying on duties neutrally without being influenced by any political ideology.
- c) The code attempts to foster professionalism in civil service. It lays emphasis on rewarding good work, punish any dereliction of duty, resist attempts to fragment the society and civil service on caste and communal lines, not to reveal confidential information and so on.

4.10 □ Summing Up

Reforming administration has always been on the agenda of the governments all over. In India, it got the impetus in the recent years in the aftermath of Structural Adjustment and Stabilisation Policy measures. The administration is now gearing up to balance the public concerns of good governance and Private interests, which have come to play a key role due to liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation. The present day reform efforts, hence, are directed towards result orientation, decentralised styles of functioning, creation of competitive environment, promoting greater transparency, striving towards more responsive, participative, citizen-friendly administration.

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Module - 4

Module 4

UNIT 1 □ Open Government & Open Society Changing Concept of Accountability Transparency in Government: Right To Information

Structure

- 1.1 Open Government & Open Society**
- 1.2 Changing Concept of Accountability**
- 1.3 Transparency in Government : Right to Information.**

1.1 □ Open Government & Open Society

Since the 1980s there has been one important shift in the area of public administration. Neo-liberalism laid stress on the crucial role of the "market" as against the state as the key regulator of society & economy. Emphasis was given on de governmentalization and on privatization. But government's role as guardian in the life of common people cannot be undermined & particularly in developing countries the role of the government as the promoter of socio-economic changes & multidimensional development are still to remain supreme.

The movement of liberalization got its initial ion by Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain and by Ronald Reagan in the USA, the impact also expanded to Europe, Asia & Africa. Significant changes were made & several other important measures were adopted by the government of those countries. Even China & India showed their enthusiasm towards LPG i.e. Liberalization, Privatization & Globalization.

Another commendable attempt was made by two american Scholar David Osborne & Ted Gabler in 1992 who argued to re-invent the government to hold the pace with the: cross national competitiveness in the economic system Along with the concept of re-inventing the governmental system almost in the same year the concept of Good Governance was introduced by the World Bank for the third World countries having democratic form of governments.

Against this backup we have to first look at what the new from of governance is after its re-invention. The new government is more adaptable, effective, efficient & all the more it is more responsive and able to produce

high quality goods and services, are reinventing government implies that

- (a) government has to be reinvented by making it more entrepreneurial which means that they should "run like a business"
- (b) New form of govt. should respond effectively to the knowledge based, global economy,
- (c) government should be more competitive & should be able to vie with the private sector based economy,
- (d) government should become more catalytic which would inspire, guide & help communities, private sector & the people,
- (e) Rule driven public organization should be transformed into a mission driven government,
- (f) constant reform & continuous innovative measures to be taken by the government,
- (g) Public organizations must become quality conscious & introduce total quality management,
- (h) government should create more profit-earning organizations & should control wastage,
- (i) Emphasis should be given to people's participation & team-work.

The movement of re-inventing the govt. got an overwhelming welcome throughout the world. There were several changes also brought by the govt. of African & Asian nations during 90s. These are as follows-

1. In policy making the role of the technocrats & the economists also increased.
2. Recruitment & promotion of civil servants became more stringent throughout the world & particularly in Japan & South Korea.
3. Remuneration, prestige etc. of civil servants became almost similar to that of private sector.
4. More emphasis was given to honesty and effectiveness of civil servants
5. Responsibleness of bureaucrats towards the need of the people was given more emphasis.

According to Osborne & Gaebler the following ten principles are of crucial significance for a fundamental transformation in the organization of government.

1. Instead of running all aspects of programmes administrators should

encourage people to participate in managing the governmental programmes.

2. Competition should be injected into the governing process.
3. Alternative to in-house delivery like public-private partnership, contracting out should be introduced.
4. In marking services convenient customers have to give choices, provide other facilities for better service.
5. By using shared savings, funds fees, loan pools, the government should earn money.
6. Review of agency performance and fund allocation should be based on policy outcomes.
7. Rules like itemwise budgeting, year-end fund expiration should be eliminated.
8. With participatory management, labour-management, quality circles & employee development programmes centralized institutions should become decentralized.
9. Govt. should also prevent the needs like fire prevention, preventive maintenance.
10. By subsidised health insurance, incentive for inner city investment the govt. should restructure the market & meet the goal.

These principles enumerated by the scholars Osborne & Gaebles showed a feasible solution for the rigidity of classical systems of government and the suggestion is for better government and for that an entrepreneurial government is preferred over bureaucratic government. At this juncture the field of public administration got some threat due to the governmental changes globally. Some theoretical concerns tended to renovate the discipline :

- (a) Public choice is the economic theory of politics. It is the application of economics to politics, got popularity during 1970s. Dennis Mueller defined it as the economic study of non-market decision-making or simply the application of economics to political science to be applied to public administration.
- (b) To empower grass-root level people and decentralization and democracy-enhancing institutional measures to be introduced at the work places.

- (c) Consumers were given more opportunity to 'choice' which was better than imposition. Suggestions like privatizations, decentralization & people empowerment, encouragement of NGOs in the voluntary sector were also applied in the governmental procedure.
- (d) It is a time when through scrutiny of the weberian theory of bureaucracy was felt necessary as 'rational bureaucracy' was assailed as self aggrandizing & budget maximizing.
- (e) Public private joint effort & networking of govt. NGO. private agencies were supposed to be more active and different forms of performance partnership were to be evolved.
- (f) Reconceptualization of government's role like policy orientation & re-examination along with neo-institutionalism in the form of institutional capacity building is to be encouraged.

The present approach towards reforms tends to stress the need for Privatization marketisation, deregulation, NGO isation, debureaucratisation, systematization aided by computerization, citizen's charters etc. Inter-organizational as well as intra-organizational problems can be sorted out by these devices. Among these devices privatization marks the most spectacular institutional form of state's retreat. It is the transfer of control of ownership from the public to the private sector which is associated with market liberalization & deregulation. The new Palgrave Dictionary of Economics defines it as the transfer of assets or service functions from public to private ownership or control. But Ivan Major, an economist thinks that as privatization is not merely the conversion of state-owned enterprises into limited liability companies or joint stock companies where the shareholders are other state owned enterprises or commercial banks. Consequently, so called "spontaneous" or "wild" privatizations cannot be regarded as real privatization. To him, '.... A clear distinction must be made between privatization and commercialization, or any other way of replacing the old forms of "collective" ownership with new ones. He further denied to regard a company as having been privatized if the majority share of its property is still owned by the state or the state has a dominant voting right among the company's owners. Privatization does not carry the same meaning in every country. In its narrowest sense it means a shift of ownership, a transfer of organizations away from public sector, which can be achieved through various elements like-

- (i) stock-market floatation
- (ii) sale to a third party
- (iii) management or employee buy-out.
- (iv) Leasing/franchising
- (v) Sales of assets.

Every society contains certain sectors in its economy in which state ownership with limited competition is a way of ordering economic activities. Empirical evidences show that the boundaries between competition and sectors with externalities are not permanently fixed with the practice of deregulation and market competition, the boundaries may change.

Very recently a view against state ownership & a preference for private ownership is gaining strength, the basic reason for which is, the sudden transformation of world economy due to the impact of globalization, which is again bringing far reaching changes in the political, economic social & cultural spheres across the countries. The factors like development of telecommunications, technology, computer, liberalisation of trade, deregulation of financial systems have provided enormous impetus to this globalization. It refers to processes by which particular societies are getting incorporated into a single worldwide market society resulting in a formidable global spread of goods, services, technology & processes which is leading to new societal expectations & changing value system.

Globalization believes in a global market which is due to the impact of pressures generated on the countries by global institutions, information technology and other sorts of technological advances. Today's world is becoming more inter connected to each other. Global networks are fast merging in all possible areas of life, creating a global orientation for consumer products. Critics of globalization dub it as the imposition of worldwide consumer monoculture. Today markets are trying to occupy a prominent place in public service delivery. The earlier traditional welfare state is getting transformed into a corporatist state. Therefore it is natural that globalization is weakening local ties and local identities, fostering global allegiances, which is giving birth to a global society along with a global culture.

The new wave of changes is aimed at reinventing the government with significant transformations which evolved during 1980s and are summarized 3 Es-Economy Efficiency & Effectiveness. This enables the government to produce quality goods and services and be responsive to the citizens. In this context it can be pointed out that Osborne & Gaebler two American scholars

envisaged the need for a particular type of government which is not so much concerned with what the government does instead it is concerned with how the govt. does it. Following are the models of governments Conceptualize by Osborne & Gaebler-

- (a) **Catalytic govt.:-**It does not only provide services but also catalyses all other sectors of the society into action in giving a solution of the problem.
- (b) **Competitive government :-**It promotes competition amongst various service providers.
- (c) **Community oriented government :-**It empowers the citizens in delivering the services.
- (d) **Mission-drivien government :-**It is not being driven by rules & regulations but by mission.
- (e) **Enterprising government :-**It mobilizes efforts towards earning money and not only spending.
- (f) **Result-oriented government :-**It measures the performances of the organizations on the basis of their outcomes.
- (g) **Customer driven government :-**It defines clients as customers & offers them choice in service delivery.
- (h) **Decentralized government :-**It resorts to decentralizing the authority with a view to taking decision making closer to the citizen.
- (i) **Market oriented government : -**It relies on market mechanism in providing the services.
- (j) **Auticipatory government :-**It is more proactive in preventing problems before they emerge.

The reinventing government model presented by two American scholars reaffirms the pursuance of the reform agenda of increased efficiency, decentralization, accountability and marketisation. Another important reason for reinventing the government is to cater the needs of the customers, rather than the citizens, it is because now the value of individuals satisfaction is judged more than the value of achieving democratic consensus.

Scholars consider that the emphasis on efficiency is negating the values of social justice and equity. The anti-state ideology can lead to decline in basic social services. In many developing countries public welfare programmes, social security schemes are not being implemented. For instance

in India the National Renewal Fund (NRF) which has been created with a view to provide a safety net for workers affected by the divestment process, has been wound up. Social policies in many countries are not being pursued as a part of broader economic reform policies.

This challenge of social transformation came from two sources : first the process of globalization & its domestic face, economic reforms leading to liberalization and the loosening of the grip of the state on the economy and secondly the emergence of a discourse of civil society defined substantially in terms of the mushrooming of Non-governmental Organizations, aspiring to take on many of the developmental functions Both these posed a challenge to the state. Along with this two particular models of governance posed a fundamental challenge to the state-first the call for rolling back the state and the second the contestation of state projects, practices arguing for a radical participatory democratic polities.

By diminishing the role of the state, the contemporary scenario does not call for less government but a better & open government enable to show results in the competitive world, with a broader objective of public service orientation. There is need to evolve the concept of valuing citizenship and public service above entrepreneurship and ensuring accountability not just to market but to constitutional law, community, and citizens' interest. There is need to build responsive organization, working towards enhancing the opportunities for the well being of not only the customers but of all citizens, which in turn will generate the success of open society.

1.2 □ Changing Concept of Accountability

Accountability is defined as the state of being accountable, liable or answerable. Accountability is responsibility to some higher level of authority. Responsibility towards the higher authority can be showed by a person or group of persons. It means to be answerable to one's senior when one renders a report of the decisions & the quantity & quality of action in the course of carrying out responsibilities.

Scholars explain the meaning of accountability in various ways. L.D. white defines accountability as the- 'sum total of the constitution, statutory administrative and judicial rules and precedents and the established practices by means of which public officials may be held accountable for their official action'. But now-a-days this observation cannot be enforced effectively because

policies are becoming increasingly complex & technical, beyond the comprehension of most men. Again many policies may have been begun by one government but their results are seen later : quite often when a government is voted out of power by the members of the legislature, it is said that the government is accountable.

The word 'accountable' was first used in English in 1583 in a financial context. The concept is comprehensive one and covers all the activities undertaken by the government! The shorter oxford English Dictionary defines 'accountable' as 'liable to be called to account, responsible'. Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language gives a similar definition as-liable to be called on to render an account : This explanation is quite significant in the sense that it distinguishes accountability from control.

Over the years the word 'accountable' has come to be used more loosely and it subsumes all that which is covered by 'control; with the changing nature of governmental practice especially in what has been going in the developed west, there have been increasing attacks from neo-liberal economists, interest group theorists and rational choice scholars who have provided the intellectual ammunition for respective politicians determined to reduce the size and scope of public sector. Approaches related to accountability have changed its shape in terms of changed relationship between state and market & citizenship. Therefore changes in the ideological climate are likely to have impact on the concept of accountability.

Accountability is intrinsic to an organization; concepts like hierarchy, span of control, unity of command, supervision etc. are all mechanisms which promote as well as enforce accountability. It serves some purposes-it ensures the optimum use of the available resources and at the same time realises the organizational objectives. Besides, misuse of resources coming from the fund-providing agencies is prevented by the use of the mechanism of accountability. The constitutional and political system of the country places each public functionary within a framework of control and accountability and to this end a number of tools and mechanisms have been designed and put into operation.

A correct perspective of accountability may be gained with much vivid focus when a public functionary (in our case that is the executive) so attaches himself as to look at his official work strictly from the view point of an ordinary citizen. This calls for the maintenance of a system of accountability of the executive. The executive's responsibility to the legislature, legislative

surveillance, judicial review, audit control etc. are among the elements of a system of accountability which are reinforced by the mass media, political parties, interest groups, political process, watchdog organizations: Etc.

The accountability concerns of New Public Management is more centered on results or outputs which is quite different from prospective. It has become more managerial in nature than political. It envisages the strategic role of public managers and lacks clarity in defining the roles of politicians and bureaucrats; since citizens do not resort to direct political accountability, this may lead to the emergence of a passive, remote, and indirect political leadership role without having much control over bureaucracy. The civil servants working in a ministry are accountable to the minister. As the minister is responsible to the legislature for actions of civil servants, the latter must be held accountable to him.

Accountability can be enforced with adequate control and supervision over the actions of the lower levels and it can be made more explicit by a complex of organizational and procedural devices. Span of control, unity of command, inspection, supervision etc. are other well-known accountability facilitating devices.

The mechanism designed to enforce accountability are the products of an era when public administration was small in size & was engaged in simple tasks. Today the administrative structure has grown too big and complex and also it is subject to multiple pressures. It is because the conventional tools of accountability enforcement are now proving itself weak & ineffective. The power of the present-day executive has enormously expanded, which calls for an alert judiciary, vigilant parliament, watchful press & other such apparatus. The parliament must insist on getting sufficient information about the functions & activities of each department. At present it gets only an annual report which is not enough to make accountability feasible.

The executive has grown too big to be amenable to a meaningful & sustained system of accountability; it needs to be controlled in respect of its size and staffing. New paths in search for better accountability of public administration should be explored, which requires an innovative culture & certain commitment newer approaches & strategies. Accountability must become sensitive to reward and punishment & must not remain onesided. To implement this it is important to formulate and activate an integrated view of accountability. Parliament must remain fully aware of its role & responsibilities, the ministers must set a programmatic vision before itself &

implement it by appropriate policies, the ministers must provide policies in their area of action, & the minister must review the policies & programmes & take corrective measures to ensure meeting of targets.

The recent trend of managerialism & marketisation may sometimes help move towards an increased volume & efficiency of public goods, but sometimes it can have very serious effects unless it remains within the constitutional political & legal framework. Care must be taken. Care must be taken, because it is the govt. only which can intervene towards the affairs of the state, failure of which will reduce political accountability. One scholar Rhodes points out that in the UK accountability gap has become wider with the coming of agencies because the government introduced no arrangement to preserve the constitutional convention of ministerial responsibility. He says- "British government has undergone a significant decrease in accountability. Another scholar ifcak argues that economic & managerial revolution has not come without its cost. "Reflecting international trends & budgetary imperatives, values associated with economy, efficiency & managerialism and competition now occupy a dominant position in Victorian public administration¹. The net result has been to weaken administrative accountability in Britain not only because many scrutiniers have resigned, been dismissed or been curbed but also because one important facet of intra-governmental dialogue has, now been, constrained. Both good governance and deliberative democracy suffer as result.

Injecting competition into service delivery to bring about change through market based incentives is also a strategy which undermines the relevance of co-operation & replaces institutional stability with market instability, which is not a desirable outcome in the already crisis-ridden economies of Asia, Africa and Latin American countries.

Therefore it can be said that the positive concepts of accountability can fruit only when it would be applied with commitment & conviction. It must never lose a sense of proportion when put in action. It would be fatal for administration if the public functionaries merely move in circles & become stagnant in the name of departmental accountability.

1.3 □ Transparency in Government : Right to Information

Transparency is the autonomy of secrecy which is the traditional hallmark of public administration. The oxford English Dictionary defines

'transparent as 'frank, open candid, ingenuous'. Therefore, while secrecy is essential in certain sectors of sovereignty. the general policy should be to place public administration in a glass palace & let its functioning be known to the larger society. Till for the parliament used to curtail transparency by the colonial official secrets Act of 1923 which was further made stiffer in 1967.

But now-a-days the situation is different, now the official secrets Act has been replaced by a new Right to information Act. Although a mere act is not enough, the right to get informed should be made a fundamental right. But there are several fields like defence, national security, which should get proper protection.

Countries like Canada, Malaysia, Great Briiain have already introduced this right to their citizens. Several other democratic countries have guaranteed such right to its citizens through Right to Information Acts. Indian government is also trying to put the right in the constitution to make it a fundamental one.

More & more information about the activiies of public authorities must be made available to the people through electron media and other such global networks. Governer mental information must be provided to the public on payment of a prescribed fee. For a society information is power and it has not been uncommon on the part of the government to restrict & suppress information, control & even to some extent manipulate it. But world has now accepted the notion of open governmen! and open society. Noick's minimal state further strengthens" the need of transparency which reinforces the right to information. The concept of participatory democracy makes it mandatory for the state to be transparent in all possible ways.

In India there is no direct constitutional or legal provision expressly conferring right to information. But the need for such a right appears to grow directly from our constitution. The preamble to the constitution describes India as sovereign democratic republic & as the constitution has been an instrument for securing the country's governance as a democratic republic, our rights under the constitution, have ta reveal an democratic orientation which can facilitate and effectuate open society in true sense of term.

C.B. Macpherson (1911-87) champions participatory democracy arguing for political administrators and managers to be more accountable to the people. By the people's participation in the process of formulating decisions, public discussion & public awareness is generated which is the prerequisite of ensuring accountability of the government to their electors. The electors must

equip themselves with power of knowledge. 'A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or tragedy or perhaps both'.

The ever expanding role of government and its forays into areas of public welfare & economic activities & its regulatory control over the activities of the life of the citizens has left the government in control of the information relevant to governance. The source of much of the information upon which the community's political opinion is formed is governmental & the only means of acquiring this information is through the freedom of access to such material.

Right to speech & expression as enumerated in the Indian constitution strengthens the cause for the right to information. Recognition of the right to information as an intrinsic part of the right to speech & expression first found mention in the judgment of justice Mathew in the case of U.P. Vs. Raj Narain. He observed that 'In a govt. of responsibility like ours, where all agents of the public must be responsible for their conduct there can be but few secrets. The people of this country have a right to know every public act, everything that is done in a public way by their public functionaries. They are entitled to know the particulars of every public transaction done in all its bearing. The right to know, which is derived from the concept of freedom of speech, though not absolute is a factor which should make one wary when secrecy is claimed for transactions which can at any rate have no repercussion on public security. To cover with the veil of secrecy the common routine business is not in the interest of the public.

The Indian constitution guarantees right to freedom of speech & expression under article 19(a), which also states that freedom of the press is of the essence for social & political intercourse. Without a free press there can be no dissemination of ideas & facts and without such dissemination there can be no meaningful political discussion. Therefore the constitutional protection to freedom of the press is thus based on its status as the channel for free flow of information & that's why democratic constitutions all over the world have tried to safeguard the freedom of press as an effective instrument to protect right to freedom of speech & expression.

The right to information is thus now well established as a fundamental right under the constitution. The right to information Bill, 1997 drafted at the workshop held in Hyderabad at the National Institute of Rural Development by some of the most eminent jurists & public persons in the country recited

under its preamble, that the right to information is a fundamental right being a part article 19(1) (a) of the constitution.

Like the other fundamental right the right to information is also subjected to some restrictions which can be imposed only in the interest of sovereignty & integrity of India security of the state, public order, friendly relations with other states, morality, defamation or an incitement to an offence. But any restriction which is unsustainable as per Article] 19(2) would be constitutionally impermissible.

With the advent of information age and the ever-burgeoning reach of regulatory laws,! almost every aspect of a citizen's life is documented & the state is privy to every facet of citizen's personality profile. But if easy access to these information is allowed then there will be upheavals. Similarly access to information which is related with viable functioning of commercial enterprises, decency, morality, security of state, foreign affairs cannot be allowed. Therefore, it can be said, that a cautious and balanced approach is required because unlimited freedom to get information can unleash such forces & currents whose implications have yet not been visualied.

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NOTES

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মানুষের জ্ঞান ও ভাবকে বইয়ের মধ্যে সঞ্চিত করিবার যে একটা প্রচুর সুবিধা আছে, সে কথা কেহই অস্বীকার করিতে পারে না। কিন্তু সেই সুবিধার দ্বারা মনের স্বাভাবিক শক্তিকে একেবারে আচ্ছন্ন করিয়া ফেলিলে বুদ্ধিকে বাবু করিয়া তোলা হয়।

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—সুভাষচন্দ্র বসু

Any system of education which ignores Indian conditions, requirements, history and sociology is too unscientific to commend itself to any rational support.

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