

PREFACE

In a bid to standardize higher education in the country, the University Grants Commission (UGC) has introduced Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) based on five types of courses *viz. core, discipline specific, generic elective, ability and skill enhancement* for graduate students of all programmes at Honours level. This brings in the semester pattern, which finds efficacy in sync with credit system, credit transfer, comprehensive continuous assessments and a graded pattern of evaluation. The objective is to offer learners ample flexibility to choose from a wide gamut of courses, as also to provide them lateral mobility between various educational institutions in the country where they can carry their acquired credits. I am happy to note that the University has been recently accredited by National Assessment and Accreditation Council of India (NAAC) with grade "A".

UGC (Open and Distance Learning Programmes and Online Programmes) Regulations, 2020 have mandated compliance with CBCS for UG programmes for all the HEIs in this mode. Welcoming this paradigm shift in higher education, Netaji Subhas Open University (NSOU) has resolved to adopt CBCS from the academic session 2021-22 at the Under Graduate Degree Programme level. The present syllabus, framed in the spirit of syllabi recommended by UGC, lays due stress on all aspects envisaged in the curricular framework of the apex body on higher education. It will be imparted to learners over the six semesters of the Programme.

Self Learning Materials (SLMs) are the mainstay of Student Support Services (SSS) of an Open University. From a logistic point of view, NSOU has embarked upon CBCS presently with SLMs in English / Bengali. Eventually, the English version SLMs will be translated into Bengali too, for the benefit of learners. As always, all of our teaching faculties contributed in this process. In addition to this we have also requisitioned the services of best academics in each domain in preparation of the new SLMs. I am sure they will be of commendable academic support. We look forward to proactive feedback from all stakeholders who will participate in the teaching-learning based on these study materials. It has been a very challenging task well executed, and I congratulate all concerned in the preparation of these SLMs.

I wish the venture a grand success.

Indrajit Lahiri

Authorised Vice-Chancellor
Netaji Subhas Open University (NSOU)

Netaji Subhas Open University
Under Graduate Degree Programme
Subject : Honours in Public Administration (HPA)
Course: Theories of Public Administration
Course Code : 5CC-PA-02

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**Theories of Public Administration
Course Code : 5CC-PA-02**

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Module I
Classical Theory

Unit-1 □ Classical Theory : Basic Tenets

Structure

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1.1 Objectives

After studying this unit, the learners will be able to :

- Come out with an exposition of classical theory organization by assimilating the commonalities among various scholars.
- Highlight the major principles of Classical 'Organization Theory';
- Give a brief exposition of the works of Fayol, Gullick and Urwick

1.2 Introduction

The Classical Theory of Organization believes that for smooth functioning of organization a general theory can be devised, which will have universal applicability, regardless of the situation or context. It defines organization as a universal structural construct, susceptible to some basic principles of organization. The protagonists of this approach were of the opinion that organizations across societies have certain structural commonalities, which are amenable to some common principles of organization. Hence, the control over these common principles of organization would provide a greater command over the organization.

If we look at the works of the distinguished scholars belonging to this school, we will find that there had been a relentless effort on their part to encapsulate organization with list of organizational principles with a view to augment industrial productivity. The Classical Management Theory was created in the mid-nineteenth century in response to issues with factory systems that arose during the industrial revolution. There was a need to create a management system that would allow industries to perform at their best. As a result, it was widely acknowledged that employees' primary requirements are economic and social, with social needs and job happiness receiving minimal attention. Planning is one of the dimensions of the classical theory of management, and it entails formulating goals and deciding on a path of action. As a result, it is necessary for the managers to be able to make sound decisions about the company's operations and resources. There are several dimensions to the planning part of management. The first is strategic planning, which entails a competitive examination of the organization's threats, opportunities, strengths, and weaknesses. Then there is tactical planning, which is creating plans for putting the strategic plans into action. Finally, there is operational planning, which is concerned with short-term planning in order to support strategic and tactical objectives. The other function is organizing, which entails management involvement in the creation of an organisational structure as well as the allocation of human resources in order to promote the achievement of stated goals. It is through it that the organization's functions are coordinated.

A group of writers in the first part of the twentieth century pioneered a broader approach to organisation, focusing primarily on formal organizational structure and the basic management process. This set of knowledge has been dubbed 'administrative management theory' by March and Simon. Mechanical theory, Classical theory and Structural theory are all terms for the same thing. Henri Fayol, Luther Gulick, L.F. Urwick, J.D. Mooney, A.C. Reiley, M.P. Follet and Shelton are among the most prominent proponents of this theory. These authors claim that administration is administration, regardless of the type of work or context in which it is carried out. The articulation of specific universal organizational principles is the most significant concern of this theory.

1.3 Classical Theory and its Proponents

The classical thinkers argued for hierarchy believing that it would increase production and give managers more control over their employees. There are two key assumptions that underpin these ideas. The first is it is conceivable and desirable to establish a closed organisation with internal operators that are mostly unaffected by external factors. And Secondly, human beings may be trained and led to do a good job if they are financially compensated. The focus and locus of the field of Public Administration were stressed in classical theories. The competence in the form of

administrative principles was the emphasis of the field. The field's locus could be found everywhere. The principles of administration are principles because these can be successfully implemented in any administrative situation, regardless of culture, traditions, environment or mission. The organisation was characterized by classical thinkers in terms of how work was divided and how task specialization could be accomplished. The foundation of an organisation was division of work and the very reason of its creation. In the study of formal organisations as units of analysis classical theories played a key role.

Hierarchy, foundation of departmental structure, unity of command, span of control, delegation and decentralization and other principles are found in the classical approach. Each of these concepts is designed to create connections between distinct functions at various levels of an organisation. Improvement of organisation's efficiency is goal of each principle. Human beings must be organized in order to achieve this goal. The notion of 'hierarchy' is used in this procedure to organize human beings into various levels and to determine who should give instructions and who should obey them. These principles dictate how labor is distributed based on the job one has and level of skill one possesses. People with higher degree of specialization have higher positions whereas those with a lower degree of specialization hold lower positions.

The classical approach emphasizes that a group's effectiveness is determined by the type of structure in which they operate. They have a basic structure that any collaborative endeavor should have. They believe that the structure is capable of decreasing human variability and fitting individuals into a pattern where they must answer to the organisation's wants and demands. It also believes that a human being will alter and adapt to the organisation's demands and expectations. The classical approach's claims to theoretical rank are based on the belief that the enunciated principles are universally valid. In Mooney's opinion principles of industrial organisation is present in all spheres and it would be a mistake to infer those principles of organisation are borrowed from older forms. He emphasizes on the idea that universal principles if in actual is a principle then it needs no borrowing. It just has a way of applying itself and this is always true, regardless of what we label it. On the other hand, formulation of classical methods principle are predicated on the assumption that the underlying processes in the organizational structure and its operation are universal. It is claimed that there is certain area in an organisation that can be removed from its environment and developed in such a way that it can be applied universally. The organizational concept was created via experience in military and industrial organisations. These concepts were advocated by those with extensive expertise in a range of operations. They came up with them after a lot of experience working with human groups. In other words, the principle has emerged through rigorous scientific observations rather than philosophical exercises or figments of the imagination. As a result, the

classical approach is predicated on the assumption that these ideas are scientifically accurate.

Gulick and Urwick developed the classical theory of organisation inspired by earlier management thinkers such as F.W. Taylor and Henry Fayol on the basis of their belief that a science of administration can be developed if certain principles are developed based on the practical experience of administrators. However, one noticeable trait of these two author's beliefs is that they overemphasize the structure and process of organisation while placing little emphasis on the individual beings who work in them. Purpose, Process, Person and Place are the four pillars of departmental organisation, as described by Gulick.

Fayol was one amongst all who worked on general theory of management. He claimed that there was a single 'administrative science' that could be applied to government, religion and other institutions and not just confined to business. According to Fayol, understanding of administration rather than technical expertise is required at higher levels of an organisation.

Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick collectively published 'Papers on the Science of Administration'. This seminal study by these two philosophers elevated the status of Public Administration. These papers attempted to comprehend the fundamental reason behind human beings' need for organizing. Luther Gulick agree that division of labor was the most important factor in the formation of an organisation. In his opinion every large scale or any big enterprise needs a mass workforce of men to carry it ahead among which work can be divided. "Organising" has to do with framework of coordination imposed upon enterprise work-division units. As a result, this makes it difficult for an activity to structure without addressing how work would be spilt. Gulick argued that work division is the cornerstone of organisation as well as the purpose of organisation. Hence, he envisaged for split in task and claims that division of labor was the catalyst for emergence of organisation. In opposition to Gulick argument, James D. Mooney argued that underlying basis of any human organisation was co-ordination. Even when more than two persons are not involved, principles that govern an organisation are present in concerted human activity.

1.4 Principles and Pillars of Classical Theory

As we know Fayol was one of earliest to have worked on general theory therefore let us first look into Fayol's way of dividing activities followed by Gulick, Urwick, Mooney and Reiley and Follet.

In six groups Fayol divided activities in an organisation. These are; technical activities, financial activities, commercial activities, accounting activities, managerial or administrative activities and security activities. The five

elements in administration according to Fayol are Planning, organizing, co-ordination, control and command. Fayol viewed administration from the perspective of a manager, focusing his investigation on top management duties. His thesis is widely regarded as the first comprehensive management theory. Fayol also listed out the attributes managers should have which are physical, moral, mental, general education, experience and special knowledge. Fayol's book has outlined principles of an organisation which are- Division of work, discipline, authority and responsibility, unity of command, scalar chain, unity of direction, subordination of individual interest to general interest, remuneration, centralization, equity, order, initiative, stability of tenure, *Esprit de Corps*. (Facility of mutual commitment and pride)

These principles meant to raise management to level of science. While Taylor was concerned with shop level worker Fayol was concerned with manager's task and management as a whole. Fayol was also a forerunner in advocating for structured administration training. He claims that training is a never-ending process that begins with an organisation's personnel. Every superior officer in an organisation, he believes is a teacher to his direct subordinates. Fayol talks about 'gangplank'. In a hierarchical organisation, it simply refers to the need for 'level jumping'. Fayol is aware of the hazards of obedience to hierarchy and formalism, despite his emphasis on formal structure. With the help of the following diagram, he demonstrates the problem: If 'F' follows the principles of good communication channel, he must deliver his message or file to 'P' via 'E', 'D' and so on, covering nine levels. It is feasible, however for 'F' to use 'gangplank' to avoid travelling via 'A' and all other intermediary layers. Only when the immediate superiors (in the case of a disagreement between 'F' and 'P' they must turn the subject over to their superior) can resort to 'gangplank'. However, it needs to be mentioned that while suggesting gangplank Fayol was cautious that it will be less relevant to private organisation.

Fayol's ideas were further carried forward by writers, such as Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick. In the phrase 'POSDCORB', Luther Gulick summed up the ideas of organisation. He used this term to indicate those universal function that an administrator must fulfill. His renowned POSDCORB acronym is made up of the first letters of seven administrative tasks:

Planning: The creation of a general overview of the activities to be carried out and the procedures to be used in order to achieve the enterprise's goal.

Organising- The process of establishing a formal authority structure on which work subdivisions are built and coordinates in order to achieve a specific goal.

Staffing- The full personnel function of hiring and training employees, as well as ensuring safe working conditions.

Directing- Making judgements and enacting them in specific and broad commands and instructions is the continual task of directing the enterprise.

Coordination: The crucial task of connecting the many aspects of the project.

Reporting: The task of informing supervisors about the status of work via reports and records.

Budgeting entails the planning, accounting and control of a company's finances.

Apart from this, Luther Gulick have advocated several principles of organisations which are listed below:

- Division of work
- Hierarchy based coordination
- Basis of departmental organisation
- Coordination through committees
- Decentralization
- Staff and line
- Unity of command
- Delegation
- Deliberate coordination
- Span of control

Gulick emphasizes division of labor as one of the 10 principles of administration outlined. Vast-scale organisation, he claims necessitate a large number of men to complete their various jobs. When a group of guys works together, the best results are attained when the task is divided among them. As a result, the theory of organisation is concerned with the upgradation of coordination among various units of an organisation as a result of the division of labor concept. Hence Gulick is of the opinion that in the process of civilization mankind lifts through division of work and integration.

Followed by Gulick next, we have Lyndall Urwick who has also listed out eight principles of administration.

- Principle of objectives which refers to clear goal that an organisation should have.
- Principle of correspondence where authority and responsibility is equivalent.
- Principle of responsibility where superior is accountable for work of subordinates.
- The scalar principle which advocates for a pyramidal structure of an organisation
- Span of control principle
- Specialization principle- limiting one's work to single function.
- Principle of coordination
- The principle of definition as there must be crystal clear definition of every duty.

Mooney and Reiley have also put forward their four principles of organisation.

These are-

- The Co-ordinative principle.

- The Scalar principle
- The Functional principle of organizing tasks into departments.
- The Staff/Line principle

Here one also should mention about Mary Parker Follet who attached importance to lateral co-ordination authority acceptance, assimilation of individuals and change in administration.

The classical organization theory is based on four pillars of organization viz. division of labour, the scalar and functional processes, structure and span of control. Hence, the major principles of the classical organization theory may be described as follows:

Division of Labour – The organisation must split tasks in order to achieve clear specialisation and boost individual worker performance. Without a doubt, the division of labour is the most important of the four aspects. The other elements flow as corollaries from it. Scalar and functional growth, for example, necessitates function specialization and departmentalization. The path in which specialisation of operations travels in the development of a firm is inherently based on the structure of the organisation. Finally, breadth of control issues arises as a result of a manager's responsibility for a large number of specialised functions.

Scalar and Functional Processes – A scalar chain is a succession of superior-subordinate relationships in an organisation that runs from top to bottom. It makes delegation of power or command, communication or feedback, as well as corrective action or decision, much easier. The scalar and functional processes deal with the organization's vertical and horizontal growth, respectively. The scalar process entails the expansion of the chain of command, delegation of authority and responsibility, command unity, and reporting obligations. The functional process includes the segmentation of the organisation into specialised components and the regrouping of the parts into compatible units. In a formal organisation, this process focuses on the horizontal evolution of the line and employees.

Structure – The logical relationship of functions in an organisation is known as structure. Furthermore, these functions are organised for efficient goal achievement. The logical relationships of functions in an organization's structure are structured to efficiently implement the company's objectives. System and pattern are achieved through structure. The line and the staff are the two basic structures used in traditional organisational theory. Committee and liaison duties, on the other hand, easily fit within the umbrella of structural considerations. Structure, once again, serves as a conduit for establishing logical and consistent linkages among the many functions that make up the organisation.

Span of Control – This is the maximum number of subordinates a manager can supervise efficiently. The concept of span of control refers to how many subordinates a manager can effectively supervise. Regardless of how it is interpreted, breadth of control is important for the evolution of the organization's

shape as it grows. A flat structure is produced by a wide span, while a towering structure is produced by a short span. Furthermore, the span notion draws attention to the organization's complexity of human and functional interrelationships.

1.5 Critical Assessment

Despite its relevance to organisational theory, the Classical Theory of Organisation has been criticised for focusing too much on institutional form and ignoring the human aspects of the organization. The classical theory is widely seen as out-of-date in today's environment. The most basic point made by Simon is that Gulick and Urwick's administration principles are actually a collection of contradictory proverbs that are only legitimate as universal statements about organizations and their operations. He also claimed that there would be equally acceptable contradicting principle for almost every concept. He also criticized unit of command, span of control, hierarchy of authority, four bases of departmental organization and specialization. According to Simon, all modern companies are characterized by greater specialization and workers frequently take orders from specialists as well as supervisory personnel, either directly or indirectly. Organizations too are vulnerable to underlying internal problems that traditional philosophers eventually overlook. The internal consistency of classifying companies according to the four methods namely, purpose, process, clientele and location was pointed out by Simon. Because they are mutually competing bases with the fourth's benefits. Simon also claimed that defining exactly these four things signify is quite difficult. The classical theory's principles aren't really scientific, and they haven't stood the test of time. They were based on an individual's empirical observations and logical inferences rather than actual scientific inquiry and proof.

True, classical organization theorists were fixated on structure and institutions, and they overlooked the human element of organization at their peril. It considers an organization to be a closed system, disconnected from and unaffected by its surroundings. It is more preoccupied with what should be, which has steered it away from studying real organizational behavior. This theory is not well suited to organizations where changes occur on a regular basis, and the majority of the theory's features are not backed up by empirical evidence.

Also, the notion that all organization can be managed by the same set of rules and principles does not hold good. That said, the value of Classical Organization Theory cannot be overstated. It is, in fact, at the very heart of modern organizational philosophy.

1.6 Conclusion

The quest by classical theorists to discover universal principles of organization is a significant contribution. Organizational behaviour became more predictable and stable as administrative procedures were better coordinated and roles were clearly defined. Despite the fact that classical theory has been attacked as antiquated and has passed into history, it remains the most popular school of thought and the most common type of management found in today's company structures, even if it does not reflect universal application and appeal.

1.7 Summary

In this unit, we have-

- Understood Classical Organisational Theory and how its idea evolved with various perspective of its proponents.
- Learned that classical approach places prime importance on organisation, division of labor, hierarchy, supervision and lot of other principles for effective functioning of an organisation

Have a broad overview of the contributions of the classical thinkers such as Fayol, Gullick and Urwick, and also examined the criticism of their works.

1.8 Glossary

• Classical Theory: This theory projects Public Administration as a science. According to this theory organisations must be based on universally accepted principles.

• Division of Labor: Refers to division of tasks assigned to individuals or group of individuals of a group.

• Span of Control: The number of subordinates that a manager can properly control.

• Scalar and Functional Processes: The scalar and functional deals with growth of organisation vertically and horizontally respectively.

1.9 Model questions

Long Questions :

- Discuss the principles of the Classical approach to Public Administration
- Who were the main proponents of the classical theory? Discuss their contributions.
- What was the contribution of Fayol in formulation of classical theory? Briefly discuss his principles of organization.
- Fayol listed out several activities of an Organization. Identity the activities

Short Questions :

- What do you understand by Gangplank? Illustrate with an example.
- Describe Gulick's principle of POSDCORB.
- Why does Gulick emphasize more on division of labor.
- What are the four major pillars of Classical Organizational Theory?
- What are Harbat Simon the grounds of criticism of Gulick's and Urwick's principles?

1.10 References

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Unit-2 ☐ Henry Fayol

Structure

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- 2.3 Henry Fayol and his Management Theory
- 2.4 Henry Fayol's 14 Principles of Management
- 2.5 Influence of Henry Fayol's Theory
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2.1 Learning Objectives

This unit aims to :

- Familiarize learners with Henry Fayol's approach towards administration and his analysis that provides a means for viewing the managerial process and guides the principle for implementing the process.
- Bring focus on sets of principles that Fayol have developed with regard to organisations which he admits might not be universal in character.
- Gives critical evaluation of Fayol's theory.

2.2 Introduction

Henry Fayol is widely regarded as the founding father of contemporary management. Fayol was born into a French bourgeois family and ascended through the ranks of a mining company to become the managing director. Fayol established a systematic philosophy of organisation based on five key cannons of administration: planning, organizing, command, coordination, and control, based on his personal experience as an engineer cum manager. Fayol had also produced various papers and books on mining, engineering, and organisation, based on his personal experience as a professional engineer. *General Principles of Administration*, *General and Industrial Management (1916)*, and *The Administrative Theory of the State (1923)*, among them, were notable.

2.3 Henry Fayol and his Management theory

Fayol has popularized the concept of administration. In contrast to the typical image of administration in the English-speaking world, especially the way it was segregated from management, Fayol emphasized the ubiquity of administration in all human action. Administration, in his opinion, is a shared activity that applies to all human endeavors, whether they are domestic, commercial, or government-related. Good management is required for any company that wishes to be effective and achieve its objectives. Without someone in a position of leadership, there would be chaos in the organisation, with no structure and little, if any, concentration. Employees in the company would be absolutely bewildered as to which obligations they should take on. Employees will struggle to have a sense of direction and strive toward common aims and objectives if the organization's goals and objectives are not clearly stated by someone in a position of authority.

Fayol attempted to create a management theory that could be utilized as a foundation for formal management education and training in his writing. Fayol began by categorizing all organisational activities into six categories:

- a. Technical: engineering, production, manufacture, adaptation.
- b. Commercial: buying, selling, exchange.
- c. Financial: the search for optimum use of capital.
- d. Security: protection of assets and personnel.
- e. Accounting: stocktaking, balance sheets, costs, statistics.
- f. Managerial: planning, organizing, commanding, coordinating, controlling.

Although each of the first five functions is well understood in and of itself, none of them considers: developing a broad plan for where the business is going and how it will operate, organizing people, coordinating all of the organization's efforts and activities, and monitoring to ensure that what is planned is actually carried out. As a result, Fayol's sixth function serves as a capstone to the prior five.

Fayol argued that to manage is to:

Plan: A good plan of action unifies the organization by focusing on the nature, priorities, and state of the business, as well as longer-term industry and economic projections, key thinkers' intuitions, and strategic sector evaluations from specialist staff groups. In order to plan well, managers must be talented in the art of dealing with people, have a lot of energy and moral fortitude, have some tenure, be aware about the organization's specialized requirements, have general business experience, and the capacity to produce creative ideas.

Organize: Lines of duty and authority are just as important as communication flow and resource allocation when it comes to organizing. According to Fayol, Managers have the following essential; organizational responsibilities:

- Ensure that the plan is well-prepared and implemented, and that human and material structures are in line with the goals.
- general operating policies and resources
- harmonize activities and coordinate efforts, develop clear, definite, and exact decisions
- ensure effective personnel selection
- clearly identify responsibilities
- ensure effective personnel selection
- clearly identify responsibilities
- offer fair and suitable recompense for services rendered, make use of sanctions in cases of fault and error
- maintain discipline
- ensure that individual interests are subordinated to the general interest
- pay special attention to the authority of command
- supervise both material and human order
- have everything under control
- fight against an excess of regulations, red tape and paperwork.

Coordinate: Coordination include defining the optimal scheduling and sequencing of activities, allocating suitable resource proportions, time frames, and priorities, and adapting means to ends.

Command: Managers who have command should:

- gain a thorough knowledge of their personnel
- be well versed in the agreements between the business and its employees
- set a good example
- Conduct periodic audits of the organisation
- bring together senior assistants to ensure unity of direction and focus of efforts
- not become engrossed in detail
- aim at making energy, initiative, loyalty and unity prevail amongst staff.
- eliminate the incompetent.

Here Fayol takes pains to point out that any decision to separate with an employee should be the result of careful thought, that the employee should have had fairly assigned work for which (s)he was trained, that (s)he was fairly and objectively appraised and honest feedback was provided, that (s)he had been given every opportunity for additional training, offered guidance and that, where possible, (s)he was re-assigned to alternative work. Fayol also mentions procedures involving written warnings and protection against bias and 'inequities'.

Control: Controlling means:

- checking that everything occurs according to the plan adopted,
- the principles established and the instructions issued
- taking appropriate corrective action
- periodically checking for weaknesses, errors and deviations from the plan
- checking that the plan is kept up to date (it is not cast in stone but adapts to changing developments).

2.4 Henry Fayol's 14 Principles of Management

Henry Fayol, commonly regarded as the 'Father of Modern Management Theory' who revolutionized management theory. He presented a broad theory that can be utilized at all levels of management and in every department. The Fayol hypothesis is used by managers to plan and regulate an organization's internal activities. He focused on increasing managerial effectiveness. The fourteen management concepts devised by Henri Fayol are outlined below.

1. Division of Work

Henri thought that dividing duties among workers in the workplace would improve product quality. Similarly, he discovered that work division increases worker productivity, efficiency, accuracy, and speed of employees. They'll need specialised knowledge and skills for this. Subdivision simplifies and increases the efficiency of each task. Individuals gain speed and accuracy in their performance by repeating a tiny portion of their tasks. Fayol emphasized that any organisation, large or small, should place its personnel based on their specific talents and expertise.

2. Authority and Responsibility

The right of a superior to give commands to subordinates, make decisions on specific matters, use organisational resources, and lead and govern subordinate behaviour is referred to as authority. According to Fayol the right to make orders and the capacity to obtain obedience is also authority. Official power and personal authority were the two sorts of authority he distinguished. Personal authority is obtained via one's talent, knowledge, experience and intellect whereas official power is legally granted to a person. According to Fayol, authority must be proportional to responsibility, hence initiatives must be taken to encourage people to take responsibility. This can be accomplished by entrusting responsibilities to all people in an organisation who exert authority at various levels. These are the two most crucial qualities of leadership. The authority of management allows them to function more efficiently, and their responsibility holds them accountable for the work done under their supervision or direction.

3. Discipline

Without discipline, nothing can be accomplished. It is the most crucial part of any project or management strategy. Good performance and proper interrelationships make management work easier and more comprehensive. Employees' good behaviour also contributes to their professional development and advancement. Discipline, according to Fayol is a requirement for proper authority exercise. Discipline has two aspects. To begin, only follow commands when the management is competent. Second, imposing discipline on subordinates from above would make it one-sided affair.

4. Unity of Command

This indicates that an employee should report to and follow only one manager. A conflict of interest emerges when an employee is expected to report to multiple superiors, which can lead to misunderstandings. Taylor's notion of functional authority opposes Fayol's principles of unity of command. Fayol was opposed to a dual command system because he believed it would lead to uncertainty in authority channels and ambiguity in responsibility patterns.

5. Unity of Direction

Everyone engaging in the same activity should have the same goal in mind. This means that everyone in a company should be working toward the same goal and be motivated in the same way, making work easier and reaching the stated goal faster. For a set of activities with the same goals, Fayol highlighted that there should be a single superior and a uniform plan of action. He recognized that a company with two CEOs will not last long. As a result, the unity of direction concept highlights the importance of common goals under single leader.

6. Subordination of Individual Interest

Management, according to Fayol, must ensure that the organization's goals take precedence over individual's interests. Individuals should keep aside their own ambitions and prioritize that of the organization. This suggests that a company should collaborate for the greater benefit rather than for personal advantage. To be obedient to the goals of an organization. This refers to the complete chain of command within a firm.

7. Remuneration

This is critical for motivating people in a business. Money and non-monetary compensation are the two types of remuneration. It should, however, be in accordance with a person's efforts. The wage practices in an organisation, according to Fayol's conceptualization, should be rational and provide maximum pleasure to both the employer and the employees. This notion is essentially compatible with one of Taylor's scientific management's key assumptions that employee motivation is primarily based on monetary incentives supplied by management.

8. Centralization

If senior management retains the majority of decision-making authority, centralization is said to exist. According to Fayol, the degree of centralization or decentralization in an organisation is determined by the organisation's stage of development as well as the abilities and qualities of its employees. Fayol believes that centralization cannot be imposed indiscriminately. It was due to the natural order of things which included intellect and wisdom. According to Fayol, a company should strive for a balance of perfect centralization and decentralization. In any organisation, the management or any authority in charge of the decision-making process should be unbiased. This, however, is depending on the size of the organisation. The significance of maintaining a balance between hierarchy and power division was stressed by Henry Fayol.

9. Scalar Chain or Hierarchy

The lines of authority from superior to subordinate are referred to as the scalar chain. It provides authority channels as well as communication and decision-making goals. Fayol advocated for a chain of command which should be strictly followed unless it is damaging to the organisation's objectives. Fayol is also aware of the flaws in the governmental organisation's communication system which cause significant delays in decision-making. Fayol emphasizes that the hierarchical steps should be taken from top to bottom in this regard. This is required so that every employee knows who their immediate supervisor is and how to reach them in the event of an emergency.

10. Order

The notion of order in Fayol's conceptual framework centres upon his view that everything has a place in the organisation and that everything has a role in the organisation. He argued that good orders save time and resources but that social

order necessitates a careful balance of wants and resources. Individual pieces of work should be allotted to each individual, and they should be available at the specific place of work, according to social order. To have a positive work culture, a corporation should have a well-defined work order. More positive productivity will be boosted by the good attitude in the office.

11. Equity

All employees should be treated with respect and on an equal footing. It is the manager's responsibility to ensure that no employees are discriminated against. Fayol stressed the significance of the human dimension in the workplace. To some extent, this concern is reflected in his emphasis on promoting the notion of organisational equity which according to him, includes human qualities such as kindness and fairness.

12. Stability

Fayol underlines the need of having an effective and stable management team in place. Fayol assets, which is critical given the time and price required to develop strong management employees. The length of time spent in a position should be determined. Getting used to work can take some time. If an employee feels safe in their employment, they will provide their best. It is the management's responsibility to provide job security to their personnel.

13. Initiative

Employees should be supported and encouraged to take initiative in the workplace by management. It will assist them in increasing their interest and increasing their value. Initiative must be promoted by management at all levels, according to Fayol. The process of percolating this spirit down to the lowest levels necessitates managers sacrificing their 'personl vanity'. Managers should be willing to share some of their decision-making authority with their subordinates because the initiative generated would be a source of strength for the firm.

14. Esprit de Corps

Management's responsibility is to motivate and support its employees on a daily basis. Building trust and mutual understanding can lead to a beneficial outcome and work environment. *Esprit de Corps*, according to Fayol is the presence of harmony among all members of an organisation. Employee morale must be boosted by harmonizing their nativities, fostering close inter personal cooperation and

rewarding each employee based on his or her merits without prejudice. Competing enterprises should create good connections and handle problems through mutual agreements as Fayol suggests.

The 14 management principles are used to run a corporation and are effective for prediction, planning, decision-making, organization and process management, control, and coordination.

2.5 Influence of Henry Fayol's Theory

Fayol's influence on management theory - especially management thinkers - cannot be overstated. Known as the Father of the Administration School because he was the first to look at an organisation from the 'top down' to recognize management as a process, to break that process down into logical subdivisions, and to lay out a set of principles for making the best use of people, resulting in the establishment of a management education syllabus.

The influential (albeit somewhat prescriptive) classical management formula POSDCORB, which stipulates that manager should Plan, Organise, Staff, Direct, Coordinate, Report, and Budget, is clearly based on Fayol's works. However, if we look at the details and descriptions of Fayol's five managerial activities, we can see that the tensions and worries, responsibilities and obligations, styles, and challenges he articulated 100 years ago are still relevant today. The last two management activities described by Fayol, command and control, have also been used to describe the hierarchical structure and management style adopted by large organisations from the 1950s to the 1980s. Again, if we look closely at what Fayol actually says - particularly concerning command - it isn't that far from today's notion of an empowering, not a 'commanding' manager.

Fayol's views have been criticised for lacking in analysis and assessment, for overlapping principles, aspects, and responsibilities, for confusing structure with process, and for relying too heavily on top-down bureaucracy. Although he was chastised for his lack of clarity, his management concepts are quite similar to Max Weber's description of the features of formal organisations, or bureaucracies. His status as the first person to characterise management as a top-down process based on planning and human organisation will ensure his prominence among students and practising managers alike.

2.6 Critical Evaluation

Fayol's theory was subject to criticisms. First and foremost, they argue that Fayol's theory is just too formal to be applicable to informal organizations. His notion is overly restrictive, and it will only work in a formal organizational framework.

Second, his Functional Theory is overly management-oriented, and it frequently overlooks worker well-being. Workers are frequently treated as if they were mechanical instruments, with their main focus being how to carry out orders. Many current management perspectives have criticized this notion, pointing out that workers are humans who require the flexibility to participate in decision-making. It will be impossible to completely control workers' movements.

In addition, modern management perspectives criticize Functional Theory, stating that it is only beneficial in a stable and predictable environment. In today's tumultuous world, managers must include democracy as one of the management factors. Managers must pay closer attention to human behavior and, where necessary, provide motivation and persuasion in order to complete the task.

Every goal, according to Mintzberg and Fayol, begins with planning. Fayol's planning role is undeniable, as it is something that all managers must undertake ahead of time in order to create a successful path. There are five positions in Mintzberg's 10 roles that have a comparable meaning to Fayol's planning function.

Furthermore, Mintzberg stated in his "folklore" paper that every manager must devote a significant amount of effort to dealing with high levels of disruption. For example, most managers don't just focus on their personal paperwork; they also have to deal with unexpected phone calls and, on sometimes, subordinates who walk into their office for a meeting. As a result, managers have a responsibility to act as a disruption handler. Mintzberg's words, on the other hand, sound a lot like Fayol's control and coordination function.

Apart from that, Mintzberg is unable to completely exclude the presence of an organizing role in management. When it comes to managing an organization, most theories recognize the necessity of organizing and identify it as a critical component.

2.7 Conclusion

Fayol had the mindset of an upper-level administrator. He believed that general management is responsible to take forward the enterprise towards its goal by making optimum use of resources that are available. He highlighted the need of accomplishing common goals through good collaboration and maximizing productivity by utilizing available resources to their full potential. The executive authority is in charge of all organisational responsibilities, including the plan of action, staff selection, performance evaluation, and ensuring and controlling the implementation of all activities. After identifying Fayol's concepts and elements of management, the management process and organisation theory emerged. He concentrated on establishing approaches that might effectively aid in the management of various businesses, drawing on a variety of backgrounds and

perspectives. His work did not receive much notice at first, and it was only afterwards that people realized his significant contribution to the evolution of management theory.

2.8 Summary

- Fayol highlighted the need of management education, which encompassed planning, organizing, command, coordination, and control.
- All of Henry Fayol's principles, when first introduced, sounded revolutionary at the time, yet they are still quite relevant today and are extensively practiced in a variety of organisations.
- Fayol's *Principles of Management* forms the backbone of modern management theory.

2.9 Glossary

Esprit de Corps: It relates to team spirit, which is defined as harmony in the workplace and mutual understanding amongst employees.

Remuneration: The wage practices in an organisation, according to Fayol's conceptualization should be rational and provide maximum pleasure to both the employer and the employees.

2.10 Model Questions

Long Questions :

- Give a brief idea about Henry Fayol background.
- Discuss in brief Fayol categorization of organizational activities accordingly to Fayol .
- What are the qualities that a manager should have ?
- What does Esprit de corps mean?
- What does Centralization mean according to Fayol?

Short Questions :

- Examine the Principles of administration as outlined by Henry Fayol.
- Critically evaluate Henry Fayol's Administrative Thought.
- Henry Fayol is the Father of Modern Management—Elucidate.
- The contribution of Henry Fayol to the development of administrative Theory.

2.11 References

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Unit-3 □ Luther Gulick

Structure

- 3.1 Learning Objectives**
- 3.2 Introduction**
- 3.3 Gulick's Principles of Organization**
- 3.4 Seven Principles of Administration**
- 3.5 Critical Assessment**
- 3.6 Conclusion**
- 3.7 Summary**
- 3.8 Glossary**
- 3.9 Model Questions**
- 3.10 References**

3.1 Learning Objective

Studying this unit, will familiarise the learners :

- About contributions done by Luther Gulick in the field of administration.
- With principles introduced by Gulick to increase efficiency of an organisation.
- With popular concepts such as POSDCORB and 4P'S.

3.2 Introduction

The systematic study and analysis of organisations dates from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Among the many who attempted the scientific study of organisation were Taylor, Henry Fayol, Max Weber, Mooney and Reily, Gulick and Urwick. Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick contributed significantly to the formulation of general administration and organisation based on their own experiences and studies as well as those of others. They focused on specific parts of public administration and had extensive experience serving in government, military and industrial organisations. Both of them were untiring publicists, propagandists and preachers of the gospel of neutral principles aimed at increasing organisational efficiency. In the year 1882, Luther Halsey Gulick was born in Osaka, Japan. In 1950, he received his doctorate from Columbia university. He worked as a consultant for the defence and civil services in various roles. He was a member of the President's Administrative Management Committee. He has several books and research articles under his name such as Modern Management for the

city of New York, Administrative Reflections from World War II, to name a few. Luther Gulick made a strong plea for the science of administration. In one of his rhetorical best, Gulick has made a strong advocacy for the science of administration: He was of the opinion to uncover principles and laws that which can govern men alike the same techniques that have been used to discover laws that govern atoms. Implied in this opinion was a strong urge for discovering the 'immutable laws' of administration so that the vagaries of administrative decision may be removed. Perhaps this intention led him to go for a universal principle of administration-POSDCORB. It is this backdrop we will delve into his contribution in the following unit.

3.3 Gulick's Principles of Organization

Luther Gulick was heavily influenced by Taylor and Fayol. Gulick used Fayol's five elements of administration viz., Planning, Organisation, Command, Coordination and Control as a framework for his neutral principles. Their first concept in allocating functions to groups of people is homogeneity, which is based on the identity or simplicity of four factor or Gulick's 4P formula:

Gulick has given 4P formula regard with the establishment of departments, universally.

- P-purpose
- P-process
- P-person(s)
- P-place

Gulick however suggest that while subdividing work or while establishing work one must make a choice amongst these principles to fit in relevant. Let us now understand them one by one.

a) Purpose based organisation: Organization indicates a group of people who have come together for a certain objective, achieving a particular purpose. The organization's functions and goals can be used to create departments in any organization. Departments such as the welfare department, sanitation department, and others were founded for specialised purposes. In such departments, coordination is rather simple. However, such a classification may have certain drawbacks as well. These include issues encountered during work division, a lack of opportunity for varied specialists, and so on.

b) Process based organisation: It refers to the organization in which the processing is mostly carried out by various sub-divisions, such as the ministry of law, the statistics department, and the accounting department, among others. Another criterion for developing departments is the processes or talents required in the department's operation. All tasks that need the same knowledge, skills, or

processes can be grouped together and formed into a department. Such a department can perform tasks that are also requested by other departments. As a result, it saves time and energy for other departments to do similar things. For example, the O & M division of the Department of Administrative Reforms in the Government of India monitors and advises modifications to various departments' work procedures.

c) Person based organisation: Person based organizations are designed to assist a specific target group, community, or society, such as the department of scheduled castes, minorities, and so on. Departments can also be developed based on the type of clientele they serve, such as the old age welfare department, which only assists elderly people. The main advantage of these types of departments is that the staff who work in them learn how to deal with a specific clientele. Other types of clients, such as women, the handicapped, and children, might be used to construct specific departments. The fundamental problem of such departments is that their functions overlap and duplicate one other.

d) Place based organisation: They are mostly founded to service a certain territory.

Districts, tribal territories, and hilly locations could all be good starting points for new departments. All of the functions that are created in a given area are grouped together. This aids in the area's intensive development and fosters specialization as well as coordination.

The aforementioned departments' foundations have been questioned for being incompatible with one another. Some of the bases overlap, such as the engineering department, which might be categorized as both process and purpose based.

Furthermore, the nature of procedures in government organizations is sometimes so complicated that it is not always viable to categorize distinct operations on such simplistic principles.

There are ten principles of Luther Gulick theory as he advocated these are-

1) DIVISION OF WORK OR SPECIALISATION

According to Gulick, the foundation of any organisation and the cause of an organisation is work division. The notion of work division was also a major tenet of other classical intellectuals' theories. Work division is crucial as because man varies in nature, talent and capacity and it through specializing that they can gain much in dexterity. The division of labour indicates that work must be split in order to achieve clear specialization and so increase the organisation's performance. The more specialised a person is in his or her job the more efficient the organisation as a whole will be. To divide work, you must first identify the tasks that must be completed.

2) BASES OF DEPARTMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

Gulick has put forward 4P formula with regard to basis of establishment of

organisations as we have already discussed before, that are purpose-based organisation, process-based organisation, person based organisation and placed based organisation.

3) COORDINATION THROUGH HIERARCHY

Gulick points out that if sub-division of work is inescapable then coordination becomes necessary. This can be achieved through organisation, which entails connecting sub-divisions of work by allocating them to people who are correctly situated in the authority structure, so that work can be coordinated through commands that go from top to bottom of the organisation. Secondly through the supremacy of idea, that is the creation of intellectual singleness of purpose into the vision of those who are working will voluntarily and enthusiastically integrate his duty into the whole.

4) DELIBERATE COORDINATION

It emphasizes on co-operation among employees after thorough consideration. Deliberate coordination becomes a necessity for different departments so that they can collectively meet the needs of the organization as well as that of their individual departments.

5) COORDINATION THROUGH COMMITTEES

For better performance of work and for effective cooperation among workers coordination must be maintained across committees.

6) DECENTRALISATION

The transfer of administrative authority to local agencies (who works autonomously) from the center falls under the concept of decentralization.

7) UNITY OF COMMAND

Gulick and Fayol were of the same view regarding this principle. They were of the opinion that a workman subjected to orders from two supervisors will lead to lot of uncertainty, confusion and irresponsibility and hence they supported the idea of workman subjected to take orders from one supervisor that will be more efficient and responsible. However, Gulick is aware of dual control in some of the field offices and suggests a framework of 'integrated dual supervision' in such cases.

8) STAFF AND LINE- STAFF AND LINE

Gulick adapted the concept of staff from the military's line and staff system. Staff officials assist the chief executive in removing needless work off his or her plate so that he or she may focus on the organization's core responsibilities. Staff experts must dedicate their time solely to the knowing, reasoning and planning functions as Gulick suggest. They should not be granted any administrative authority or accountability but to arrive at results 'authority of ideas' must be used. As a result, they emphasized the importance of specialized personnel to help senior leaders who form part of the 'line' and perform functions of central

tasks of the organization, control and coordination and the core functions of the agency. The general and special staff relieve the chief executive of the 'line' of the heavy minutiae of administration, allowing him to focus on the most important responsibilities and wield a broader range of control.

9) DELEGATION- It refers to a person's right of supervision and control being delegated to an agency or subordinate. It is a function-based distribution of power rather than a distribution of authority and responsibility.

10) SPAN OF CONTROL- This principle states that a supervisor cannot control more than an optimum no of workers at a time. When the number of sub-ordinates increases arithmetically then the number of relationships increases geometrically. This shows that at supervisory levels there remains a problem of managing the subordinates.

Knowledge, time and energy restrictions as well as different types of work and organisation sizes, all contribute to the control limit. It stems in part from individual executive disparities in capabilities and work habits and in part from the non-comparable nature of labour. As a result, the principle of span of control is governed by the elements of function diversity, time and space. The principle's scientific validity is hampered by a failure to place adequate emphasis on these elements. Gulick urged more research into the issue, but found that an organization's chief executive can only deal with a few immediate subordinates. The number is defined not only by the nature of the task, but also by the executive's capacity and the number of immediate subordinates: the organisation's stability and proximity geographically. Even though he was less certain about the number of subordinates, he was convinced in the principle's general validity.

3.4 Seven Principles of Administration

Luther Gulick outlines the Seven Elements of Administration (or the Chief Executive's Function) into famous acronym POSDCORB which are as follows:

P---PLANNING: This is the process of laying out in broad outline the tasks that must be completed and the procedures for completing them in order to achieve the enterprise's goal. Managers are responsible for not just deciding what to do, but also planning it into the agenda. Planning necessitates insight. This encompasses weekly, monthly, and quarterly planning, as well as annual, medium-term, and long-term planning (looking ahead with a time line of 3 years).

The organization's direction is determined by planning. A predetermined time frame, on the other hand, indicates that when the timer runs out, whatever result is available at the moment must satisfy. This timeline's progress must be continuously monitored.

O---ORGANISING: This is the process of establishing a formal authority structure through which work sub-divisions are organised, defined, and coordinated to achieve the set goals. Managers are responsible for not only assigning activities, but also for allocating these duties to their departments and personnel. The manager will require the essential resources, such as budget, raw materials, staff and their skills, technology, and machines, to achieve the desired outcome.

To reach the desired outcome, he or she will have to organise a variety of tasks. It is critical that the employees' division of labour fits the end objective and end result as closely as feasible in order to get started as quickly as possible.

S---STAFFING: This encompasses the entire personnel function of hiring, training, and maintaining favourable working conditions. This section is about an organization's personnel policy and any related actions. For an organisation to run efficiently, it needs good and capable staff. The manager's initial responsibility is to determine the expertise, abilities, and experiences required for certain positions. Job profiles are created based on this, and employees can be hired. This staff policy governs the entire recruitment, selection, and training process, ensuring that the proper sort of employee is in the right place.

D---DIRECTING: This is the ongoing duty of making decisions and enacting them through particular and general commands and instructions, as well as serving as the company's leader. The manager, of course, is in charge of direction; he or she is the one who bears ultimate responsibility and is held accountable for it. In practice, this means that the manager is in charge of all operations.

Furthermore, the manager not only supervises but also motivates his people. He or she instructs them on how to accomplish their jobs best, encourages them, and motivates them to take on new tasks.

CO---COORDINATING: That is the crucial task of connecting the many aspects of the work. The manager's job with this notion is to connect diverse sectors and achieve cooperation. A good manager has what's known as a 'helicopter vision' which allows him or her to see what's going on and what still has to be done.

He is able to coordinate tasks and supervise his personnel from this vantage point. It is his/her responsibility to synchronize various departments and bring them together with a common aim in mind.

R---REPORTING: That is, keeping those that the executive is accountable for informed about what is going on. This includes using records, research, and inspection to keep oneself and one's subordinates informed. There is no evidence without reporting. A detailed report keeps lines of communication open throughout

the company. Managers serve as a link between the management team and the constituency, which consists of their own personnel.

Reporting gives you an idea of how things are going, and it's also a good method to keep track of agreements. Reporting also makes other critical information transparent, such as personnel difficulties, new processes, performance interviews, and sales numbers. Involved parties can also access archived reports instantly.

B---BUDGETING: All of the things that come with budgeting, such as fiscal planning, accounting, and control. Any organization's lifeblood is finance. The manager is in charge of the department's budget management, expenditure, and control, as well as keeping track of tax details.

In addition to employee compensation, it is the manager's responsibility to keep track of other expenses such as materials and investments. The manager is accountable for taking action if unnecessary spending, overruns, errors, or even fraud are identified.

3.5 Critical assessment

Herbert Simon slammed some of Classical Organisation Theory's accepted administrative assumptions, including the separation of responsibilities, unity of command, span of authority. He claims that division of responsibility and specialisation can be done by function, process, objective or location, referring to the 4 'P's. Classical theory, he claims has provided no guidance as to which base is best in any given situation. In terms of sphere, the notion of unity of command is likewise problematic for him. In vast and complicated organisation, Gulick's line and staff functions are simply out of touch with reality. Even more perplexing and deceptive is the span of control theory. The Graicuna mathematical formula of 'five or more likely four' is primarily to blame for this blunder. The authoritarian idea that the top executive must have some type of relationship with everyone below him in the organisation is the basic fallacy. The principles of administration of Gulick and Urwick were heavily criticised since they did not explain what they meant by the 'principles' having universal validity. Simon believed that administrative principles are best criteria for characterizing and diagnosing administrative circumstances. They only propose working norms of behaviour that appear to have been validated by extensive experience. The theory has been criticised for being atomistic, in that it views individuals in isolation from their coworkers. It's mechanical since it doesn't account for the dynamics of organisational behaviour. It is both static and logical. It also makes no mention of non-monetary incentives. It is more interested in the job than the human beings who performs it. The human factor and human behaviour were undervalued. Human beings are regarded as merely cogs in the organisation's wheel.

3.6 Conclusion

Classical management thought is still prevalent among many practicing administrators today, despite the fact that it was originally articulated in the first two decades of this century. The concern with the formation of organisational principles is the most defining element of classical theory. The classical theorists endeavored to identify the true foundations on which work division in organisations might be carried out and to find efficient methods of coordinating work. They emphasized the clear delineation of distinct activities and their interrelationships, as well as the use of authority to get things done through a system of checks and controls over the people working in organisations. As a result, Classical Organisational Theory has a formal design and planning structure. The idea promotes a set of organisational principles according to which organisation plans are created to match the needs of a specific purpose or function, and then capable persons are chosen to carry out the predetermined plan. This method carries with it task of seeking precision as engineer wants, logical organisation, best way to accomplish phase and at last tying up these pieces into a whole. As a result, the theory clearly demonstrates four characteristics: work division, hierarchy, impersonality and efficiency that are factors to consider.

3.7 Summary

- Luther Gulick's priceless contribution to the field of administration which includes focus on principles to increase efficiency of an organization.
- Gulick's POSDCORB forms the backbone of modern administration.

3.8 Glossary

- POSDCORB- Acronym that stands for Planning, Organising, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Reporting, Budgeting.
- 4Ps'- Bases of departmentalization; Purpose, Place, Person, Process
Formal organisation- an organisation where emphasis is on structure and design.

3.9 Model questions

Long Questions :

- Briefly discuss the background of Luther Gulick.
- What does POSDCORB stand for? Discuss in brief.
- What are the ten principles of administration proposed by Luther Gulick?
- What do you understand by Line and Staff and Span of control?
- How do you define Division of Labour in Gulick terms? What significance does it hold?
- What are the bases of departmentalization? Describe in your own words with example.
- Critically analyze Luther Gulick ideas. What are the points of criticism raised by Simon

Short Questions :

- Why is coordination crucial? In what ways absence of coordination can disrupt the functioning of an organization?
 - What will happen if large number of subordinates work under one supervisor? What ways does Gulick suggest in this regard?
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Unit-4 □ Lyndall Urwick

Structure

- 4.1 Learning Objectives**
- 4.2 Introduction**
- 4.3 Importance of Organization**
- 4.4 Principles of Organization**
- 4.5 Criticisms of Lyndall Urwick's Theory**
- 4.6 Conclusion**
- 4.7 Summary**
- 4.8 Glossary**
- 4.9 Model Questions**
- 4.10 References**

4.1 Learning Objectives

After studying this unit, the learners will be able :

- To learn about the contributions of Lyndall Urwick, with special reference to his principles of organization
- To evaluate the importance of Urwick's works within the classical theory of Public Administration

4.2 Introduction

Lyndall Fownes Urwick was born in 1891 in United Kingdom and attended Oxford University. Urwick served as a Lieutenant Colonel in the British Army during World War I, was a member of a number of international management associations, and was regarded as an exceptional industrial management consultant. He has written several books, including *Management of Tomorrow*, *The Making of Scientific Management*, *The Elements of Administration: The Patterns of Management and Leadership in Twentieth Century organisations*. A recurring theme in these authors' writings is the importance they place on the structure of administration while almost completely overlooking the role of men in the organisation. Urwick has been one of the most important figures in the development of modern management practices and thought. Central to his work was a passion for spreading the gospel of systematic and 'scientific' management through his activities as a management consultant, through his efforts in developing management institutions, and perhaps most of all, through what he later called his 'mission at large' in taking 'modern' management to managers and the wider public.

In all, Urwick wrote some 280 books, pamphlets, and articles on an eclectic range of management topics, and gave talks running into the thousands aimed at a wide range of audiences. Organization theory was his particular concern and provides his main standing in history. The principles were based broadly on managerial tasks, together with some general organizational precepts such as the correspondence of authority with responsibility. Though his name became co-terminus with Gulick for their joint publication, Urwick's individual contribution to the theory of organization is no less important. He has several publications to his credit, which include among others '*The Meaning of Rationalization*' (1929), '*Committees on Organization*' (1930), '*Management of Tomorrow*' (1933), '*The Elements of Administration*' (1944), '*Notes on the Theory of Organization*' (1952), '*Patterns of Management*' (1956).

4.3 Importance of Organization

Along with Luther Gulick, Urwick was very much interested in analyzing the intricacies of administration as a whole, and he dealt mostly with the technical aspects of formal organisation. Organization is a structure formed with some persons who have assembled with a similar mentality of doing a purposive work or mission. Administration is built up in that organizational structure to materialize the mission or design of work.

The similarities between live beings and organizations are striking, particularly when examining highly evolved organisms like the human body. As a result, whenever an organization fails to fulfil its function and mission, an organizational symptom or sickness may appear; as a result, a wide range of organizational symptoms and diseases can be examined. Recent research has tried to determine analogies between the human system and a social order such as an organization, in order to identify analogous malfunctions and ailments and develop guidelines for the prognosis of organizational symptoms and diseases, as well as their remedies and treatments.

Urwick was heavily inclined to formalism in organization theory. The formulations of Gulick and Urwick which became popularly known as 'universal' principles of organization became an integral part of public administration and these formulations are popularly called 'classical theory' of organization. They are also known by different names such as 'administrative management' theory, 'mechanistic' theory, etc. The classical theory is so called because it is one of the earliest formulations based on systematic analysis of organizations; it is dominant in the field of administrative theory; and finally, because it is long established and generally accepted in administrative literature. They sincerely believed that a science of administration can be developed based on some principles and based on the experience of administrators. Thus, the administration which was considered hitherto an art developed into a science.

Urwick had elaborated on the role of organizations as social groups and in that he found it to be like a living body. According to him the appropriate analogy must be analogy with the living beings which is biological parallel and for this reason the mechanistic parallel can be very crucial in discussing organization. Engineering approach is another name of it.

In tune with the classical theorists of Public Administration like Gulick and others, Urwick too attached much importance to the structures of organization than the role and agency of the people in the organization. In short, Urwick traces a very large proportion of the friction and confusion in the society, with its manifest consequences in the sufferings of human beings, and connects them to the problematic and futile structural arrangements in organizations. Thus, for a problem free environment and a less chaotic society, Urwick stressed on the importance of design in organizations. He remarks it is impossible for mankind to progress its knowledge of organisation unless the structural aspect is isolated from other concerns however unnatural such separation may appear. He links a huge share of societal friction and confusion to important repercussions, as well as fault structural structures in organisations. Urwick in his book, 'Elements of Administration' defines organization as determining activities vital to any purpose and structuring them in groups assigned to individuals. He adds that whole arrangement must be undertaken in a "cold-blooded, detached spirit", like the preparation of an engineering design, without any reference to the individuals in the organization. Therefore, it is cleared than like the classical theorists, Urwick laid much importance in organization, particularly the arrangement and functioning of the structures of organization.

4.4 Principles of Organization

True to the tradition of the classical organization theory, Urwick considered administration and management are inseparable and a ubiquitous phenomenon. In his book, "*Elements of Administration*" defines organisation as determining activities necessary to any purpose and arranging them in groups assigned to individuals. Thus, he believed that effort must be made to fit people to the structure.

He did not make any distinction between public and private administration. Urwick identified eight principles of administration applicable to all organisations. The principles are:

- i) The Principle of Objective that all organisations should have a purpose.
- ii) The Principle of Correspondence' that authority and responsibility must be co-equal.

- iii) The Principle of Responsibility- refers to the idea that it is the responsibility of higher authorities for the work of subordinates which is absolute in nature.
- iv) The Scalar Principle which refers to the pyramidal type of structure in an organisation.
- v) The Principle of span of control.
- vi) The Principle of Specialisation that refers to limiting one's work to a single function.
- vii) The principle of Coordination that focusses on coordination among the organisation.
- viii) The "principle of Definition" which highlights clear prescription of every duty.

Urwick, like other classical thinkers, believed that an organization's structure was more significant than its personnel's role. In short, Urwick believes that organisational structure arrangements are responsible for a considerable portion of societal friction and uncertainty, as well as its obvious consequences in human misery. Urwick emphasized the importance of design in organisation, claiming that unless this feature is isolated, mankind will be unable to advance in its understanding of organisation. He further considered lack of design as "illogical, cruel and inefficient".

Discussion of Urwick cannot be done without mention of Gulick. As Gulick and Urwick stated, there are administrative entities in the government that are well supervised and almost without exception headed by single administrators. They were anti-boards and anti-commissions. When compared to a plural body leadership is vested in one person. They repeated Fayol's command unity maxim recognizing that strict devotion to it may lead to absurdities. According to them, a man is not capable to serve two masters. A worker who is ordered by multiple supervisors will get confused and act irresponsibly whereas a worker who is only ordered by one superior will be methodical, efficient and responsible. The Gulick-Urwick's notion of staff aid to the executive as well as the relationships between line and staff officials, deserve special attention. They drew on their previous expertise in military administration to develop these concepts. In civilian organisations, however no management theory has yet clarified significance of line and staff principle. They underlined the need for specialised personnel to help the upper management. Because public officials do not have time to read, think or interact with their subordinates on a daily basis, they require aid with their central tasks of command, control and coordination. This type of assistance should be provided by

general staff who will coordinate the activities of staff specialists. As a result, the general and special staff relieve the top executive of the heavy minutiae of administration allowing him to focus on the most important responsibilities and wield a broader range of control.

Lyndall Urwick was the first to systematically apply the concept of span of control to business. According to Urwick, eliminating less important daily chores is critical for enhancing the human touch that makes a business executive an effective leader. Urwick claimed that limiting the number of subordinates reporting to an executive (i.e. limiting the span of control) can improve executive effectiveness, reduce pressure, inefficiency, and incompetence, improve employee cooperation, and boost morale and unity within the organisation, based on the work of General Sir Ian Standish Monteith Hamilton. Control is limited due to knowledge, time and energy constraints as well as differences in task types and organisation sizes. It stems in part from individual executive disparities in capabilities and work habits and in part from the non-comparable nature of labour. As a result, the principles of span of control are governed by the elements of function diversity, time and space. The principle's scientific validity is hampered by a failure to place enough emphasis on these elements.

Following a conversation with Urwick, A.V. Graicuna wrote "Relationship in Organization," which was published in the Bulletin of the International Management Institute in 1933. According to Graicuna, superiors must be aware of not just their direct ties with their subordinates, but also the cross relationships between subordinates and other subgroupings. Graicuna then utilized a mathematical formula to show how increasing the number of direct ties by one resulted in a 25% increase in delegation power and a more than 100% rise in supervision and coordination costs. Urwick went on to say that "no superior can supervise directly the work of more than five or, at most, six subordinates whose work interlocks" based on his observations.

According to Urwick in many countries' government machinery is unable to keep up with the current technology. Improved communications have made the world enormously smaller in just half a century. Nations are much closer together now which means there are so much potential for miscommunication. Both their inter social organisation and international economic interactions have become much more complex as a result of the development of power-driven technology and the industrial system. Despite, in the vast majority of situations, they are seeking to address these much more complex issues of government using the constitutional and executive structures of the previous century. Both politicians and officials are frequently overworked, with the result that they can only effectively attend to a small portion of their vastly increased responsibilities. As a result, he argued that government should develop their own corps of professionals in scientific

management but make them fully independent of typical civil service establishments as an alternative to hiring outside consulting firms. As a result, such a service may be established as part of the Prime Minister's personal staff. However in such circumstances it would be necessary to: i) create three or four posts at the top of such department that are at least equivalent to those of a secretary; otherwise the new service would not attract enough good men; and ii) ensure that the terms and conditions of entry into the service are equivalent of those offered to an under-secretary. It would be necessary to attract men of substantial ability with prior experience in Scientific Management; iii) to move a fraction of such personnel to Civil Service positions or to provide them with the chance to gain outside jobs in business after five to ten years of service. Such employee transfers are both common and important in all private management consultant endeavors in order to keep the staff fresh and prevent the work from becoming monotonous. The greatest concern, however is that such an official management consultant agency would believe that part of its job includes being critical of the departments or services it investigates. As all private management consultants are aware, being critical in this way renders people who publish their comments are unable to undertake successful reorganization work in the departments of other units they have criticised. Scientific management must be implemented in any organisation through constructive and persuasive leadership not authoritarianism or witch-hunting. It's even possible that Parliament may try to use this new tool in the wrong manner, using it as a whip or good rather than a stimulant, rendering it incapable of completing its job properly in the only way it can be done. Whatever option is chosen, it is critical for countries starting on economic growth programmes to make greater use of Scientific Management ideas in their government apparatus, particularly if they have moved a significant portion of their economic life to public management.

4.5 Criticisms of Lyndall Urwick's Theory

Urwick's use of the span of control in business was not without controversy. Herbert A. Simon questioned the concept's theoretical viability, claiming that a limited span of control would result in excessive red tape. This complaint was disputed by Urwick, who stated that if span of control is properly implemented, this will not happen. The span of control, according to Burleigh B. Gardner, prevents democratic participation inside the corporation. Urwick responded to this critique by stating that having too broad a control span weakens democracy by preventing subordinates from having meaningful interactions with superiors. Other researchers have criticised the principle as wrong, citing examples of effective organisations with a broad range of control. Urwick responded to this issue by stating that the work of subordinates in these cases did not overlock. As a result, these organisations were outliers.

4.6 Conclusion

Lyndall Urwick probably had a substantial influence on the practice and study of management, particularly in the United Kingdom, throughout the middle decades of the twentieth century, while being infrequently read now. This advocacy and clout extended to important aspects of accounting theory and practice. Contemporary accounting theorists, text writers, and practitioners promote and use concepts and techniques that have a lengthy history of development and historical precedents in many cases.

Urwick's enlarged articulation of information-based planning and control is one of them. This study shows Urwick's broader reach, which includes financial management, financial accounting, and management accounting, rather than being limited to operational management. The impact of his ideas, albeit indirect and underappreciated in the accounting world, deserves more recognition.

The Scientific Management school of thinking is seldom included in today's management and accounting textbooks, if at all. Not surprisingly, some of the fair critiques levelled at the school's philosophy and impacts on organisations and their workers could be one of the reasons for its absence. The majority of accounting books, conference papers, and journal articles make no mention of these forefathers of modern management and accounting theory and practice. Taylor and Fayol are frequently the only ones to get credit.

Urwick's contribution to accounting is even more under-appreciated. Nonetheless, Taylor, Fayol, and later Urwick assigned accounting a significant and convincing role. Given the dominance of scientific management in early twentieth-century business and government, as well as its influence on management and accounting thinking long after its initial dominance had waned, a strong case can be made that the above approaches to financial management, planning, and control can still be found in contemporary accounting today, reflecting especially Urwick's advocacy over a long period of time.

Our current expanding of financial and management planning and control approaches almost unintentionally reflect components of what Urwick and other Scientific Management pioneers proposed. For two reasons, it is an unintentional reflection. For starters, it stems from a lack of understanding of accounting and scientific management history. Second, it is the result of a misunderstanding of what Urwick recommended in the first place. His perspective on planning and control differed from the way it has been stereotyped in the past.

Instead, it was a more flexible, ecologically conscious, and contextualized approach to planning than most accounting experts and practitioners recognize

today. His approach to company and budgetary planning was both comprehensive and contingent, with planning and control being equally important and inextricably intertwined. This emphasis and effort have perhaps been rediscovered and renewed by contemporary accounting researchers and practitioners.

Today's accounting is rife with hidden scientism. It manifests as outcroppings of philosophical layers accumulated during 150 years of Scientific Management development and promotion. Scientific management, on the other hand, remains a distant memory for the vast majority of today's accountants, whose continued influence is a mystery. We need to revisit and reinterpret the original works of such major pioneers in order to better comprehend present accounting difficulties and practices, as well as to better inform our endeavors to manage organisational and global change. Lyndall Urwick, among those whose thoughts are still reflected in our thinking today, demands our full attention.

4.7 Summary

- So far, we have learned about Urwick's contribution in the field of administration in which we discussed in detail about significance associated to organization.
- This unit covered all the principles of an organisation, his idea of span of control, his similarities with Gulick and the criticism he has received from Simon who argued limited span of control as proposed by Urwick will lead to excessive red tape. Nonetheless his ideas are still relevant to comprehend present circumstances.

4.8 Glossary

Span of control: Urwick's principle envisage the idea that no supervisor should supervise more than 5-6 line reports whose work is interlocked.

Organisation: To Urwick it referred to the idea that an organisation must have a clear goal.

4.9 Model Questions

Long Questions :

- Give a brief background of Lyndall Urwick.
- Briefly mention various principles of organisation as proposed by Urwick?
- What are the key similarities that Luther Gulick shares in common with Lyndall Urwick?
- What are the suggestion of Urwick towards government machinery to keep up with the current technology.

- On what grounds do Urwick varies from Gulick. Are both of them relevant today?

Short Questions :

- On what grounds Urwick's theory is criticised?
- What are the contributions of Urwick in the field of Public Administration.
- Briefly discuss Span of Control, as discussed by Urwick.

4.10 References

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Unit 5 □ Frederick Taylor

Structure

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5.1 Learning Objectives

After studying this unit, the learners will understand :

- F. W. Taylor's contributions to the discipline
- The major principles of Taylor's Scientific Management
- Taylor's Functional Foremanship

5.2 Introduction

Frederick W. Taylor, in full Frederick Winslow Taylor, (born March 20, 1856, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.—died March 21, 1915, Philadelphia), American inventor and engineer who is known as the father of Scientific Management. His system of industrial management, known as Taylorism, greatly influenced the development of industrial engineering and production management throughout the world.

Taylor was the son of a lawyer. He entered Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire in 1872, where he led his class scholastically. After passing the entrance examination for Harvard University, he was forced to abandon plans for matriculation, as his eyesight had deteriorated from night study. With sight restored in 1875, he was apprenticed to learn the trades of patternmaker and machinist at the Enterprise Hydraulic Works in Philadelphia. Three years later he went to the Midvale Steel Company, where, starting as a machine shop labourer, he became successively shop clerk, machinist, gang boss, foreman, maintenance foreman, head of the drawing office, and chief engineer.

Taylor was born in 1856 to a Quaker family in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Taylor's father, Franklin Taylor, a Princeton-educated lawyer, built his wealth on mortgages. Educated early by his mother, Taylor studied for two years in France and

Germany and traveled Europe for 18 months. In 1872, he entered Phillips Exeter Academy in Exeter, New Hampshire, with the plan of eventually going to Harvard and becoming a lawyer like his father. In 1874, Taylor passed the Harvard entrance examination with honours. Instead of attending Harvard University, Taylor became an apprentice pattern-maker and machinist, gaining shop-floor experience at Enterprise Hydraulic Works in Philadelphia. He left his apprenticeship for six months and represented a group of New England machine-tool manufacturers at Philadelphia's centennial exposition. Taylor finished his four-year apprenticeship and in 1878 became a machine-shop labourer at Midvale Steel Works. At Midvale, he was quickly promoted to time clerk, journeyman machinist, gang boss over the lathe hands, machine shop foreman, research director, and finally chief engineer of the works (while maintaining his position as machine shop foreman). Earlier at Midvale, working as a machinist, Taylor recognized that workmen were not working their machines, or themselves, nearly as much as they could (which at the time was called "soldiering") and thought that this resulted in high labor costs for the company. When he became a foreman he expected more output from the workmen. In order to determine how much work should properly be expected, he began to study and analyze the productivity of both the men and the machines (although the word "productivity" was not used at the time, and the applied science of productivity had not yet been developed). His focus on the human component of production Taylor labeled scientific management. He was a plant manager in Maine. In 1893, Taylor opened an independent consulting practice in Philadelphia. His business card read "Consulting Engineer - Systematizing Shop Management and Manufacturing Costs a Specialty". Through these consulting experiences, Taylor perfected his management system. His first paper, *A Piece Rate System*, was presented to the American Society of Mechanical Engineers (ASME) in June, 1895.

Taylor was forced to leave Bethlehem Steel in 1901 after discord with other managers. Now a wealthy man, Taylor focused the remainder of his career promoting his management and machining methods through lecturing, writing, and consulting. In 1910, owing to the Eastern Rate Case, Frederick Winslow Taylor and his Scientific Management methodologies became famous worldwide. In 1911, Taylor introduced his "The Principles of Scientific Management" paper, eight years after his Shop Management paper.

On October 19, 1906, Taylor was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Science by the University of Pennsylvania. Taylor eventually became a professor at the Tuck School of Business at Dartmouth College. Later on F.W Taylor has come to be considered as the father of Scientific Management theory. The major works of Taylor were- '*A Piece-Rate System*'(1895), '*Shop Management*'(1903), '*The Art of Cutting Metals*'(1906), '*The Principles of Management*'(1911).

5.3 Taylor's Contribution

Taylor's contribution to the development of Scientific Management was recorded in his papers. Of these early ones are A Piece-Rate System, Shop Management, and The *Art of Cutting Metals*.

Among his early works, Taylor also discussed defects of management and Time-Motion Study.

A Piece-Rate System-

Taylor's first paper on Piece-Rate system was considered an outstanding contribution to the principles of wage payment. He proposed a new system consisting of three parts:

- (a) observation and analysis of work through time study to set the 'rate' or standard,
- (b) a 'differential rate' system of piece work, and
- (c) 'paying merit and not positions'.

Shop Management-

In his second paper on Shop Management he discussed at length workshop organisation and enlargement. He focussed attention, in this paper, on his philosophy of management as given below:

* The objective of management must be to pay high wages and have low unit production costs to achieve the increased industrial efficiency. Management has to apply scientific methods of research and experiment to the management problems. Standardisation of working conditions and placing the workers on the basis of scientific criteria.

Management must give normal training to workers and specific instructions to perform the prescribed motions with standardised tools and materials. Friendly cooperation between workers and management on the basis of scientific system of labour organisation.

Taylor doubted the efficacy of the 'linear' system or the military type of organisation in which each worker is subordinate to only one boss. He replaced this system with what is called 'functional foremanship' in which the worker receives orders from eight narrowly specialized supervisors. He divided the work not only among workers, but also at the supervisory level. Of the eight functional bosses, four will be responsible for planning and the remaining four for execution: 'The gang-boss, the repair-boss, the speed-boss and the inspector are the four bosses for execution. The order clerk, the route clerk, the instruction card clerk, the time and cost clerk, and the shop disciplinarian are the four planning bosses. Taylor believed that in this functional type of organisation, the foreman can be trained quickly and specialisation becomes very easy. The concept of division of work between

planning and execution was incorporated in line and staff concept, with line being the executing agency and staff being the planning agency. Taylor also specified nine qualities which will make a good 'foreman'. They are: education, special or technical knowledge, manual dexterity and strength, tact, energy, grit, honesty, judgement and good health.

The major principles of Taylor's Scientific Management theory are as follows:

Standardization of Work Methods Taylor's first principle is related to the development of a scientific method for each task which would replace ad hocism and selection of work procedures. This could be achieved, he said, by scientifically investigating the working conditions and the total quantum of work to be undertaken in any enterprise in a given period; and then fixing daily task assignments so that the workers may work in a planned way. It is only through enforced standardization of methods, enforced adoption of the best working condition, and enforced cooperation, he observed that this faster work can be assumed. The duty of enforcing the adoption of standards and of enforcing this cooperation rests with the management alone.

Scientific Selection and Training of Workers Taylor's second principle is related to the selection, placement and training of workers in a scientific manner. Standardization of working conditions will be crucially served by selecting and placing worker on jobs for which they are best suited by their physical and intellectual abilities. Moreover, it is the duty of the management to train workers for their task and provide them all facilities for the development of their personalities.

Equal division of work between management and workers Taylor's third principle was an open advocacy of an equal division of work and responsibility between management and workers. Taylor had noted in his observations the unhealthy trend of the managers to place increasing burden on the workers, while assuming for themselves only minimum responsibilities. In this context, Taylor advised that half of the workers' work should be taken over by the management. The management had to undertake the functions of planning, organizing, controlling and determining the methods of work and the like for which it was best suited.

Mutual Collaboration of the Workers and Management

The last Taylorian principle requires active cooperation and cordial relations between management and workers. There should be mutual faith and trust, he said. According to Taylor, efficiency and productivity can best be promoted by creating a healthy and congenial environment in the organization which is the joint responsibility of both the workers and the management. Apart from these four basic principles Taylor also expressed concern about the following in the process of Scientific management:

● **Mental Revolution:** He advocated a change in the attitudes of workers and management towards each other and their responsibilities. Managers should stop worrying about accumulating the most and instead focus on generating the most that will lead to more funds for them. The workers should stop worrying about increasing wages without putting in extra effort and instead increase their responsibility and efficiency and increase production that will definitely lead to raise in their salaries sooner or later.

● **Division of work:** Planning function to be taken over by management who were appointed for the same as they have been trained and skilled for the same and workers to concentrate on completing their functional task as per the rules and guidelines and methods planned by the former. Thus, each doing the job for which they have been appointed and are best skilled for.

● **Selection and training of workers:** Taylor advocated the selection and training of workers for best performance of the work in an organisation. Right person for the right job. This is the duty of the management to choose a candidate for a particular job on the basis of his nature, character and capacities and also provide for formal training and clear instructions to them to perform prescribed motions with the standardized tools and materials.

● **Work study and work measurement:** Work should be studied systematically and scientifically and various laws and rules are to be applied to everyday work to find the one best way to do that job. Taylor studied each and every movement of the worker with a stop watch and removed all the unnecessary movements and found out the minimum time required for each job. This not only helped reduce time but also slow movement and fatigue of workers thus increasing efficiency and production leading to great profits for the organisation.

● **Work as an individual activity:** Taylor never advocated group work/activity. He asserted that people were only motivated by personal ambition and tends to lose his individuality/individual drive in a group setting. He stated that workers should have no verbal interaction as it leads to undue personal pressures.

● **Development of management thinking:** He viewed scientific management as a medium to develop management as a science. It means that specific laws and rules could be derived for management studies and practices and those laws relate specifically to wage rates and way of doing work to increase the rate of production. Taylor advocated the use of standardized tools and equipment as well as methods.

● **Standardisation of tools:** Taylor himself developed and invented many standardized tools to increase production and efficiency and those after a successful stint became the benchmark to be used for those particular jobs. One of his most famous studies involved shovels. He noticed that workers used the same shovel for all materials. He determined that the most effective load was 21½ lb, and found or designed shovels that for each material would scoop up that

amount. Taylor was able to convince workers who used shovels and whose compensation was tied to how much they produced to adopt his advice about the optimum way to shovel by breaking the movements down into their component elements and recommending better ways to perform these movements. This led to a huge increase in efficiency and production.

- **Task prescription:** It means that a worker should get a clear prescription and description of what task is to be done by them in clear language and instructions that is understandable by him/her by the management through proper planning,

- **Trade unions:** Taylor was against trade unions or group activity as mentioned earlier as he believed that it was unnecessary since the goal of the workers and management was the same. As scientific management would make everything crystal clear for everybody in the organisation ridding it of any conflict and with fair wages there is no need for trade unions.

- **Incentive scheme:** Taylor suggested a piece work rate incentive for workers. That means if a worker achieves a greater output than the target assigned to him he/she would then receive a bonus payment for each piece extra. And the bonus should be generous and consistent to encourage the workers to produce more.

5.4 Taylor's Functional Foremanship

Taylor's Functional Foremanship

Taylor developed the system of functional foremanship in which the worker receives orders from eight narrowly specialized supervisors. Its objective was to replace the 'linear' system or the military type of organization in which each worker is subordinate to only one boss.

Taylor divided the work not only among workers, but also at supervisory level. He believed that in this functional type of organization, the foreman can be trained quickly and specialization becomes very easy.

Taylor also prescribed nine qualities of a good 'Foreman'. They are :

(1) Education (2) Special or Technical knowledge (3) Manual dexterity and strength (4) Tact (5) Energy (6) Grit (7) Honesty (8) Judgement (9) Good health

Taylor considered the philosophy of scientific management much more important than to create mere mechanism of work.

His major contributions were :

Motion and time study or technical

Standardization

Techniques

Work instructions

Piece-rate wage systems

Modern cost systems

Specialization

Planning

Slide rule and other work-saving implements

Work standards

Product and implement classification systems

The following chart illustrates the functioning of the scheme of the functional foremanship: Point to comment: The scheme of functional foremanship results in a complete violation of the principle of unity of command as advised by Fayol; because in this scheme, a worker is subject to the control and superintendence of eight foremen. The scheme, therefore, involves multiple commands as against a single command. (5) Differential piece-rate system of wage-payment: In order to motivate workers positively as also negatively to produce the standard output, Taylor devised a scheme of wage payment, known as the 'Differential piece-rate system of wage-payment.' The inherent features of this scheme are: (i) A standard output for each worker is determined in advance through scientific work studies. (ii) Two rates of wage-payment (based on piece rate system) are established- (a) A higher rate per unit of output; and (b) A lower rate per unit of output. (iii) Workers who produce the standard output or exceed the standard are paid according to the higher rate for all the units produced by them. Those workers who are unable to come up to the standard are paid according to the lower rate for all the units produced by them. Let us take an example to illustrate the working of this system of wage payment. Suppose the standard output is 25 units; and the two rate of wage payment are – Rs.2 per unit (the higher rate) and Rs. 1.80 p. per unit (the lower rate). Now, if a worker produces 25 units or more; he would be paid on total production done by him according to Rs.2 per unit. If, on the other hand, a worker produces only 24 units (taking the extreme case); he would be paid on all the 24 units produced by him, according to the lower rate i.e. Rs. 1.80 p per unit. In the latter case, the worker is not only suffering a shortfall of payment on one unit produced less by him as against the standard of 25 units; but also suffering a shortfall of payment of 20 p. per unit on all the 24 units produced by him. Thus there is a severe penalty for the inefficient worker in being paid according to the lower rate on total production done by him.

5.5 Time and Motion Study

The development of the shop system Taylor wished to know that under optimum conditions, how long a man or a machine would or should take to perform a given task, in a specified process, using specified materials and methods. Taylor used scientific fact-finding methods to determine empirically the right ways to perform tasks with the help of stop watch. Taylor also recognised the need for

scientific method of selecting the right men for the right jobs considering their initial qualifications and potential for further learning, effective supervision of a worker and his working conditions after placing the worker in the right place: Taylor wanted to lay down the foundation for sound personnel management to match the worker's abilities to the job. Time and motion theory is a totally researched based work.

Time and motion study was one of the major experiments conducted by Taylor. In these experiments he made use of motion and time study and analysed how workers handled materials, machines and tools. Taylor observed that a worker of Bethlehem Steel Corporation lift 12.5 tons of iron per day whereas following some techniques and methods a worker of Dutch industry lift 47.5 tons of iron per day. This kind of experiments identified the role and necessity of training in an industry. Time study is the technique to be employed for determining the time-content of a job. Motion study involves which is the observation of all the motions that comprise a particular job and the determination of the best set of motions. Scientific management addressed itself to the problems of the 'Shop Floor', that is, the bottom part of an organization, where the work performed is of a repetitive and routine nature. He used scientific fact-finding methods to determine empirically instead of traditionally the right ways to perform tasks with the help of stop watch. According to Taylor time and Motion both are important for the development and success of an industry. Time and motion study are important for Taylor's thesis for the following reasons,

- (a) This is the ideal way of an worker in an industry.
- (b) Division of labour.
- (c) Try to eliminate unnecessary work.
- (d) Experts should observe the workers work on the help of time clock.
- (e) Training and recruitment of the workers are very much important.
- (f) Additional work and additional incentives must be given to the worker according to skills and merits and also time of work.. Leisure of a worker in a industry is also a important task for the betterment of the worker.

5.6 Conclusion

Taylor's Scientific Management theory helped management in many organisations overcome worker issues in the US, successfully and for the long term. That is why his ideas spread to all parts of the world and also to socialist countries. This shows its importance and relevance to organisations irrespective of the nature of economy. Taylor's theory brought a practical solution to the enormous problems of complex and growing organization in the industrial revolution peak and also lead to alleviate many problems of workers as well as management and also the issues between the two.

Taylor's work was popularised in the US by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers (ASME), and by a spin-off association, the Society to Promote the Science of Management, which was later re-named the Taylor Society to recognise his contribution. The development of university-based business schools which taught aspiring managers was also crucial to making the link between the principles of scientific management and their application in real work scenarios, and the importance of these schools increased rapidly after 1920. As public interest in Taylor's methods was amplified, it attracted consultancy firms to promote Taylorite methods.

Taylor's writings were soon published worldwide. In the UK, Taylor's methods were slow to be implemented by leading industrialists who followed a more paternalistic tradition. Scientific management attracted criticism from the likes of Edward Cadbury, who argued in a 1914 article for the Sociological Review that since unskilled labour was already monotonous, 'any further sub-division of labour in the direction of eliminating any little judgement initiative as to the methods of work, valuable as it might be in its immediate impact on production, would almost certainly in the long run produce effects which would lower the whole capacity of the worker'

At the time of his death in 1915 Taylor's work was the subject of much debate, both for and against it. By 1930, a new generation of social scientists were producing strong critiques of his ideas.

Taylor was one of the first true pioneers of management through his scientific examination of the way work was done. His led directly to the achievements of other management gurus like Max Weber and Henry Ford. Along with Lillian and Frank Gilbreth (see Related Thinkers), Taylor is also recognised as a major contributor to time and motion study. This involved examining workers' movements in detail and using the results to streamline work and conserve effort, but the approach has now fallen out of fashion.

In many ways Taylor's philosophy lies in direct opposition to today's best practice. The most common criticism of Taylor is that his approach is too mechanistic - treating people like machines rather than human beings. with the result being a one-size-fits-all approach to people management and training that fails to recognise the complexity of human motivations.

5.7 Summary

- Taylor is critical of linear system of organisation in which each worker is subordinated to only one boss, he replaced this system with what is called functional foremanship.
- In his time and motion study experiments he made use of motion and time study and analysed how workers handled materials, machine and tools.

5.8 Glossary

Scientific Management : Scientific Management is a theory of management that analyzes and Synthesizes work flows. Its main objective is improving economic efficiency, especially labour Productivity.

Functional Foremanship : It is a factory management technique that advocates for having multiple foreman in different specialized roles.

Time and Motion Study : It is a Scientific method for recording time Spent on a variety of tasks.

5.9 Model Questions

Long Questions :

- Write a critical essay on Taylor's Scientific Management Theory.
- Discuss the Taylor's Functional Foremanship.

Short Questions :

- Why is 'Time and Motion' study important?
- What are the qualities of a good 'Foreman'?
- What are the parts of Taylor's piece-rate system?

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Module II
Theories of Bureaucracy

Unit-6 □ Karl Marx

Structure

- 6.1 Learning Objectives**
 - 6.2 Introduction**
 - 6.3 Karl Marx on Bureaucracy**
 - 6.4 Bureaucracy in capitalist democratic state**
 - 6.5 Lenin on bureaucracy and his modification of Marxian connotation of bureaucracy**
 - 6.6 Conclusion**
 - 6.7 Summary**
 - 6.8 Glossary**
 - 6.9 Model Questions**
 - 6.10 References**
-

6.1 Learning Objectives

After going through this unit the learners will be able to understand

- The characteristics of bureaucracy identified by Karl Marx
 - Marx's view on the role of bureaucracy in Capitalist Democratic State
 - The significance of Marx's view on bureaucracy
 - Lenin's modification of Marxian concept of bureaucracy
-

6.2 Introduction

In common parlance, bureaucracy is a part of the executive organ of the government. It is an institution for achieving efficiency in governance. Bureaucracy is, in fact, a reservoir of facts, skill and expertise required for policy formulation and policy execution.

Marx and his associate, Engels and other adhering to classical Marxism in particular, however, had expressed a different view towards bureaucracy. The Marxian standpoint is based upon his praxis known as dialectical and historical materialism. According to this 'world outlook', the production relations of any particular society constitute the 'base' of that society and upon the base is built the

entire range of 'superstructure'. This superstructure defends the society and ensures its endurance in the face of all crises arising particularly from the forces which are the victims but potential to reshape and change the existing society yielding qualitatively a new one in its place. Marx argues that 'normally' the superstructure does not have autonomy of its own apart from the interests, orientation and objectives of the base and the superstructure.

From his dialectical materialist approach to history Marx opines that bureaucracy is an important part of the state which is the principal part of the superstructure. In a class divided society, based on the institution of private property, bureaucracy is an apparatus of the state that exerts class exploitation and class domination in order to consolidate the power and the all-pervading authority of the state. This state is committed primarily to strengthen the system of the private ownership of the means of production and of exchange upon which is built the edifice of the institution of private property. In an exploitative class society, bureaucracy, as a constituent organ of the state, plays the role and performs the functions that are assigned by the state. The will, power and role of the state, Marx argues, are reflected in and materialized by the bureaucracy.

Deeply observing the nature and style of functioning of bureaucracy in Prussia, Marx held the view that bureaucracy is the epitome of knowledge that justifies class domination. Bureaucratic phenomenon rationalizes the status quo in a class divided society and resists change in the economic structure and in the sphere of politics. In modern capitalist state, bureaucracy as part of the superstructure, serves the interest of the modern capitalist class.

Marx held the view that with the abolition of the capitalist state after the successful socialist revolution and after attainment of developed socialist society bureaucracy will cease to exist and the people themselves will guide themselves for their development and for their ever expanding freedom.

Like Marx, Lenin also believes that bureaucracy in modern bourgeois state works as a machine used by the bourgeoisie to exploit the common people. But as a state executive responsible to build socialism in (the erstwhile) Soviet Union, Lenin could not altogether deny the importance of the existence of bureaucracy. He, however, sought to use this machine for the development of the proletarian state and to expand the scope of people's participation in the sphere of making and executing socialist policies, thereby hindering the growth of bureaucratization in the Soviet state.

6.3 Karl Marx on Bureaucracy

The term bureaucracy was coined just before the French Revolution of 1789. Jean Claude Marie Vincent de Gournay proclaimed that there was an illness in France which could be identified as '*bureaumania*'. The strong protagonist of

bureaucracy was Max Weber presented a systematic theory of bureaucracy; according to him the ideal of bureaucracy was a means for achieving maximum efficiency. In the *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Marx said, 'the executive power with its enormous bureaucratic and military organization, with its ingenious state machinery, embracing wide strata, with a host of officials numbering half a million, besides an army of another half a million, this appalling parasite body, which enmeshes the body of French society like a net and chokes all its pores, sprang up in the days of absolute monarchy'. Marx viewed bureaucracy not as a mode of administration but an apparatus of class exploitation. According to Marx, bureaucracy *never operates in the interest of* the ordinary people; rather it is used to oppress them in the vested interest of the economically dominant class, so as to secure their own narrow self interest and to move fast upward in the career ladder.

Throughout the civilised world the teachings of Marx evoke the utmost hostility and hatred of all bourgeois science (both official and liberal), which regards Marxism as a kind of "pernicious sect". And no other attitude is to be expected, for there can be no "impartial" social science in a society based on class struggle. In one way or another, *all* official and liberal science *defends* wage-slavery, whereas Marxism has declared relentless war on that slavery. To expect science to be impartial in a wage-slave society is as foolishly naïve as to expect impartiality from manufacturers on the question of whether workers' wages ought not to be increased by decreasing the profits of capital.

The genius of Marx consists precisely in his having furnished answers to questions already raised by the foremost minds of mankind. His doctrine emerged as the direct and immediate *continuation* of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism.

The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is comprehensive and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world outlook irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defense of bourgeois oppression. It is the legitimate successor to the best that man produced in the nineteenth century, as represented by German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism.

Inherent philosophy of Marxism is *materialism*. At the end of the eighteenth century, Europe witnessed a vibrant struggle which was mounted against every kind of medieval narrowness, against feudal institutions and ideas and this was best exhibited through the revolution of eighteenth century France. Materialism could prove itself to be the only consistent philosophy conducive to the growth of democratic values and perceptions during this period of turmoil. Marx and Engels defended philosophical materialism in the most determined manner and profoundly explained that materialism could be the basis of modern state theories. Their views were most clearly expounded in the works of Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach* and *Anti-Dühring*, which, like the *Communist Manifesto*, are handbooks for every class-

conscious analyst.

Marx enriched his thoughts in the light of German classical philosophy; he was indebted to Hegel's thought on dialectics, as well as to the perspective of materialism as conceived by Feuerbach. His *historical materialism* was imbibed in scientific thinking. Views on history and politics became strikingly integral and harmonious and the scientific theory of capitalism, upheld a different mode of analysis. The economic structure was conceived as a structure on which the political superstructure, i.e., the political institutions, was supposed to erect its edifice. The state apparatus was meant to serve the interests of the economically dominant class. Marx explained that political institutions were designed and used to strengthen the domination of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat. Marx's principal work, *Capital*, was devoted to a study of the modern, i.e., capitalist economic system. The doctrine of surplus-value was the basic foundation of Marx's economic and political theory.

In 1843, on the basis of the above stated premises, Karl Marx theorized about the role and function of bureaucracy in his *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*. In *Philosophy of Right*, Hegel highlighted and glorified the role of specialized officials in public administration, although he never used the term "bureaucracy" himself. Hegel gave an empirical description of the bureaucracy. Hegel proceeded from the presupposition of the corporations; Hegel never developed any systematic or integrated content on bureaucracy, but presented some general indications of its formal organisation. Karl Marx contended about the state formalism of civil society. According to Marx, the state's consciousness, will, power, and the state's role as a corporation are materialised by bureaucracy. Thus to him bureaucracy was a particular, closed society within the state. Bureaucracy, according to Marx, effectively represented state's interest and the particular private aim, which in turn could convert state's interest into particular private goal as brought into forth by the economically dominant capitalist class. Ultimately it reduced the corporation to mere appearance, or at least took every possible attempt to do so, with an aim to maintain status quo; thus bureaucracy as the manifestation of state formalism was criticised by Marx and by the followers of Marxism.

Bureaucratic hierarchy is actually a hierarchy of knowledge. The mind of the bureaucracy is the formal mind or the real mindlessness of the state. It is, therefore, a categorical imperative, which induces bureaucracy to assert itself as the final end of the state. The formal aims of the bureaucracy come into conflict everywhere with the real aims. The aims of the state then are transformed into aims of bureaus, or the vice versa. Thus bureaucracy is a circle from which no one can escape.

The bureaucracy is taken as the being of the state, the spiritual being of society; it is its private property. The general spirit of the bureaucracy is its secrecy, mystery of delicate performance as the possession of state, preserved inwardly work mode, which it performs by means of the hierarchy, though externally bureaucracy

functions as a closed corporation. Treasure of knowledge possessed by bureaucracy gives it authority, which it retains by the means of passive obedience, loyalty in authority, the mechanism of formalistic behaviour, allegiance to existing fixed principles, conceptions and traditions. In course of time bureaucracy turns this spiritualism into crass materialism; for the individual, the end of the state becomes his private end which he nurtures for pursuit of higher posts in career ladder. This notion about bureaucracy was criticised by Marx. According to Marx, bureaucracy helps concentrating the ownership of surplus in the hands of the capitalist class and is interested in retaining the existing exploitative capitalist system for its own vested interest and career aspirations. Marx argued that bureaucracy uses the state apparatus to maintain the status quo in class divided society, and functions in the interest of the dominant capitalist ruling class, which in turn helps retaining and extending its own narrow vested interest. Marx thus was critical about the role of bureaucracy. Marx felt that "The corporation is civil society's attempt to become state; but the bureaucracy is the state which has really made itself into civil society."

Karl Marx concentrated on three basic concepts:

- i. the development of capitalism,
- ii. the magnitude or extent of its exploitation of working class and
- iii. the emancipation of working class

While doing this, Marx focused almost on all the major economic, political and sociological issues. In course of the analysis, he strongly criticised the concept of bureaucracy, in terms of its role and function in sustenance of bourgeois economy, bourgeois polity and bourgeois society as a collectively designed mechanism of exploitation of the weaker class. Marx did not develop a comprehensive theory of bureaucracy like Weber. In course of his studies in some major capitalist countries of Western Europe regarding functioning of the state in those countries, he noted that bureaucracy, to the capitalists, was not simply a mode of public administration but also an instrument of exploitation of the working class.

To Marx, the state is simply "the executive committee of the ruling class." Sometimes, however, he characterized the state itself as the exploiting agent. In the Manifesto of Communist Party Marx and Engels wrote: "The executive of the modern state is a committee for making the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie". There was no direct reference to the concept of bureaucracy in this respect, but Marx and Engels observed that in a bourgeois state the army, police, bureaucracy, clergy and legislature were meant for serving the interests of the modern capitalist state; the executive power was vested in the hands of a group of administrators, namely the bureaucrats and these persons represented the interests of the economically dominant capitalist class. Bureaucracy devoted itself for securing the interest of the existing class rule and simultaneously the capitalist class used it to establish its dominance and supremacy in all sections of society and state.

According to Marx, the bureaucracy always regarded itself as the custodian or in other term, private owner of public resources, taking every possible effort to conserve a substantial degree of control over these resources and for using them for their own purpose. Marx never considered bureaucracy as neutral and as indispensable part of administration; contrarily he held that bureaucrats flag the political color of bourgeoisie. As conceived by Marx, 'bureaucracy constitutes an imaginary state beside the real state and is the spiritualism of the state. Thus every object has a dual meaning, a real and a bureaucratic one, just as knowledge is dual, a real and a bureaucratic. Bureaucracy holds in its possession the essence of the state, the spiritual essence of society, it is its private property. The principle of its knowledge is therefore authority, and its mentality is the idolatry of authority. But within bureaucracy the spiritualism turns into a crass materialism, the materialism of passive obedience, faith in authority, the mechanism of fixed and formal behavior, fixed principles, attitudes, traditions. As far as the individual bureaucrat is concerned, the aim of the state becomes its private aim, in the form of a race for higher posts, of careerism [Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right (1843) Karl Marx: Selected Works, p. 31]. According to Marx, bureaucrats are the conservative allies of existing economic and social elites and they devote themselves for protecting the existing social and economic structures of society for their own class interests.

Marx believed that the rise of bureaucracy was closely associated with the rise of state. "The aims of the state are transformed into the aims of the bureaucracy and the aims of the bureaucracy into the aims of the state. Its hierarchy is a hierarchy of knowledge. The apex entrusts the lower circles with the insight into the individual while the lower circles leave insight into the universal to the apex, so they deceive each other reciprocally". He concluded that bureaucracy would disappear with the disappearance of the state, i.e., its withering away. If the modern state wished to do away with the impotence of its administration, it would have to do away with the contemporary private sphere for it only exists in contrast to the private sphere. While drawing an image on future communist society Marx distinctly mentioned that purification of the political facets of public power would be possible with the abolition of its bureaucratic element. He strongly criticized Hegel's view on bureaucracy as a mediator between the state and the civil society and saw the solution of the problem in the abolition of bureaucracy along with the abolition of the state itself, which to Marx was obvious in a classless society.

Marx formed his theory of bureaucracy on the basis of his personal experience of the malfunctioning of the state administration. He observed that Louis Bonaparte was gradually accumulating more and more dictatorial power with the help of bureaucracy and military. Particularly the former helped to make and execute laws and to strengthen the base of despotism, even making the legislature and other organs of the government crippled. The bureaucracy became rather an

indispensable part of Bonaparte's administration and despotism. He observed that in France and several other states of Europe the entire state administration was run by the bureaucrats and these state officers were dictated by the king or any type of dictator. The bureaucracy was so common in his time that he very frequently used the phrase bureaucratic phenomenon, by which he hinted that the entire administration was under the full control of few officers known as bureaucrats. Following the Industrial Revolution and consequent changes in the political, economic and social structures of society, state bureaucracy established its inevitability everywhere. Even in parliamentary system there was great need for state bureaucracy. In Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* it was being stated that in France there was an enormous bureaucratic and military organisation; in France, bureaucracy was only the means of preparing and sustaining the class rule of the bourgeoisie. Marx treated bureaucracy as an instrument of ruling class—the most powerful class of society. He deduced the notion of bureaucracy from the bureaucratic relationship existing between the power-holding institutions and the social groups subordinated to them. According to Marx, the bureaucracy is an “appalling parasitic body”. He also called it dreadful parasitic substance. He vehemently criticised the bureaucratic system of all capitalist structures of his time. The bureaucratic system that prevailed in the contemporary states was not neutral at all, but as a powerful instrument of class rule and class exploitation, which was inseparable part of the state system with all monopoly of public resources.

In explaining 'the history of all the hitherto existing class societies' with a materialist perception Marx tried to show that the idea of bureaucracy emerged from the womb of capitalism. To him, neither in primitive and slave societies, nor in the feudal societies, there was any trace of bureaucracy. According to Marx and Engels, the emergence of the capitalist state and rise of bureaucracy are, in fact, inseparable from each other, as the capitalists in their attempts to safeguard its objective of profit maximization subsequently found it convenient to construct an apparatus that would help them exploiting their absolute rights over material and human property and wealth. Bureaucracy, in Marx's opinion, helped the bourgeois state in its activities of exploiting the working class.

According to Marx, in course of development, with the abolition of class distinctions and with the concentration of production in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power would have no option but to lose its political character; hereafter, it would not be designated as the organised power of one class for oppressing the other. He held that in such a situation bureaucracy would disappear, as the unproductive class of rulers.

6.4 Bureaucracy in capitalist democratic state

Ralph Miliband, a noted Marxist thinker, in his *The State in Capitalist Society: The Analysis of Western System of Power* (1969) while analysing bureaucracy (the Servants of the State) and its role in advanced capitalism, said that the political leaders of advanced capitalism have clear party colour, whereas the bureaucrats have no such colour—they are neutral or are supposed to be neutral. Actually the top leaders of the party, after coming to power, recruit and depute their own men in important posts; still these bureaucrats are expected to be politically neutral and to be loyal to the chairs in the ministry, irrespective of the colour of the party in power; their exclusive concern is to fulfil the purpose of the state administration under the direction of their political masters; but in performing their administrative functions in an impartial manner, neutrality is the major motto and challenge for these bureaucrats. Miliband contended this generalised notion regarding the myth of neutrality of bureaucrats in capitalist countries. According to Miliband these bureaucrats are the indispensable parts of administration as they play a crucial part in the process of governmental decision-making and as a trained and effective force take part in the configuration of political power in their respective societies. Though they are bound to carry the orders of their political masters, they make this political colour to be in tune with running trends of politics. Bureaucrats come from a particular ladder of the society, mostly upper ladder and therefore naturally prefer to maintain status quo, so that their authoritarian position in the social stratification remains unaltered.

Thus, politically though they claim to be neutral at least in policy implementing affairs, their neutrality may be placed beneath the scanner of doubt. These bureaucrats mostly come from the power elite groups, either political or socio-economic; most of them hail from policy making elite groups or at least from upper layer of academic strata and mostly are the students of top academic institutions, bearing an upper class stigma. Their grooming and socialization are in tune with existing capitalist socio-economic and political system; they have their own political ideas and inclination and family background that come in the way of their supposedly neutral role. Consequently, whenever a government decides to introduce “reforms” for the general benefit of the mass, these civil servants often fail to come out from their conservative values. Their conservatism and their own orthodox values and vested class interest come in the way of their impersonality and impartiality; their intentional or unintentional alliance with the existing economic and social elitism and nexus with political power blocs help retaining and maintaining the existing social and economic structures of society.

In most of the cases the civil servants are the protectors and propagators of private capitalism and the advancement of globalisation has added additional

importance to its role. Ralph Miliband has said that bureaucracy is a great supporter of corporate capitalism and especially after the World War II a close nexus has developed between top civil servants and corporate capitalism. There is a nexus between the bureaucrats and politicians; bureaucrats play a crucial role in implementation of policy as well as in policy framing, thus often intervene in the functional domain of a democratically elected government. On behalf of the politicians the top bureaucrats interact and even negotiate with the magnates of private capitalism. This job is also done by the top bureaucrats. Miliband noticed that 'the world of administration' and 'the world of large scale enterprise' are now increasingly linked in terms of an almost interchanging personnel and this has become more obvious in the post industrial era or better to say in the advanced stage of globalization. This type of interchangeability between top civil servants and important leaders of corporate or private capitalism has created obstruction in the path of non-political identity of bureaucracy. Bureaucratic neutrality has become buzzword, according to the Marxist critiques. Marx, bureaucracy is nothing but a machine used by the bourgeois class to exploit the proletariat class.

6.5 Lenin on bureaucracy and his modification of Marxian connotation of bureaucracy

The October Revolution ruthlessly had overthrown the old Tsarist state, but it left behind the conditions of chronic economic and cultural backwardness. Engels explained that in every capitalist society art, science and government are in the exclusive possession of a privileged minority and this minority always uses and abuses its positions in its own interests; the vast majority of the people in these societies are forced to toil for long hours in industry and agriculture for the bare necessities of life. After the revolution, in a condition of ruined economy, the workers were required to render more service, to work for a longer period of time, not for minority privileged, but for the mass, for the nation. Under the circumstances, in tune with Trotsky, Lenin proposed the New Economic Policy (NEP), which essentially suggested that the peasants must be convinced to voluntarily increase their production and also for consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. By 1921-1922, the situation was quite distinctive for a society wishing to build socialism under a working class leadership. In this context Lenin in his *The State and Revolution* (1918) elaborately discussed bureaucracy. Like Marx and Engels, Lenin believed that bureaucracy was a machine used by the bourgeoisie to exploit the common people, particularly the working class. But to him in this affair both the bureaucracy and the military help bourgeois rulers to exploit the proletariat. But according to him each of these instruments is essential and indispensable for proletarian rule also; however he suggested that they must be utilised to satisfy proletarian interests. Instead of destroying the bureaucratic system from its root,

Lenin favoured to use them for the development of the proletarian state, though Marx contended that both bureaucracy and military are the arms of capitalist government and the chief aim of the revolutionaries would be to smash it.

Marx proposed this in the context of the French Revolution. In the same tune Lenin in his *The State and Revolution* said that the real aim of all revolutionaries would be to smash or destroy the military and bureaucratic alliance prevailing in the present form to restrain them from exploiting the working class. Lenin characterised the bureaucracy as a *parasitic, bourgeois growth* on the workers' state, and an expression of the petty-bourgeois outlook which penetrated the state and even the Party.

6.6 Conclusion

The term bureaucracy was coined by Jean Claude Marie Vincent de Gournay to denote a negative role of government officials. Max Weber presented a systematic theory of bureaucracy. In the *Eighteenth Brumaire* of Louis Bonaparte, Marx said, this bureaucracy is an appalling parasite body. Marx viewed bureaucracy not as a mode of administration but an apparatus of class exploitation. In *Philosophy of Right*, Hegel highlighted and glorified the role of specialized officials in public administration. In a critique, Marx said that bureaucracy effectively represented state's interest and the particular private aim, the economically dominant capitalist class. Bureaucratic hierarchy is actually a hierarchy of knowledge. The bureaucracy asserts itself as the final end of the state. He strongly criticized Hegel's view on bureaucracy as a mediator between the state and the civil society and saw the solution of the problem in the abolition of bureaucracy along with the abolition of the state itself. Marx and Engels observed that the emergence of the capitalist state and rise of bureaucracy are inseparable from each other and together they operate to safeguard its objective of profit maximization.

Ralph Miliband said that the political leaders of advanced capitalism have clear party colour and to be politically neutral, is a major challenge for the bureaucrats, as often they are the recruits of the ruling party. Social origin of these bureaucrats influences their role. According to Miliband, there is a nexus between the bureaucrats and politicians.

Lenin believed that bureaucracy was a machine used by the bourgeoisie to exploit the common people, particularly the working class. But to him each of these instruments is essential and indispensable for running the state by the proletariat. Lenin favoured to use.

6.7 Summary

- According to Max bureaucracy is an important part of the state which is the principle part of the superstructure.
 - Marx viewed bureaucracy not as a mode of administration but an apparatus of class exploitation.
 - Marx concentrated on three basic concepts:
 - i) The development of capitalism,
 - ii) The magnitude or extent of its exploitation of working class.
 - iii) The emancipation of working class.
 - Marx formed his theory of bureaucracy on the basis of his personal experience of the malfunctioning of the state administration.
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6.8 Glossary

Class exploitation, State formalism, Social stratification, Profit maximisation, corporate capitalism.

Class exploitation : A distribute injustice arising from asset inequalities, with no reference to notions of power or dominance.

State formalism : It is the State's Consciousness, the states will, the state power, as a corporation.

Social Stratification : It refer to a Society's categorization of its people into groups based on Socio-economic factors like Wealth, Income, Race, Education, Ethnicity, Gender, Occupation, Social status or derived power.

Profit Maximisation : It is the short run or long run process by which a firm may determine the price, input and output level that lead to the highest profit.

Corporate Capitalism : It is a capitalist market place characterized by the dominance of hierarchical and bureaucratic corporation.

6.9 Model questions

Long Questions:

- Discuss the Marxian idea on the nature and essence of bureaucracy.
- Critically examine the context and essence of the difference between the Marxian and Leninist views on bureaucracy.
- Write an essay on the relevance of the Marxian idea of bureaucracy in modern society.

Short Questions:

- What, according to Karl Marx, led to the rise of bureaucracy?
 - How did Marx develop his theoretical construct of bureaucracy?
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Unit-7 □ Critique of the Marxist Theory

Structure

- 7.1 Objectives**
 - 7.2 Introduction**
 - 7.3 Emergence and role of bureaucracy : Marxian contentions**
 - 7.4 Critical assessment of the Marxist notion of bureaucracy**
 - 7.5 Conclusion**
 - 7.6 Summary**
 - 7.7 Glossary**
 - 7.8 Model Questions**
 - 7.9 References**
-

7.1 Learning Objectives

After reading this unit the learners will understand

- The context of the Marxist analysis of bureaucracy
 - The value and significance of the Marxian contention regarding the role of bureaucracy
 - The points of criticism against Marxian assumption on bureaucracy
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7.2 Introduction

Bureaucracy is an organ of government which is an instrument of state. In a class divided society and state based on class exploitation and class domination bureaucracy is used to accumulate more and more power for the rulers of the state, who work in the interest of the dominant economic class.

Historically, the rise of the bureaucracy is closely associated with the rise of the state. But modern bureaucracy is an outgrowth of the development of nation state as well as capitalism. In capitalist state, bureaucracy is constituted by the officials at the upper echelon of administration. These officials are appointed by the state and they are loyal to the state which, as the principal part of the superstructure, preserves, protects and defends the existing mode of production. Under capitalism, the officials constituting bureaucracy use to control and exploit the workers on behalf of the capitalists who establish overwhelming control over the economic

structure of the society and pervading domination over politics in collaboration with the ruling class of the state.

Marx is of opinion that state is not an universal organization. It is not an organic part of human society. It is developed with the development of private ownership of the means of production and of class division in society. Both these the private ownership of the means of production and the class division are the logical corollaries of the institution of private property. Marx argues that with the abolition of this institution of private property under the formidable pressure of the socialist forces, the state will wither away. And with this withering away of the state, bureaucracy, as an organic part of it, will cease to exist.

Following the essence of the Marxist connotation on bureaucracy, it is argued that bureaucracy is a parasite body of society. In a class divided society, it is essentially a social class associated with the capitalists and the political elites who control the economy and rules the state either singly or on the basis of partnership. Bureaucracy is anti-people in orientation and it retards the process of participation of the people in and their inclusion into the sphere of administration of state. It, thus, alienates people from the affairs of the state. In underdeveloped and developing society, where democratic constituents or the democratic entities like press and civil society etc. are weak and lack integrity, bureaucracy tends to become irresponsible and plays an irresponsible public role and helps degenerate and turn a legal and constitutional democracy into a bureaucratic state.

Marx had criticized the class character and class content of bureaucracy. He advocated its abolition in future society to be evolved out of socialist revolution. But the fact that follows is that neither in the former Soviet Union nor in the People's Republic in China, both of which evolved out of socialist revolution, bureaucracy had/has not been obliterated, rather it had/has acquired a phenomenal strength and power in every sphere of both public and private life. The socialist state and their all organs are overburdened with pervasive bureaucratic phenomenon and the functions of the respective communist party considered as the vanguard of the working class, is overshadowed by the overwhelming growth of bureaucracy.

The critics of the Marxist contention of bureaucracy express the view that Marx had no particular scheme for removing the dysfunction of bureaucracy. Nor did he offer any alternative pattern of administration which is absolutely compatible to one satisfying the needs and requirements of the disadvantaged, underprivileged and the marginal. Almost everywhere the political masters are increasingly becoming devoid of mastery over the knowledge, skill and expertise relevant to modern statecraft and this tendency is responsible for the incessant growth of bureaucracy.

7.3 Emergence and Role of Bureaucracy: Marxian Contentions

Marx pointed out that bureaucracy arose with capitalism and the nation state in Western Europe around the sixteenth century. The concentration of wealth and power in the hands of merchant capitalists and absolute monarchs led to the need of an instrument for the management of wealth and the exercise of power. This instrument was the bureaucracy. With its help capitalists competed accumulated all the power of state in their hands. In medieval society trade was local. The invention of steamships made it possible to trade with distant places. The merchant adventurers, who had to go to the distant places needed to be insured by state power. This need of far-flung trade gave rise to the nation state. The rulers had to centralise the power of the state through unified state crafts, instead of decentralized administration of the feudal era. This could not be done except through a large number of officials. These officials constituted the bureaucracy. Hence the bureaucracy was associated with capitalism and the nation state.

According to Marx, value is produced by human labour. Workers receive only a portion of the value produced by them in the form of wages. The other portion, which is retained by the capitalists, is constituted through their exploitation. Hence exploitation, which can be measured in this way, is always present in capitalist relations of production. The huge profits of capitalists are derived from the exploitation of a large number of workers. A capitalist cannot manage so many workers alone. He has to employ managers for this purpose. These managers, and officials associated with them, constitute the bureaucracy. Hence, according to Marx, bureaucracy consists of officials who control the workers on behalf of the owners or rulers. Its function is to get wealth out of the workers' effort to build wealth under the exploitative system of capitalism.

Marx held that the governmental bureaucracy would have a similar function in regard to workers employed by the government. Large numbers of workers are employed by the government in non-industrial occupations also, such as postmen, nurses, teachers, mechanics, and so on, placed in a horizontal positions or in hierarchical layers. This workforce or wage labourers include engineers, doctors, teachers, architects and scientists etc. who are also involved in productive activity. The bureaucracy keeps control over all of them on behalf of the government, politically elected rulers, coming from or backed by the capitalist class. Thus, for example, members of the Indian Administrative Service and also those of State Administrative Services advise ministers and in consultation with them, direct, supervise and control the workers involved in productive activity.

Another function of the governmental bureaucracy is to help in maintaining capitalist relations of production in the wider society. The government bureaucracy implements labour laws so as to keep the wheels of industry moving and maintain

the profits of the capitalists. Thus the governmental bureaucracy performs the important function of maintaining, nurturing and developing capitalism. According to Marx, the path to socialism lies mostly through capitalism. Hence, while on the one hand the development of capitalism accentuates exploitation, on the other hand it prepares the way to socialism. Marx held that if capitalism and the nation state could be superseded bureaucracy would also become obsolete.

The emergence and growth of bureaucracy, the controversial role of this non-political officialdom, with the growth of capitalist state systems have been the subjects of considerable discussion among social scientists. Conventional protagonists of bourgeois socio-political system argue that bureaucratic hierarchies are indispensable in modern societies. The book in which the observation of Marx and Engels is most comprehensively presented is *Marx and Engels: Collected Works*. *The Selected Works of Marx and Engels* also narrated some basic views regarding State and its bureaucracy. Marx's criticisms of the state and its bureaucracy are scattered throughout his prolific writings. However, his most articulate position on bureaucracy is found in *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (in *Collected Works*, vol.3) *The Civil War in France*, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, and *The Class Struggle in France* are some of the literary contributions where Marx outlined his revolutionary views on the bureaucracy and the state and provided justification for their elimination. According to Marx, the rise of bureaucracy is closely associated with the rise of state and Marx and Engels had thrown light on this issue in *The German Ideology*, where they narrated that as a class, the bourgeoisie is forced to organise itself no longer locally, but nationally, and to give a general form to its average interests. Through the emancipation of private property from the community the state has become a separate entity, alongside and outside civil society, but it is nothing more than the form of organisation which the bourgeois are compelled to adopt, both for internal and external purposes, for the mutual guarantee of their property and interest. Marx in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* acclaimed that the executive power with its enormous bureaucratic and military organisation, with its ingenious state machinery emerged as a support system to protect the interest and private property of the bourgeoisie. However, Marx criticised bureaucracy as an appalling parasite body, which 'enmeshes the body of French society like a net and chokes all its pores, sprang up in the days of absolute monarchy.' From these observations it is now clear what Marx actually thought about bureaucracy and felt that the rise of bureaucracy and growth of bourgeoisie were inextricably connected. He concluded that bureaucracy was not simply a mode of administration but an instrument of exploitation.

Marx formed his theory of bureaucracy on the basis of his personal experience of the malfunctioning of the state administration. He deduces the notion of bureaucracy from the bureaucratic relationship existing between the power-

holding institutions and the social groups subordinated to them. To a greater extent, Engels helped to expand the negative notion of bureaucracy in his *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Lenin's *State and Revolution* echoed many of the Marxist themes of bureaucratic organization: its use as an instrument of class domination, as a bourgeois apparatus, and the withering away of the state.

Marx's conception of the bureaucracy represents its alienated character standing above society, alienated from society and working in favour of economically dominant class. The characteristic detachment in official relationship to the mass of the people makes bureaucracy undesirable and self-destructive. In the course of functioning as the instrument of maintaining status quo, Marx noted that the bureaucracy acquires power of its own and gets alienated from the rest of the society. Ministers are busy with political affairs and have to depend upon the bureaucracy 'for information and advice. Thus, the bureaucracy comes to serve an important role in policy formulation also. If unions and association of the people, and political parties are weak, they are unable to communicate the needs and grievances of the people to the government, i.e., in a situation of political underdevelopment, the bureaucracy becomes the main channel of communication between the government and the people and whatever be their role, positive or negative, in a weak democracy they are the only instrument for running the business of the state. In developed countries also there is no alternative mechanism for implementation of public policies, which Lenin realized as a practical administrator.

Marx also attacked incompetence in the bureaucracy. Under the existing circumstances, the bureaucracy identifies the interest of the state and its own private goals as identical. Political power is used to safeguard the economic power of the propertied class. According to Marx, as the coercive and repressive functions of the bureaucracy become more prominent, the intensity of class conflict increases and with it the possibility of revolution gets momentum. Therefore, according to Marx and Engels, the abolition of the state involves three steps: the overthrow of the bourgeois state by revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the "withering away" of the bureaucracy.

7.4 Critical Assessment of Marxist Notion of Bureaucracy

Marx hardly wrote anything explicitly on bureaucracy. But in *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (1844), *The German Ideology*, *Civil War in France* and in some other writings Marx expressed his views on bureaucracy and examined its role in the capitalist system. He deduced the notion of bureaucracy from the bureaucratic relationship existing between the power-holding institutions and the social groups subordinated to them. In course of expressing his concern about the development of capitalism, the magnitude of its ruthless exploitation of working

class and the emancipation of working class, he covered almost all the major issues of economics, politics and sociology, amongst which bureaucracy found its place as a condemned parasitic body. Marx viewed bureaucracy as a class with particular vested interests, based on property relations. He considered bureaucracy a part of state mechanism and on the basis of his personal experience of the malfunctioning of the state administration he attacked the so called characteristics of bureaucracy such as superior knowledge, merit principle, rule mindedness, impartiality etc.

It is important to note that the foregoing analysis is based on the writings of the young Marx of 1843, with his theory of historical materialism not yet fully developed. Marx then allowed the bureaucracy more autonomy than he did later. The significance of Marx's analysis of bureaucracy lies in his insistence that bureaucratic structures do not automatically reflect prevailing social power relations but pervert and disfigure them. Bureaucracy is thus the image of prevailing social power distorted by its claim of universality. In his manuscript for the fourth volume of '*Capital*' Marx approached the role of bureaucracy from the economic side, which was criticized by the anti-Marxist thinkers and was modified by Marxist thinkers.

But Marx could not provide a clear ideological framework to reform or remove the bourgeois bureaucracy. He seemed confused regarding formation of an administrative set up in a socialist state. The classical Marxist discussion of the labour bureaucracy began as an attempt to explain the growth of reformism within the mass socialist parties of the early twentieth century. The leaders of the revolutionary left-wing of European socialism criticized the theory and practice of the mainstream of social-democracy. After the practical revolutionary success of the Bolsheviks, Marxist discussions of the labour bureaucracy became more relevant. Lenin took the responsibility to explain how the bureaucracy can be dismantled or reformed to suit the requirements of social democracy. Lenin insisted for regulation and discipline. Rosa Luxemburg went to the extent of criticising Lenin for enslaving the labour moment to the bureaucracy. Karl Kautsky suggested acceptance of the inevitability of bureaucracy and to reorganise it in the interest of workers.

Lenin answered his critics and espoused his views on bureaucracy in his book "*The State and the Revolution*" (1917), wherein he expressed the need to dismantle the old state bureaucracy and advocated the rule of the proletariat with strong central control till the withering away of the state. He also advocated the continuation of representative institutions. There would be officials, he stated, but not bureaucrats. In reality what Lenin visualised is not the bureaucracy but a proletarian administrative apparatus. Lenin conceded during Eleventh Party Congress that the old bureaucratic apparatus could not be removed. While accepting the continuation of pre-revolutionary bureaucracy Stalin expressed the doubt that the Party may lose control of the state apparatus. During Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party in 1930 Stalin accepted that there could be a new communist

bureaucrat who could work against the interest of working class.

The commitments of successive leaders could not make much headway in smashing bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Trotsky who called for dismantling of bureaucracy, had a difference of opinion with Lenin and Stalin. He wrote in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937) that instead of smashing of bureaucracy in the Soviet Union he noticed the emergence of a privileged and commanding bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. In spite of theoretical commitment to dismantle the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, bureaucracy continued as a new class and appropriated the surplus produced by the working class. It all reveals that bureaucracy as an inevitable institution survived every type of system.

Thus Marx opposed the bureaucratic structure in the political state and stated that such a structure in ultimately jeopardising the process of development and in its attempt to maintain the status quo of the capitalist system, would destroy the equilibrium in the polity. However, Marx has failed to suggest the alternative mode of administrative structure, which would help the Proletariat in running administration. We find no evidence of any form of Communist administrative structure in the writings of Marx, though the Marxian approach was most explicit and optimistic in the elimination of the state and its bureaucracy. Experience shows that the Marxian version of bureaucracy is perhaps most deficient in its practical vision as far as the bureaucratization of society is concerned. It is evident from the incidents of administrative transformation in erstwhile Soviet Union and China. Practically, it failed to take into account few basic aspects:

- The socialist states could not wipe out the bureaucratic legacies left by the previous imperial regimes.
- The organizational size and complicated administrative functions of Tzarist Russia and Imperial China required the sustenance of the existing bureaucratic structure mostly with older attitude and mode of governance.

Class bias, recruitments based on ascription and kinship, corruption, inefficiency, ineffectiveness, isolation from the common men and so forth were found to be some of the major inherited problems. Even after the socialist revolutions bureaucracy was to be tolerated because of the lack of experts and professionals capable of dealing with the changing requirements of administrative and technical effectiveness which industrialization demanded. Therefore, the pre-revolutionary bureaucracy continued with all its dysfunctional characteristics and primordial level of skills. But their attitude was not adaptable to the new order; the new regimes viewed them as parasites and unreliable burden on the society and economy. The new generation socialist rulers surrounded them with cadres and other officials, for which neither the old bureaucracy could function properly nor they could bring in the required change in the administration. Moreover, it caused huge financial burden in the state. This bureaucracy was more a reactionary work force, than a progressive one under the supervision and control of the Proletariat. Marx's vision embodied in

real states was hampered by the penetration of the party-bureaucratic–state machinery into every level of society in the Communist states, as in the case of the Soviet Union and China.

Ernest Mandel provides a powerful Marxian alternative to the Stalinist, social-democratic and bourgeois theories that deny the possibility of democratically organized workers' struggles and workers' power in the modern world. In a series of works, Mandel's theory of bureaucracy is one of the central *scientific* foundations of our revolutionary socialist political project in the late twentieth century. Mandel presented a complex, coherent and empirically well-grounded response to the notion that the absorption of power by a minority of officials and experts is the “inevitable” result of complex, large-scale, modern social organization. Mandel argued that bureaucracy is the product of specific, historically limited relations among human beings and between human beings and the natural world as well; it is a product of specific social relations and material forces of production. Mandel's theory of bureaucracy provides a contemporary defense, extension and in-depth exploration of the classical Marxist discussion of bureaucracy, in particular the works of Rosa Luxemburg and Leon Trotsky. Mandel's analysis of the material roots and development of the Soviet bureaucracy in *Power and Money* closely follows that of Trotsky in *The Revolution Betrayed*. Mandel provided a very powerful reply to various social-democrats and former Stalinists who claim that Stalin merely implemented Trotsky's economic proposals, though in a “barbaric form”, in the late 1920s and 1930s. Mandel demonstrated that Trotsky continued, until his death in 1940, to advocate a democratically controlled economy that combined a dominant state-owned, planned sector with market mechanisms. Through his theory of bureaucracy and his investigations into the dynamics of capitalist accumulation in the twentieth century he attempted to defend the necessity of self-emancipation for working class as the only basis for human liberation and survival. The notions that the labour bureaucrats could defend the gains of workers under capitalism or that the ruling bureaucracies could construct a viable alternative to capitalism had proven to be thoroughly utopian, as Mandel claimed. According to Mandel, the material position and self-interest of the reformist bureaucracies in the west were evidences of this fact.

Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* occupies a central place in the development of Marx's theory of the modern state. As Shlomo Avineri points out, despite its disorganised nature, Marx's 1843 *Critique of the Philosophy of Right* (hereafter 1843 Critique) is his most systematic work on political theory. While Marx had not yet fully developed a theory of the self-emancipation of the working class, without the official assistance of bureaucracy, his method remained consistent to penetrate beneath the abstract categories of political economy in terms of bureaucratic activity.

Critics point out that Marx's thought of ending class domination is utopian and unrealistic. Later followers of Marx also felt that domination has always been there and will never end. Marx's notion has been criticized for its economic determinism. Another utopian thought is regarding withering away or abolition of state; under the circumstance, existence of bureaucracy is unavoidable to manage the administration of a large scale organization, like nation state, management of which requires expertise, knowledge and training. New technological revolution may reduce the size of bureaucracy, may increase dependence on the technocrats, but cannot afford to abolish the structure altogether and this is evident from the course of history throughout the world. Dependence on bureaucratic administration makes equality a myth, as along with relations of production, there will be a strong power relations.

Marxists have focused mainly on the origin, development, need or nuisance of bureaucracy as a structure, but the entire discourse appears to be misleading in the sense that bureaucracy is absolutely an indestructible trait that constitutes the core of the phenomenon, whatever be its side effects. In the governance of large nation states and its aspirational populations which dominate the present political landscape, hegemonic bureaucracies find a new space to operate and often inject their private gains into public sphere. For this they thrive, multiply and perpetuate their hold over the common citizens. Abolition of hegemonic bureaucracy or in other word, complete de-bureaucratization or reform of this characteristic hegemony appears to be utopian. Robert Michels also ventured into the phenomena of the bureaucratic phenomena and he realized that the modern State needs a large bureaucracy because through it the politically dominant classes secure their domination. Gramsci saw hegemony as the supremacy of a social group or groups as ideological domination. Gramsci's thought on hegemony pointed towards an order in which a certain way of life and thought are dominant. Though Gramsci's concern was primarily with the Communist Party and not with the bureaucracy as a socio-political phenomenon, his thought is relevant to focus on bureaucratic dominance which is inevitable.

The hindrance to bureaucracy is usually traced to the role and dysfunctions of public officials. These officials are enjoying too much power as politicians are often very casual regarding governance and rulers are short termed power lovers. There is a need for the delimitation of bureaucratic autocracy, which is again a myth in immature democracies; this makes the ever-growing power of bureaucracy unavoidable.

7.5 Conclusion

Like Weber, Marx did not build up a comprehensive theory of bureaucracy. He studied the development of capitalism in some major capitalist countries of

Western Europe and their mode of administration. In course of his study, Max observed that bureaucracy under capitalism does not offer simply a mode of public administration but it is also an instrument of exploitation of the working class. In the “Manifesto of the Communist Party” (1848) Marx and Engels stated that the executive of the modern state was a committee for making the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie, by which they hinted towards the role of bureaucracy in managing the administration of the bourgeois state, though there they did not directly refer to the institution of bureaucracy. In *The German Ideology*, it was mentioned that the rise of bureaucracy was closely associated with the rise of state. In *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, they contended that the rise of bureaucracy and growth of bourgeoisie were inextricably connected and said that the bureaucracy was an instrument of exploitation and condemned it as a parasitic body. In Marx's view the rise and growth of bureaucracy must be viewed in the light of capitalism. Marx observed that Louis Bonaparte was gradually accumulating more and more power and dictatorial power with the help of bureaucracy and military. Particularly the former helped to make and execute laws and to strengthen the base of despotism. However, Lenin realised the importance of bureaucracy in administration. He thought that the abolition of the bureaucracy of capitalist regime will lead to great anarchy or turmoil and this he did not prefer. To him, the function and character of bureaucracy were to be changed for the benefit of the working class and for building socialism, keeping its role subordinate to the proletariat.

Mandel's theory of bureaucracy is one of the central scientific foundations of the revolutionary political project of working class self-activity, self-organization and self-emancipation. He stated that the development of the bureaucracy does not enhance the “efficiency” and effectivity of mass workers organizations under capitalism. He felt that instead, the officialdom's monopoly of power *undermines* the ability of the working class to either defend its most immediate interests under capitalism or to build a viable alternative to capitalism.

Mandel's analysis of the origins and role of the labour bureaucracy in the capitalist social formations, and his theory of the revolutionary workers' organization were the alternatives to bureaucratic reformism. Mandel attempted to explain why, contrary to the expectation of revolutionary Marxists, no truly mass revolutionary parties emerged in the advanced capitalist countries since the 1920s. He attempted to update and refine Trotsky's analysis of the bureaucracy in the post-capitalist societies. He tried to focus on the issue of the possible relationship of the bureaucracy with the working class, constituting a new mode of production and probability of emergence of “workers' states” in any meaningful, Marxian sense.

Marx provided a serious criticism of Marx Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy. His explanation of bureaucracy and its characteristics provided an alternative perspective on the nature of bureaucracy. It has been said that Marx's hope of ending class domination is unrealistic since domination has always been

there. Marx is sometimes criticised for supporting dictatorship. However, Marx stood for self-government of the workers. The short-lived dictatorship of the proletariat was needed only to deal with the prevailing dictatorship of the capitalist class. Gramsci talked of cultural hegemony, which was a realistic expansion of Marxist notion of bureaucracy, developed on the basis of Marx's concentration on economic determinism.

7.6 Summary

- Marx had criticized the class character and class content of bureaucracy.
- In a class divided society, it is essentially a social class associated with the capitalists and the political elites who control the economy and rules the state either singly or on the basis of partnership.
- Marx opposed the bureaucratic structure in the political state and stated that such a structure is ultimately jeopardising the process of development and in its attempt to maintain the status quo of the capitalist system, would destroy the equilibrium in the policy.

7.7 Glossary

City-State, Commune, Trotskyism, Proletarian administrative apparatus, Ascription and kinship, Reactionary Radicalism, Hegemonic bureaucracy, Utopia
City State : It is a Political system consisting of an independent city having sovereignty over contiguous territory and servicing as a culture and leader of Political, economic and cultural life.

Commune : The commune was an antithesis of the empire, in the positive sense it was a republic. It was formed of Councillors elected through universal suffrage.

Trotskyism : The idea that the Russian Proletariat might win the power in advance of the western Proletariat, and that in that case it could not confine itself within the limits of a direction ship but would be compelled to undulate the initial Socialist measures.

Proletarian : It comprised of the poor, the working classes, the lumpen Proletariat after the working class revolution they establish the dictatorship of the Proletariat eventually leading to state ownership of the means of Production.

Ascription and Kingship : Ascription is a crucial point of convergence and marks the intergenerational transformation of power into status.

Kingship is the Social class position is ascriptively determined for the child by the link between the father's family role and his work role.

Reactionary Radicalism : It presents a challenge to marxism for not sufficiently addressing elements of worker's subjectivity.

Hegemonic bureaucracy : The state bureaucracy acts as a hegemonic agent by dominating culture and maintaining its predominance in Social, Political, economic life.

Utopia : It is of the idea Society, which is highly desirable near perfect but almost unattainable.

7.8 Model Questions

Long Questions :

- Identify, following Karl Marx, the causes for the rise of bureaucracy.
- Explain the role of bureaucracy in a Capitalist state.
- What, according to Marx, is the basis of bureaucratic power as per Marx's observation?
- Describe the facets of alienation of bureaucracy, as identified by Karl Marx.

Short Questions :

- What, according to Marx, are the characteristics of bureaucracy?
- What are the major criticisms of Marx's analysis of bureaucracy?

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Unit-8 □ Max Weber

Structure

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8.1 Learning Objectives

After studying this unit the learners will understand

- The principles and theories of bureaucratic management, designed by Max Weber
- The definition and the theoretical construct on bureaucracy,
- The bureaucratic form and principles in Max Weber's bureaucratic theory.

8.2 Introduction

The increasing complexities of social life, and the multiplying effect of the extension of the state's regulating functions have made the bureaucracy an epitome of institutionalised social power in capitalist, even in socialist societies or in modern times in people's democracies. Liberal democracies nurture bureaucracy as professionalised administration and its hierarchy of appointed officials makes society and polity thoroughly dependent upon it in some form or other. Therefore it has automatically become one of the most scrutinised concepts in academic social science. Sociologists, political scientists and psychologists raise series of debates on the bureaucratic phenomenon all over the world. On the one hand, the institution has defenders who justify its existence keeping in view that their expertise can only help politicians run the state smoothly. On the other hand, it faces enormous criticism from social scientists who foresee with the growth of bureaucracy a corresponding growth of anti democratic dehumanization process.

Etymologically, 'bureaucracy' represents an addition to the Greek classification of governments, i.e; monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. But Max

Weber was a Renaissance man in a changing world of newly constructed democratic nation states, as he could present a comprehensive theory on bureaucracy. He had knowledge in Law, History, Philosophy and Economics and with that knowledge he became one of the founders of the modern science of Sociology – the study of society and its institutions. Weber defined bureaucracy as a highly structured, formalized, and impersonal organization. He also instituted the belief that an organization must have a defined hierarchical structure and clear rules, regulations, and lines of authority which govern it. Weber's concept of bureaucracy originated while exploring the basics of authority. Main turning point in this respect was the growth of legal rational basis of authority in liberal democracies. Specialization of labour, a formal set of rules and regulations, well-defined hierarchies, recruitment on merit basis, impersonality and neutrality make bureaucracy specially institutionalised for running state administration. Bureaucrats take their jobs as career and functions in a way to suit their aspirations to climb up in the career ladder.

Weber defined modern bureaucracies as goal-oriented organizations that shared certain characteristics. All were hierarchies with written rules and a specialized division of labour, where advancement was based on achievement, resulting in an efficient and impersonal organization. Weber utilised the ideal type construct on bureaucracy in multidimensional ways. When he viewed it as a social organisation he intended to oversee it from a purely technical point of view – 'capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency and is in this sense formally the most rational known means of carrying out imperative control over human beings'. Max Weber's analysis of bureaucracy, unlike Marx's, is more systematic, consistent and coherent. It can be found in his *Economy and Society* (1921- original in Germany and translation in English in 1978), Part I, Chapter III : "The Types of Legitimate Domination," Part II , Chapter XI: "Bureaucracy," and Appendix II , "Parliament and Government in Reconstructed Germany." In these essays, Weber outlined the basic characteristics of bureaucracy and its effects on social development.

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. His observation against the excesses of 'bureauania' in France was a introductory source for thinking about bureaucracy. In 1765, the Baron de Grimm, the French philosopher, focussed on the role of the bureaucracy and considered it as 'the real spirit of the laws of France'; to him, here the offices, clerks, secretaries, inspectors and intendants were not appointed to benefit the public interest, indeed appeared to have been established for the sake of existence of the offices themselves.

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, John Stuart Mill's concept of 'limited state' seemed to be an eye opener in this respect; it became current in the 1830s during resistance to the centralization of poor relief and public health. Bureaucracy became so fundamental and indispensable in the governance of great empires that critics started classifying between feudal or bureaucratic political systems. Bureaucracy means, simply a 'desk government'. For John A. Vieg, the term 'bureaucracy' implied bungling, arbitrariness, waste fullness, officiousness and regimentation. However, at 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. 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 and wasteful excesses.

However, bureaucracy is described as the systematic organization of tasks and individuals into a pattern, which can most effectively achieve the ends of collective efforts by John Pfiffner and as a regulated administrative system organized as a series of interrelated offices by E.N. Gladden.

It was, however, Max Weber (1864-1920), having 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.

8.3 Max Weber's Concept of Bureaucracy

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, a formal, rationally organized social structure involving clearly defined patterns of activity in which, ideally, every series of actions is functionally related to the purposes of the organization. In such an organization there is integrated a series of offices, of hierarchized statuses, in which inhere a number of obligations and privileges closely defined by limited and specific rules. Each of these offices contains an area of imputed competence and responsibility. Authority, the power of control which derives from a legitimately acknowledged status, inheres in the office and not in the particular person who performs the official role.

Official action ordinarily occurs within the framework of preexisting rules of the organization. The system of prescribed relations between various offices involves a considerable degree of formality and clearly defined social distance between the occupants of these positions. Formality is manifested by means of a more or less complicated social rule. Such formality, which is integrated with the distribution of authority within the system, serves to minimize friction, as well as facilitates the interaction of the occupants of offices despite their (possibly hostile) private attitudes toward one another. In this way, the subordinate is protected from the arbitrary action of his superior, since the actions of both are constrained by a mutually recognized set of rules. Specific procedural devices foster objectivity and restrain the "quick passage of impulse into action."

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 set up 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) Fixed salaries in money remunerate them, for the most part with a right to pensions. Only under certain circumstances does the employing authority, in private organizations, have 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 sale 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 work is entirely spared from ownership of the means of administration and without appropriation as his/her position.
- 10) He is subject to strict and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of the office.

Bureaucracy as enunciated by Weber is based on the notion of rational legal authority - that is, an authority that employees recognized as legitimate being inherent in the administrators in the hierarchical structure. Included in the rational legal authority are written rules and procedures and their primary. 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 know how of individuals working in it, know how 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 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, and reliability. These characteristics made it technically the most efficient form of organization. Max Weber defined bureaucracy in terms of its structural characteristics.

In Weber's ideal type construct, authority rests in the bureaucratic organization 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 immunize 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 rule application should be rational and dynamic, which requires special training on the part of bureaucrats.

Division of labour, systematic and disciplined performance, control in the conduct of office are also marked as the features of the bureaucratic structure and functions. Bureaucracy operates on the basis of a consistent structure of laws and rules, without being judgemental and within the purview of its hierarchical jurisdiction. Its selection on the basis of technical qualification, impersonality and neutrality, and its efficiency make it a professional organisation equipped to handle all odds in politics and to transform social actions into rationally organised actions.

Weber maintained that the survival of bureaucracy depends very much on its superiority, which in turn rests upon its formal rationality over other forms of organization. From this starting point, various efforts have been made to approach

bureaucracy in terms of the organization's basic structural characteristics. There are minor variations in structural dimensions of bureaucracy, may be also in content and method, but on substantial issues there are major similarities. Even there are gross agreement among the theorists and writers on bureaucracy as regards the substantial characteristics, with insignificant level of disagreements in their formulations.

The writers and scholars since Weber, same as Friedrch, Litwak, Merton, Udy, Heady, Berger, and Parsons have agreed that bureaucracy is a systematic entity with following major characteristics:

i. A well defined hierarchy of authority: In a bureaucratic organization, each level controls the level below it. Also, the level above it controls it. A formal hierarchy is the basis of central planning and centralized decision-making. In bureaucratic organisation, offices also follow the principle of hierarchy that is each lower office is subject to control and supervision by higher office. This hierarchy serves as lines of communication and delegation of authority. It implies that communication coming down or going up must pass through each position. Similarly, a subordinate will get authority from his immediate superior. However, this hierarchy is net unitary but sub-pyramids of officials within the large organisation corresponding to functional divisions. Thus, there are offices with the same amount of authority but with different kinds of functions operating in different areas of competence.

ii. A division of labour based on functional specialisation: Specialists are entrusted to do the work with utmost professionalism. Also, the organization divides employees into units based on the type of work they do or the skills they possess, required for completion of the job with maximum possible expertise. Selection as well as the promotion of employees is based on technical qualifications and skills. Thus, division of labour try to ensure that each office has a clearly-defined area of competence within the organisation and each official knows the areas in which he operates and the areas in which he must abstain from action so that he does not overstep the boundary between his role and those of others. Further, division of labour also tries to ensure that no work is left uncovered. The duties and responsibilities of each job are clearly defined there is no question of overlapping or conflicting job duties. The division of labour assists workers in becoming experts in their jobs. The performance of employees improves considerably.

iii. A system of rules covering the rights and duties of positional incumbents: The organization uses rules to exert control. Therefore, the lower levels seamlessly execute the decisions made at higher levels. A rational approach to organisation calls for a system of maintaining rules to ensure twin requirements of uniformity and coordination of efforts by individual members in the organisation. Rules provide the benefits of stability, continuity, and predictability and each official knows precisely the outcome of his behaviour in a particular matter. The rules and procedures are decided for every work it leads to consistency in employee

behaviour. Since employees are bound to follow the rules etc., the management process becomes easy.

iv. A system of procedures for keeping records for future reference: Rules of procedure are exhaustive, stable, and employees can learn them easily from previous records. Further, the organization records them in permanent files that help to maintain continuity of the working procedure. Bureaucratic organisation is characterised by maintenance of proper official records. The decisions and activities of the organisation are formally recorded and preserved for future reference. This is made possible by extensive use of filing system in the organisation. An official record is almost regarded as encyclopedia of various activities performed by the people in the organisation.

v. Impersonality of inter personal relationship: Bureaucratic organizations treat all employees equally. They also treat all customers equally and do not allow individual differences to influence them. Instead of personal relationship, bureaucrats act as portfolio holders as abstract entities. Thus, decisions are governed by rational factors rather than personal factors. This impersonality concept is used in dealing with organisational relations as well as relations between the organisation and outsiders.

vi. Selection for employment and promotion based on seniority and or competence: The selection of officials is based on technical qualification and appointment and not an election. The selection process and promotion procedures are based on merit and expertise. It assists in putting right persons on right jobs. There is optimum utilisation of human resources. Further, officials receive a salary as compensation for their work. The official is taken in for a trial period and then offered a permanent position with the organization. This protects him from arbitrary dismissal.

These features were structured to portray the bureaucracy as the most efficient form of organization and as the means for assimilating diverse needs of capitalist nation state, so that both economy and polity could be favourably managed in a large magnitude. Weber noticed a phenomenal growth in organizational size of the state which prompted him to think about rational-legal bureaucratic authority, with its expertise to manage the administrative affairs of the state as a continuous process. The rationalization of bureaucracy, the separation of church and the state that led to secularization of politics and the gradual institutionalization of parliamentarianism-all form integral elements of the developmental model. At the same time, the growth of bureaucratization, too, has helped in the modernization of the new states. The rules and procedures ensure consistency in employee behaviour. The duties and responsibilities of each job are clearly defined and there is no question of overlapping or conflicting job duties. The selection process and promotion procedures are based on merit and expertise. It assists in putting right persons on right jobs. There is optimum utilisation of human

resources. For division of labour workers become experts in their jobs and their performance improves considerably.

However, Weberian bureaucracy suffers from some serious deification:

1. Excessive red-tapism and paper work make the system dysfunctional.
2. Impersonality generates a sense of alienation from human relations. There is neglect of human factor.
3. Excessive reliance on rules and regulations and adherence to these policies creates mechanical approach.
4. The employees become so used to the system, they resist to any change and introduction of new techniques of operations.
5. Excessive concentration of official power in the hands of bureaucrats makes a democracy run by the undemocratically selected executives.

The characteristics of bureaucracy have been explained by Peter Blau in terms of its execution of regular activities in a fixed way as official duties. In the opinion of P.M. Blau and M.W. Meyer, bureaucracy refers to those large-scale organizations which seek to accomplish large scale administrative tasks by way of coordinating the works of many persons. They pointed out that although bureaucracy is based on principles which are congenial to the improvement of efficiency, bureaucratization to the contrary quite often produces inefficiency.

Still Weber is credited for attempting to develop a consistent and coherent Bureaucratic model for the first time. It has been termed as rational and ideal leading to efficiency. The efficiency in bureaucratic organisation comes through rationality and predictability of behaviour because everyone knows the consequence of his action become actually the action is undertaken. Weber's model has some drawbacks. It has rigidity, impersonality, excessive rule boundedness, excessive cost of control, excessive dependence on superiors, tendency to ignore organisational goals etc. In spite of these limitations this model is still the only solution for managing the affairs of a large organisation like state.

8.4 Conclusion

The bureaucratic theory of Max Weber was a unique representative model of ideal type bureaucracy, which was conceived as the basis for the systematic formation of any organisation and was designed to ensure efficiency and economic effectiveness in administration of a state. This ideal model for administration was meant to serve the requirement of the capitalist class to form a strong centralised power structure, which would be a support system for the capitalist market expansion. Bureaucracy is inseparably linked with the emergence of the modern state that was defined by its development. Hierarchical authority, job specialization, and formalized rules were the main principles of Weberian bureaucracy. Weber

argued that the bureaucratic organizational form is characterized by certain features: specialization and division of labor, hierarchical authority structures, rules and regulations, technical competence, impersonality and personal indifference, a standard formalised officiousness.

8.5 Summary

- Weber defined bureaucracy as a highly structured, formalized and impersonal organization.
- According to weber organization must have a defined hierarchical structure and clear rules, regulations and levies of authority which govern it.
- Max weber developed a typology of authority and distinguished three 'Pure' types- 'Traditional', 'Charismatic' and 'Legal'.
- Max weber is the first thinker who has systematically studied the bureaucracy and provided a theoretical framework and basis for understanding bureaucracy.

8.6 Glossary

Red-tapism : It is the excessiveness of laws, Procedures, and rules imposed by the government, which eventually delay organization's work.

Renaissance : It refer to a period in European Civilization that was marked by a revival of classical learning and wisdom.

Hierarchies : Hierarchies in public administration is a method of organization of employees, according to their status or Position, for efficient management.

Charismatic Bureaucracy : The Charismatic leader comes to power and assumes authority and influences other forms of authority routinization of charisma.

Ideal type Construct : In the ideal form Bureaucracy ought to be impersonal, relational and rebound.

8.7 Model questions

Long Questions :

- Write a critical note on Weber's bureaucracy with a focus on the following aspects:
Definition, Features, Benefits, Disadvantages and Challenges
- Evaluate Max Weber's Ideal Bureaucratic Model.
- Examine the compatibility of Weberian model of bureaucracy in the administration of modern market-oriented state system.

Short Questions :

- What are the major principles of Max Weber's bureaucratic form?

8.8 References

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Unit-9 ☐ Critique of Weberian Theory

Structure

- 9.1 Learning Objectives
- 9.2 Introduction
- 9.3 Weberian notion of bureaucracy : a critical overview
- 9.4 Comparative perspective of bureaucracy : Karl Marx and Max Weber
- 9.5 Conclusion
- 9.6 Summary
- 9.7 Glossary
- 9.8 Model Questions
- 9.9 References

9.1 Learning Objectives

After reading the materials of this unit the learners will understand

- The role of bureaucracy with a critical note.
- The self-contradictory and self-defeating features of bureaucracy.

the comparative overview on the ideas of bureaucracy evolved by Karl Marx and Max Weber.

9.2 Introduction

Max Weber in *Economy and Society* made a plea for a perennial structure consisting of persons having rigorous training, experience and technical superiority. This structure is known as bureaucracy that will run the government which has assumed greater responsibility in the face of industrial growth. Weber has elaborated, rather for the first time, how this bureaucracy will be organized, upon which rationale it will function to which end, what will be its pattern of behaviour and etc. Taking these considerations together, Weber prescribes and builds an ideal type of bureaucracy to be workable in all socio-political and administrative settings.

Critics, however, have considered this ideal typical notion of bureaucracy as advanced by Weber as inconsistent and mechanical in view of vast ecological asymmetry, difference and diversity found in various socio-political settings. Weberian bureaucracy does not take personal will, perception and idiosyncratic

traits and value preferences of those in bureaucracy into consideration; nor it bother about the social and political context of this administrative structure.

9.3 Weberian Notion of Bureaucracy: A Critical Overview

The cross-cultural and historical surveys of bureaucracies reveal several characteristics that distinguish the form of bureaucratic organization and its primary social function. As societies become more complex major social problems demand solutions that favour bureaucratic organization over more traditional forms of social organization. An exhaustive treatment of the concept came in 1895 in Getano Moscas 'Element di scienza Politica', translated in 1939 as 'The Ruling Class' where the author regarded bureaucracy as being so fundamental to the governing of the great empires that all political systems could be classified as either feudal or bureaucratic.

Nomenclatures such as "bureaucrat", "bureaucratic," and "bureaucracy" are often critically used and they also have negative connotations, like that of Thomas Carlile, who labelled it as 'continental nuisance'. Bureaucrats are the government personnel, and the term 'bureaucratic' gives an idea in the minds of common men that rigid rule adherence is more important than efficiency and actual implementation of the work. The bureaucratic process lends itself to criticism as dehumanised instrument of government. Critics point out that bureaucracy lays stress on excessive rule boundedness, regulations, and encourages unnecessary paperwork; these foster inter-agency and intra-agency conflicts and contradictions; duplication and overlapping by various horizontal and vertical layers involve waste and unchecked growth. Bureaucratic power syndrome raises questions on their accountability, especially in an immature democracy.

There are many dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy which is referred as bureaucratic pathology. Looking into the needs of modern organisations, bureaucracy has many shortcomings. The major problems of bureaucracy are invalidity of bureaucratic assumptions, goal displacement etc. The source of bureau pathology lies in the invalidity of various assumptions of ideal bureaucracy. Many authors have questioned the utility of bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy includes certain negative behavioural traits.

- A high degree of division of labour can reduce staff initiative. As jobs become narrower in scope and specified and well defined by procedures, individuals sacrifice creativity, autonomy and independence. On the one hand, specialization can lead to increased productivity and efficiency, on the other, it can also initiate conflict between specialized units, whereby the overall goals of the organisation suffers. If specialization impedes communication between units, it may be harmful for the interest of the organisation in the long run. Moreover, over-specialization may result in monotony, dissatisfaction and absenteeism; it may affect quality also.

Continuous routine work may frustrate the performer leading to low productivity.

- Excessive reliance on rules creates a disciplined work environment, but rigidity in this respect can be detrimental to the larger interest of the organisation and of society as a whole. It can make the staff reluctant or unable to cope with unique cases, going beyond normal expected situations. Moreover, excessive emphasis on rules and procedures can produce excessive red tape, leading to slow performance. Rules are normally provided for guidelines but often they become the source of inefficiency because of excessive emphasis misuse and people's apathy to them.

- Hierarchy should have both downward and upward communication flow for smoother and uninterrupted administrative work and transparent interpersonal relationship. In practice, it usually indicates only a downward directive mode. Thus, the necessity of upward communication is almost ignored at the cost of quality of job and a feeling of isolation is generated leading to goal displacement in the entire administrative set up. There is no formal recognition of horizontal communication too; this stifles individual initiative and participation in decision making. Rigid organisational hierarchy works against effective performance of responsibilities and leads to loss of motivation. It overemphasizes superior-subordinate relationships unnecessarily, which is detrimental to congenial organisational climate and creates stress.

- As per rule promotions and salary increments are done on the basis of seniority and loyalty, rarely on actual skill and performance. Thus, the idea of having the most competent people in strategic positions within the organization is sacrificed. Loyalty is obtained, but this loyalty is toward the protection of one's position, not to the effectiveness of the organization. Often politicking gets priority over effective performance for some over ambitious post holders, which may have demoralising impact on other performers. Further, in turn the freshers lose energy and skill, when they see that the fate of star performers and of non-performers is the same career wise.

- The impersonal nature of bureaucracy is probably its most serious drawback. Bureaucracy is criticised for overemphasizing rigid, control-oriented structures, consequently giving greater priority to rule than performance. It makes the entire system incompatible with the requirement of the current professional ground level realities. In dealing with people, total impersonal approach is impossible to be followed because people have feelings, emotions and sentiments which affect decision making ; it is not desirable also in developing nations, where people are is far away from asserting themselves for their common good. Thus, strict adherence to rules and regulations and impersonal attitude in performance is neither possible nor desirable.

Subsequent sociologists have taken Weber's concept as a mere ideal type devoid of reality and inappropriate in most of the countries, specially newly

independent and less developed ones. Some critics have emphasized that Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy entails the features which are unattainable and some argue that such type of bureaucracy is responsible for all sorts of inefficiencies and incompetence. Few of the critics have mentioned that there are pathological defects, making it dysfunctional and far removed from the attainment of organizational goals. Robert Merton has shown his concern about 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 technical complexities.

Weber's ideal bureaucracy and Taylor's scientific management are, to a great extent, similar in ideological essence. Both emphasize rationality, predictability, impersonality, technical competence and authoritarianism as basic elements. Though Weber's principles are said to be less operational as compared to Taylor, still Weber's 'principles of ideal bureaucracy' has become the model for many organizations and its rules are more or less rigidly followed even in modern times.

The dysfunctional, contradictory or self-defeating features and the paradoxes of the Weberian model of bureaucracy have always been under critical review. To criticism, the positive attainments and functions of bureaucratic organization are over emphasized and the internal stresses and strains of such structures are almost wholly neglected. Despite its technical effectiveness and efficiency the Weberian model contains many undemocratic traits, as it has the tendency to supercede the democratic process and democratic values. Carl Fredrich in "Some Observations on Weber's Analysis of Bureaucracy" (1952) reaffirms the key concept of rationalization and de-mystification in relation to power in all social relationships, which opens up a different scope of analysis.

It is said that Weber has created a political space for these selected group of hired officials, who due to their administrative expertise and technical knowledge become advisors of the political executives and gradually trespass into their political domain. The modern society, therefore, is found to be ruled not only by the legal-rational type of authority, but it also uses the charismatic and traditional types of authority, because of the over-powered bureaucrats and inefficient elected rulers. Periodic tenure of the political rulers and continuity of service of the bureaucrats make the bureaucrats exercise power in traditional form.

Michel Crozier (1964) described in *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon* used a scientific attempt to understand the "malady of bureaucracy". He used the term 'maladoption' regarding the bureaucratic phenomenon. Merton's expression that the 'dysfunction which necessarily develops within human organization' indicates that he was critical about the role of bureaucracy in its existing structure. He further pointed out that many of the characteristics of bureaucracy should be considered as dysfunctional. Merton, in his famous essay "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality", developed a hypothesis concerning the structural sources of the

occupational personality of the bureaucrats and of major types of conflict between the bureaucrats and the clientele.

Anthony Giddens '*Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*' highlighted these points which were complementary to those of Merton. Giddens pointed out that Weber did not conceive the possibility of the transformation of the bureaucratization of social life through the occurrence of socialist revolution. Instead, the socialized economy would increasingly be subjected to bureaucratic administration in view of the fact that economic operations are taken up by the state.

Rapid changes in organizations in the twelfth century have brought about changes in the meaning of bureaucracy and while the term retains its usefulness in indicating a broad set of related functionalities, actually it has become more a separate power group within a state with its own special vested interests, values and power basis. Weber's conceptualization of bureaucracy in terms of rational-legal-authority and formal rationality fails to take account of the existence and use of power within and outside of organizations and of the persistence of patrimonial features.

Weber conceptualised that the organizational hierarchy would involve a simple hierarchical flow of directives from top to the bottom. But the exercise of objective responsibility should be taken as far more complex and dynamic. The apparently fixed subordinate-superior relationships would be more fluid because of the need for consultation and sharing information up and down the hierarchical ladder. Superiors in any bureaucratic organization are highly dependant on the specialized knowledge and experience of subordinates. Subordinates, in turn, need to consult regularly with those above them about legal requirements, clarification of agency regulation and political considerations.

Weber was aware of the fact that as bureaucratisation is strengthened, the power of bureaucracy will increase to the extent of dictating terms to democratic rulers; but at the same time he stated the indispensibility of bureaucracy in running the government with legal-rational authority for fixed tenure. The bureaucratic officials are indispensable for their practical effectiveness, their expertise and technical knowledge. Their ethics are to maintain "administrative secrets" make them repositories of all administrative information and this makes the politicians dependent on them, which in turn enhances the power of the bureaucrats and make them unbeatable. Weber was aware of the negative consequences of bureaucratization —the tendency of officials to ignore questions of substantive justice in the name of adherence to formal rules, the impersonality of organizational relationships etc. Thus Weber recognized a dichotomy between the polity and the administration and wanted to draw a sharp distinction between the roles of the politicians and the bureaucrats; but he also noted that administrative problems, no matter how technical they might seem, are in many ways influenced by political considerations. Such ambiguity in Weber's treatment of bureaucratic interest and

public-policy reflects a dualism in Weber's thinking (Diamant, 1962). On the one hand, legal- rationality of Weber's ideal-type led him to consider bureaucracy as a neutral tool and on the other hand, his own political experiences taught him that the power interests of the bureaucracy may threaten the authority of political leadership.

9.4 Comparative Perspectives on Bureaucracy:

Karl Marx and Max Weber

A comparative study on Marxian and Weberian views on bureaucracy will help to analyse and explore the inherent contradictions and approximations in both the paradigms. By analyzing and comparing the basic elements of the theories of bureaucracy as conceived by Marx and Weber respectively one can understand the essence of both the theories and can attempt to discuss then with critical observations. The Marxian protagonists criticised bureaucratic organization for its incompetence, unprofessionalism, alienation and rigidities etc. and these were evident in its role even in proletarian dictatorship. But the Marxists could not afford to deny the importance and inevitability of bureaucracy for future development of the nation. The Weberian model in this respect resembled the Marxian observation. Marx pointed to the dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy as the ideological justification for distinctiveness of state and civil society. The Weberians argued that the bureaucratic efficiency, specialized knowledge and technical skill would help them overcome the negative phenomena and characteristics. Weber, using his ideal-type construction, rationalized the bureaucratic order. According to Marx and Engels, bureaucracy was nothing but the apparatus in the hands of the bourgeois rulers for oppressing the have-nots in the interest of the property owners; therefore, according to the Marxist protagonists, proletarian rulers should learn to use this apparatus for settlement of the dictatorship of the proletariat and thus to expedite the process of evolution to socialism. The Marxists meant that the bureaucratic organisation should be placed under the proletarian rule and their status should be made equivalent to those of the wage earners.

Marxists have generally continued to focus on the dynamics and contradictions of capitalist society in the light of a total system. They paid little attention to the organizational dynamics of the state as an administrative system. In his earlier writings Marx showed deep interest in the internal organization of the state and later analysed briefly the role of the bureaucracy in the corpus of state organization. Marx's later writings did not devote much space for detailed discussions on bureaucracy or state administration. Therefore, the study of Public administration as a discipline hardly has cared much for Marx's views on bureaucracy. However, Marx's view on bureaucracy should be studied in the light of macro theorisation of the capitalist state and the concept of relative autonomy.

Marx as a critique of the political economy of capitalism in 19th century Europe, had been a sensitive and keen observer of European public administrative organizations. Yet he did not take much effort in conceptualising the functional aspects of the state. In his works he was not found devoting much time for detail discussion of the role, structure and working of public organizations. His writings presented a scattered observation on 'administration' over numerous books, monographs, letters, and editorial comments. In the beginning of his journey to build up theories of the state Marx was concerned with the relationship between the state and bureaucracy. There was no explicit or systematic focus on the theories of public administration, though much before Weber, Marx wrote on the bureaucratic structure and behaviour and the relationship of bureaucracy with the state and the society. However, his superficial treatment regarding its organizational aspects in an inconsistent way could not lay any literary impact on the later thinkers. Marx's ideas on bureaucracy and administration are to be found out within the purview of sociology of politics. Scientific and comprehensive study of bureaucracy is generally attributed to Max Weber.

In his *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, Marx highlighted on bureaucratic incompetence and self-centredness. He stated that the bureaucracy as a whole had a corporate vested interest to defend against classes in society; therefore, the external relations of bureaucracy are of a conflictual and 'private' nature. Bureaucracy, as Marx saw it in the feudal – capitalist Prussian situation, was a form of society dominated by the state, and its tendency was to separate itself from the conflict, arising out of class stratification. Marx criticized bureaucracy's assumed 'formalism' and superior 'consciousness'. Thus Marx's view in sharp contrast to the Weberian conception of bureaucracy never treated it as a rationalized organization. Contrarily, Marx held that the bureaucracy intervenes between the state and public opinion. The bureaucratic attitude is totally inclined towards political authority; it is passively loyal only to the next higher rank in the hierarchy.

There are certain dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy and unanticipated consequence in the Weberian model as visualised in the context of building socialism. There are some practical dilemma, in the theoretical frameworks of two seemingly opposite approaches on capitalism and socialism, despite having some primary similarities in terms of statecrafts. Bengt Abrahamsson in a work entitled *Bureaucracy or Participation: The Logic of Organization* (1977) has outlined the basic differences and similarities between Marx's and Weber's positions on bureaucracy. Abrahamsson claims that Weber differs from Marx on at least three points : (a) unlike Marx, Weber did not see bureaucracy as a specific bourgeois phenomenon tied to capitalism. Instead, Weber saw the possibility of the autonomy of bureaucracy and the growth of bureaucracy as inevitable; (b) Weber did not see bureaucracy as a class organ but viewed it as an element of modern democracy. Weber, however also viewed it as a threat to the democratic process. At the same

time, Weber argued that among the accelerators of bureaucracy, the economic system is more important than the democratic political system. Thus, socialism is viewed as a great stimulus, and (c) for Weber, the elimination of bureaucracy is not possible in an increasingly complex society which requires more and more professionalism and specialization. At the same time, Abrahamsson pointed out the similarities of Marx's and Weber's models. The way Weber's theory connected the development of bureaucracy with the issue of the long-run material and political development of society, with a focus on the capitalist production system and economy, may be found almost identical with the Marxian analysis of the role of bureaucracy in up keeping the capitalist mode of production and in nurturing the capitalist model of statecraft (1977).

Despite many similarities in their view points and the common agreement on the characterization of liberalism as bourgeois ideology, Marx and Weber held opposing views on social structure, development and the bureaucratic order. This dichotomous classification put these two theories in almost contrasting poles. At the first instance, Weber in the context of large democracies maintained the superiority of bureaucratic organizations and the inevitability of the bureaucratization process in social development; later he realised that the inhumanitarian and undemocratic functioning by bureaucracy needs to be checked and controlled. Marx, on the other hand, rejected the legitimacy of bureaucracy in the political system altogether, and viewed it as an instrument of political oppression and economic gratification of the propertied. Thus the two paradigms held conflicting and contrasting views on bureaucracy and belonged to the opposite ends of the continuum, though both had and still have their realm of influence on later theoretical drives.

Both the Marxian and Weberian models of bureaucracy face a dilemma and certain contradictions between theory and practice in different dimensions and extent. The Marxists, such as Lenin and Mao, vigorously attacked bureaucratic organization as a despotic autocracy of civil servants and as an instrument for class exploitation; in different tune the Weberian thinkers were found self-critical and in a mode to deconstruct certain basic premises of Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy as impractical and dysfunctional. The Weberian camp too sought to identify the "malady of bureaucracy" in the Weberian model.

Weber's anticipation that bureaucracy would triumph historically because it was more efficient and powerful than patrimonial administration and more permanent than charismatic leadership led him to present historical change as an evolutionary process of adaptation which, if not teleological, was at least universal, inevitable, and accessible to human understanding and explanation.

9.5 Conclusion

Weber's contention of bureaucracy suffers from various defects. Sociologists, political scientists, psychologists and the specialists in Public Administration have criticized Weber from various standpoints and from the context of diversified social and political settings. Weber's ideal type of bureaucratic model is too formal, mechanistic and parochial. But despite serious limitations the scheme Weber had formulated and prescribed on the structure and mode of operation of bureaucracy and, again, on the need and requirement of continuity and discipline are to be maintained and preserved in administration and cannot altogether be denied.

9.6 Summary

- Weberian bureaucracy does not take personal will, perception and idiosyncratic traits and value preferences of those in bureaucracy into consideration, nor it bother about the social and political context of this administrative structure.
 - The dysfunctional, contradictory or self-defeating features and the paradoxes of the weberian model of bureaucracy have always been under critical review.
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9.7 Glossary

Patrimonialism, Alienation, Formalism,

Patrimonialism: Form of Political organization where authority is based on the personal power exercised by the ruler.

Alienation : Max's alienation is the estrangement of people from their human nature caused by the division of labour and stratification in a capitalist society.

Formalism : The practice of adherence to prescribed forms for arrangement and structures.

9.8 Model questions

Long Questions :

- Why is bureaucratic organization criticized?
- Do you think that the role of bureaucracy can be evaluated in terms of economic classification only? Argue your case.
- Attempt a critical overview of the points of similarities between Marxian and Weberian theories of bureaucracy.

- Make a comparative study of the Marxian and Weberian theories of bureaucracy.

Short Questions :

- Write a critical note on the Weberian theory on bureaucracy.
- To what extent Marx and Weber held a conflictual and contrasting stand towards bureaucracy? Explain

9.9 References

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Unit-10 □ Post Weberian Development

Structure

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Weberian conceptualization of bureaucracy and its problems

10.4 Conclusion

10.5 Summary

10.6 Glossary

10.7 Model Questions

10.8 References

10.1 Learning Objectives

After studying this unit the learners will understand

- The limitation of Weberian conceptualization of bureaucracy
- Various points and dimensions of criticisms against his contention of bureaucracy
- The context and situation in which Weberian model needs rethinking

10.2 Introduction

Max Weber's contention of bureaucracy, is comprehensive and elaborate. No other thinker on bureaucracy is as particular and systematic as Weber is. He attempted to theorize on bureaucracy faced on the experience of the functioning of this institution in Britain, France and Germany. His approach to bureaucracy is, thus, empirical, objective and free from speculation. He sought to evolve a permanent formal administrative structure which in his words, is superior to any other form in precision, in stability, in the stringency of its discipline and in reliability. This structure is capable to handle the challenges of new developments as evolved out of the burgeoning growth of modern industrial society, state and culture. He considered modern bureaucracy as representing the legal-rational authority as the most efficient organization to cope with the political and administrative organizational intricacies of modern industrial state. For the purpose of systematizing the internal structure and functions of state administration Weber prescribed some specific behavioural norms, rules and formal guidelines particularly for bureaucracy to follow and to reflect in its functioning. But the model

bureaucracy is far from being responsive to the needs of the people and distant from those who dislike rigidity, inflexibility, delay, lust for power, political alienation. It is also distant for and like to these who seek to overcome these maladies, to effect social transformation and build a system of democratic administration based on freedom and a 'human face'.

In the following pages we will refer to some scholars who have critiqued Weber's thesis from various standpoints. Some of them have sought to provide thoughtful analyses of bureaucracy in the context of underdeveloped and developing countries and, again, in the context of the economy, society and polity that have undergone significant change in the recent years.

10.3 Weberian Conceptualization of Bureaucracy and its problems

Max Weber argued in favour of bureaucratic precision; this rule-bound precision prescribed by Weberian bureaucratic model has been criticised as a 'closed system' which takes little account of organizational interactions with the environment. It has been criticized for pioneering "machine theory model". The Weberian model, the critics point out, results in germinating the dysfunctional consequences, in failing to consider the individual or behavioural aspects of the people in organization and to take into account the basic human factors. The Weberian bureaucratic design can at best function in a stable environment. According to the critics, the structural features of his bureaucracy might be suitable for routine and repetitive tasks, are not always available in an unstable environmental situation. In the unstable or newly formed democracies innovation and creativity are necessary; otherwise these would produce the dysfunctional consequences. And innovation, as we know, often requires overcoming the existing stability.

American sociologist Robert K. Merton has expanded on Weber's theories of bureaucracy in his work *Social Theory and Social Structure*, published in 1957. Merton, points out that it accounts for lack of flexibility. Merton has noted that red tapism, rigidity, excessive impersonality, reluctance to exercise discretion are some of the major constants associated with the pathological and self-defeating traits of bureaucracy. Such behavioral orientations are typical of the "trained incapacity" of the bureaucrats, which are conflictual to the portrayed ideal rationality of bureaucratic organizations. Merton further maintains in his essay "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality" that the "displacement of goals" has made the bureaucracy to adhere to rules and thus become very rigid. In Merton's term, this is a process whereby "an instrumental value becomes a terminal value". He argues that "trained incapacity" resulting from "over conformity" eventually causes many

bureaucracies to become dysfunctional. He also observes that bureaucrats are more likely to put forth their own interests and needs instead of those that would benefit the organization. Merton calls this phenomenon "goal displacement." He observes that this occurred when formalistic goals become more important than the main substantive goal of an organization. Thus, Merton concludes that while the development of bureaucratic functions, following Weber, can be positively assessed for promoting an effective division of labour and for supporting the efficient operation of social organizations, it is equally likely to cause dysfunctions, harming the institutional effectivity. Merton of Weber's analysis, but at he believes that bureaucrats are more keen to defend and promote their own vested interests than to operate and use their expertise and skill for the greater benefit of the organization as a whole. Merton notes that pride in their craft is responsible for overpowering the bureaucratic organisation and it creates resistance to accept changes in established routines. He also states that bureaucrats emphasize formality over interpersonal relationships, and have been trained to ignore the special circumstances of particular cases, causing them to come across as "arrogant" and "haughty".

P. Selznick (1949), on the other hand, emphasizes the delegation of authority which would bring about a series of unanticipated consequences. Like Merton, Selznick shows how these consequences stem from the problems of maintaining highly interrelated systems of inter personal relations. Gouldner (1954), likewise, concerns himself with the consequence of bureaucratic rules for the maintenance of organizational structure. 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 bi-furcation of interest between the central system and its decentralized sub units. Selznick also finds that bureaucracy tends to be conservative and overly in support of status quo.

Alvin Gouldner examined aspects of Weber's theory of bureaucracy in relation to strikes, management and control, and his focus stuck to dysfunctional part of the bureaucracy, especially its excessive adhearance to rules and regulations. According to Gouldner, as a control mechanism, rigid organizational rules produce unintended consequences; the employees become focused on strictness of rules and regulations on their performance in terms of organisational goals. This, in turn, increases closeness of supervision leading to the promulgation of additional rules and regulations. Fritz Morstein Marx in his *The Administrative State: An Introduction to Bureaucracy* (1957) has labelled bureaucracy as 'ailments of organization'.

Michel Crozier in his *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon: An Examination of Bureauracy in Modern Organizations and Its Cultural Setting in France* has focussed on "malady of bureaucracy ", while carrying out two case studies of

bureaucracy (in a public and in a relatively private setting) to examine the pathological aspect of their nature; he highlighted the vicious cycle of centralization and impersonality in large modern organizations. Crozier argues that organizations act as the site for conflict and politics and argues against the Weberian account of efficient organizations and their largely rational spaces. Instead, he sees them as sites for negotiation of complex power relations. To him, this can lead to decisions being made based on factors distinct from the overall goals of the organization.

Crozier is critical regarding the vagueness of this concept and the resultant confusion the term inculcates. He reflects on three different dimensions the term 'bureaucracy' in social sciences lays stress on. He categorically points out that in the first sense, bureaucracy is government by bureaus, that is, by departments of the state staffed by appointed and hierarchically organized functionaries, who are ultimately subservient to a sovereign authority. The second dimension on which he focuses, directs the sociologists to consider bureaucracy as a developed form of organization based on impersonal rules aiming at rationalization of collective activities. In the third dimension, he takes note of is regarding the derogatory use of the term 'bureaucracy' in common parlance. It stands for ponderousness of the structure, slowness and routinisation of operations, complication of procedures, incongruity between the needs which bureaucracy should meet and the actual bureaucratic functioning, and the frustration of the officials and the clients. In Crozier's analysis of the different meanings of 'bureaucracy', there is a happy blending of the etymological definition of the term (being commonly used in Political Science and Public Administration) and the sociological and popular usages of the term.

Anthony Downs in *Human Behavior Inside and Outside Bureaucracy: Lessons from Psychology* has pointed out that that public officials, like other human beings, vary in their psychological needs and motivations and therefore, behave differently in similar situations. Downs presents an agenda for a behavioral Public Administration that takes key issues in cognitive psychology and personality psychology into account; there will be certain biases when the bureaucrats exercise their authority.

The renowned organization theorist, Warren Bennis, strongly criticises bureaucratic structuring in organizations and exposes the hidden obstacles in our organizations and in society at large – that conspire against good leadership. According to Bennis, within any organization an entrenched bureaucracy with a commitment to the status quo undermines the unwary leader. This creates an unconscious conspiracy in contemporary society, one that prevents leaders – from taking charge and making changes. More than four decades ago, he forecasted the demise of bureaucracy. Warren Bennis, a social scientist, predicts that bureaucracy is likely to be replaced with the new system 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 its 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 Susane Rudolph have challenged the central theme of the Weberian model of bureaucracy as the most rational construct in terms of production of organizational efficiency. They raised doubt about formal rationality which may contribute to organizational efficiency, but the possibility of generating organizational ineffectiveness by building up the sources of alienation and resistance and of inflaming the struggle for power against authority may also be taken into account.

Fred W. Riggs devoted almost his entire literary effort to explore how the administrative systems in developing nations are considerably shaped by their contexts of politics, economy, and culture and to establish that the Western models are relatively dysfunctional in such unique contexts. In this endeavor, Riggs began with an analytical framework known as the 'agraria-industria model', which highlighted the contextual distinction of public administration between the traditional agrarian societies and modern industrial nations. According to Riggs, the agraria is characterized by self-contained and agriculture-based economy, family- or clan-based organization, divine authority source and communalistic value. He believed that the industria possesses interdependent market economy, achievement-oriented organization, secular authority, individualistic value, and so on. Thus the administrative system in the agraria is characterized by politics-administration fusion, lack of specialization, and ritualistic action; contrarily in the industria, it is based on politics-administration division, specialization, impersonal human relation, and functional action. With this reliance on contextual determinants, Riggs continued to emphasize on a new analytical construct, known as the prismatic model to explain the special conditions of the transitional nations. A society in which there is a mixture of traditional and modern structures is recognized as prismatic. The prismatic model was developed by Riggs to explain the administrative systems of the developing World. Weber believed in a more formalized, rigid structure of organization known as a bureaucracy. A formal structure in which rules, formal legitimate authority and competence were characteristics of appropriate management practices was designed by Weber, wherein focus was on 'Hierarchy', 'Division of Labour', 'Consistency' and 'Qualification', whereas the characteristics of Fredrick Riggs' prismatic model is recognized as 'Heterogeneity', 'Formalism' and 'Overlapping'. The contextual factors, according to Riggs, play significant role in shaping the nature of public administration in developing nations, which he termed as sala model administration characterized by the coexistence of universal social norms and respect for traditions, influence of family and community on social decisions, prevalence of both ascriptive and achievement criteria leading to

the 'attainment' norms in public places etc., which demands a departure from Weberian model of bureaucracy.

A sub-field of Public Choice theory is the study of bureaucracy. Public Choice theorists protest against highly disaggregable conservative attitude, the corrupt behaviour of public officials (bureaucrats), and the difficulty of altering inefficient policy tools. Public Choice theorists like Vincent Ostrom opposes bureaucracy, declaring it as anti-democratic, favours decentralization and propounds the idea of the participation of the masses in the Public Administration. The Public Choice Approach believes in the concept of 'Institutional Pluralism' and in democratic decision making and this theory condemns politics-administration dichotomy, hierarchical ordering of the employees in the organisation and 'Mono centric Administration'. Public choice theory attempts to look at governments from the perspective of the bureaucrats and politicians who compose them and makes the assumption that they act based on budget-maximizing model in a self-interested way for the purpose of maximizing their own economic benefits (e.g. their personal wealth). The theory aims to apply economic analysis (usually Decision Theory and Game Theory) to the political decision-making process in order to reveal certain systematic trends towards inefficient government policies. There are also Austrian variants of public choice theory (suggested by Mises, Hayek, Kirzner, and Boettke) in which it is assumed that bureaucrats and politicians are benevolent but have access to limited information. Public Choice theorists feel that bureaucrats are 'Generalists', that is, they are experts in managing things and hence can not be expected to handle well specific technical jobs. Further the centralisation of power in the hands of the bureaucracy tends to make them self-centred. Hegemony of bureaucracy seeks to promote self aggrandizement and unnecessarily inflate government and enhance cost, leading to minimisation of profit. So according to Public Choice theory, market forces must be allowed to operate freely, as they can contribute higher efficiency than the government in the economic domain. Presence of market forces will downsize the government/bureaucracy and will make the delivery of goods and services to the customers more transparent, cost-effective, simpler and economical.

In 1972, German political sociologist Claus Offe, published a book on the *Structural Problems of Late Capitalism* where, a very in-depth study on the Weberian model has been made by 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. Offe observes that 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.

What appears to be emerging to replace bureaucracy is a hierarchical model

of organization capable of performing collective activities toward the achievement of school goals. Leadership in these heterarchical organizations will need to be considerably different. Demands for enhanced levels of efficiency and effectiveness have caused many to question traditional bureaucratic forms in public sector organizations. Team-based structures have been cited as an attractive alternative, perceived as facilitating the necessary levels of flexibility, innovation and responsiveness. But most of the post-colonial societies are drowned in the dilemma as to whether any alternative to the Weberian model will be useful to deal with administrative complexities, especially in newly formed democracies; moreover, every attempt to innovate new modes of administration is often frustrated by bureaucratic dominance.

In a period of increasing demands for accountability, demographic changes within the organisations and economic crisis, bureaucracy is being forced to examine their fundamental structural assumptions. According to the critics, Bureaucracy is ill-suited to the demands of our post-industrial demographically diverse information society; it is said that bureaucratic characteristics not only are useless, but they are harmful too. However, despite all these negative notions, it cannot be denied that even in so-called communist or socialist states also Weberian bureaucracy has proved itself inevitable as an apparatus of administration. However, the expanded size of a bureaucratic organisation leads to even more elaborated and complicated hierarchial structure, making the decision making process cumbersome and often unmanageable. A huge bureaucracy beyond manageable extent and justifiable dimensions get disassociated from professionalism and loose expertise. Existence of such bureaucracy becomes detrimental to the larger societal interest as they hardly works with their bureaucratic attributes of specialised knowledge, formality, neutrality, impersonality and rule boundedness etc. Bureaucracy should be uniquely apolitical, or instrumental.

10.4 Conclusion

Max Weber's contention of bureaucracy is the most systematic attempt of theorization of bureaucracy. By this attempt he tried to remove the organizational inconsistencies of administration and to resolve the problems of governing a state. But bureaucracy as a perennial administrative structure elsewhere has reflected unresponsiveness, undue formalism, self-aggrandizement, conservatism and bias towards dominant economic and political classes. This administrative organization responds to the call neither of man nor of the market.

Despite scathing criticism from various standpoints and corners, the compelling fact about Weberian bureaucracy is that this is a model altogether denied by those who intend to get the government in mess and to run it by people lacking in

knowledge, training, competence, expertise and prudence relevant to statecraft. In fact, bureaucratization of administration is appeared as a persisting force working in modern state system, and Weber is in no way responsible for it. This bureaucratization is required to be checked by the most deliberate and conscious process of more and more democratization of society and state and of humanization of its administration.

10.5 Summary

- Weberian bureaucratic model has been criticised as a ‘Closed System’ which takes little account of organizational interactions with the environment.
 - Robert Merton and other sociologists have questioned the rationality of the webler’s model saying that it result in certain dysfunctional consequences.
 - Talcott Parsons questioned the internal consistency of Weblar’s bureaucracy.
 - Philip Selznick, Pointing to the division of functions in an organisation shows how sub-unit setup goals of their own sometimes conflicting with the organisation as a whole.
 - Simon and Barnard have proved that administrative efficiency would be reduced if we follow webler’s structural approach.
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10.6 Glossary

Displacement of goals, Trained incapacity, Over conformity, Dysfunction, Delegation.

Displacement of Goals : According to Michales it is the phenomenon by which original and idealistic goals of an organization are displaced by inferior goals require to maintain the organization

Trained incapacity : Veblen diffends it is as the inability to understand certain issued due to the Professional or Sociological meaning imparted to individuals.

Over Conformity : To comfort to a great extend than necessary on desirable.

Dysfunction : Abnormality in the operations of an Organization.

Delegation : To entrust one’s responsibility to another brunch of the organization which is lower in rank or power.

10.7 Model questions

Long Questions :

- Explain how and why Max Weber's ideas on bureaucratic precision has been countered by many critics.
- Mention the classic criticisms of the bureaucracy and explain the popular solutions for reforming it.
- What are the problems associated with *bureaucracy*?

Short Questions :

- Mention the major criticisms of Weberian bureaucracy.
- Is there any alternative model of officialdom in developing countries? Explain.

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Module III
Human Relations and Behaviourial School

Unit-11 □ Elton Mayo- Human Relations Theory

Structure

- 11.1 Learning Objectives**
- 11.2 Introduction**
- 11.3 Hawthorne experiment – the Birth of Human Relations Theory**
- 11.4 Elton Mayo**
- 11.5 Critique of Human Relations theory**
- 11.6 Conclusion**
- 11.7 Summary**
- 11.8 Glossary**
- 11.9 References**
- 11.10 Model Questions**

11.1 Learning Objectives

After studying this unit the learners will understand :

- The basic issue in human Relations theory,
- The impact of human behaviour upon the overall productivity of an organization,
- The cardinal features of human relations theory and its importance in the study of public administration and
- Limitations of Human Relations theory

11.2 Introduction

The Human Relations theory, elevates the human factor to the centre stage of organization.

Instead of reifying institutions, like the classical mechanistic theories of organization, this theory considers workforce of an organization as human beings equipped with social and cultural traits. Drawing heavily on the insights of Behavioural Revolution in Political Science this school refuses to relegate employee into mere component of an organization. 'Human problem requires a human solution' this adage perhaps captures the essence of Human Relations theory. Demonstrating the futility of the traditional approach, the theory has shown how formal organization resorts to non-human data to sort out human problem. Human Relations school believes that the success of any organization is contingent upon the

happiness quotient of its workers. Hence, an organization has to keep its workers in good humour. However, in a bid to empowering human elements in organization, the said approach did not celebrate the 'Economic Man' as eulogized by the traditional and mechanistic theory. The construction of the 'economic man' was the epitome of insatiable capitalist aspiration of time. The Human Relations theory has crowned the 'Social Man'. According to this theory, an organization cannot hire an employee without his social, cultural and psychological context as individual employees are the product of cultural and social context. Hence, any attempt to denude an employee of his social ties in the name of scientific approach would reduce him to a mere machine and demotivate him to do his work with enthusiasm. In sum, the essence of Human Relations theory may be encapsulated in the following four points: first, organization is conceptualized as a social system; secondly, unlike the mechanistic theories of organization, the theory did not consider workers as the mere appendage of the organization driven by material incentives. In fact, they are viewed as human beings endowed with all the humanly qualities. Thirdly, the theory lays a lot of emphasis on the informal elements of organization that plays an important role in organizational output. Fourthly, the theory views organization from the vantage point of social ethics.

11.3 Hawthorne Experiment-The Birth of Human Relations Theory

The roots of Human Relations theory can be traced back to the famous Hawthorne experiments. With an objective of addressing the recurring problem of moderate industrial productivity, the scholars, subsequently known as Human Relations theorists, have identified the centrality of human relations especially informal relations in shaping the organizational output. Hawthorne plant of the General Electrical Company at Chicago was otherwise known for its progressive nature in terms of better pay structure, congenial work environment, liberal working hours, better living conditions, and cordial employer-employee relationship. Hence, the problem of stagnant growth at Hawthorne was no less a puzzle. The management had tried everything from Taylorism or Fayolism to overcome the crisis, but with no avail. Eventually, the management had solicited the expert advice from Harvard Business School. Elton Mayo and his research team were entrusted with duty of finding a solution to the problem. The said team had carried out a number of experiments during 1920s and 1930s which include among them were the Great Illumination Experiment (1924–27), the Human Attitudes and Sentiments (1928–31), the Bank Writing Experiment (1931–32). The findings of study were literally startling from the point of view of traditional mechanistic theories of organization: Firstly it concludes that the worker's productivity in an organization is not determined by his physical ability alone. In fact it is very much determined on

his capacity as a social being. Secondly, it has repudiated the claim of centrality of economic factor in the overall productivity and demonstrated how non-economic rewards and sanctions have substantially affected the worker's behaviour. Thirdly, it has floated the concept of 'Social Man' rooted in society and group, instead of elevating the popular concept of the 'Economic Man' as a discrete rational chooser. Fourthly, it has also come out with a startling human behaviour as a social animal. The study uncovers that workers' tend to form informal groups within themselves, which have substantially shaped their behaviour towards production and management.

Hence, in a nutshell the Human Relations theory has the following redeeming features: first, unlike the mechanistic theory of organization, it has adopted a holistic social perspective of organization. Secondly, it lays emphasis on the uniqueness of each individual by treating workers as human being with all the humanly traits. Thirdly, the theory has identified informality in the form of informal groups in organization. Fourthly, it gives primacy to social thesis instead of individual ethics. Finally, the theory has introduced a new type of management concept known as participatory management.

11.4 Elton Mayo

Elton Mayo is known for his lifelong advocacy of human element of organization. He was not only instrumental in bringing in human relations approach to organization theory but also acted as the forerunner of the motivation theory, team building and group approaches of modern organizational management. Throughout his illustrious career as a Professor of Industrial Research at Harvard University, Mayo had carried out several innovative researches including the path-breaking Hawthorne studies. Mayo's proclivity to study organization from the vantage point of human psychology is largely attributable to his training in medicine, psychology and philosophy. Mayo had documented his lifelong experiences in the following books: *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (1933), *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (1945), and *The Political Problem of Industrial Civilization* (1947). Despite Mayo's association with the path-breaking findings of the Hawthorne Studies and the resultant birth of human relations approach to organization, any cursory glance at his earlier works would reveal that Mayo was well versed with human elements much before his Hawthorne experiment. The Hawthorne studies, in fact, was the empirical validation of his ideas. The central argument on which Mayo put his idea of human relations was that employees unlike the environmental or economic factors are more likely to be motivated by the human especially relational factors like recognition, appreciation, attention, and camaraderie. Hence, Mayo's contribution to the

organization theory, especially his observation in Hawthorne studies, had a consistency. Mayo throughout his life had been concerned about the social disorganization and the resultant fragmentation in industrial societies. If one starts revisiting Mayo's earlier works which were drafted in the context of Australia carried the same concern for industrial societies. With a profound understanding of the malaises of the industrial society, Mayo had approached the problem of Hawthorne plant. According to him, conflict in human society, especially political conflict indicatives deeply entrenched social diseases.

Drawing on a communitarian perspective, Mayo had called for 'spontaneous cooperation' among all the stakeholders to get rid of persistent organizational discord and to restore harmony. To him individual's sense of 'social function' only has the potential to arrest the civilizational decay. He had criticized the social scientists, businessmen and politicians for neglecting the centrality of human cooperation in the smooth functioning of organization.

11.5 Critique of the Human Relations Theory

Though the Human Relations theory has opened up new horizons in organization theory it could not escape critical scrutiny. In fact, critics were rather apprehensive of leaving organization to the whims of the workers. For example Urwick's satire on this deserves some attention here. He believes that any attempt to reformulate organization in accordance with the individual idiosyncrasies is as foolish a attempt of designing an engine in accordance with the whims of one's maiden aunt rather than with the laws of mechanical science. There is no denying that above statement is indicative of a deep-seated mistrust regarding the human elements of administration. The major criticism labelled against human relations theory are as follows:

- First, major objection with the Human Relations theory is the reductionist approach it adopts. That is, the theorists have a propensity to reduce all sorts of organizational malfunctioning to the typical managerial apathy towards human relations.
- Secondly, some critics have uncovered the hidden interest of capital behind the birth of human relations approach via Hawthorne experimentation. With an objective of meeting the growing demands of labour during and after the Second World War, it was argued, that the human relations was brought into being.
- Thirdly, the Human Relations theory has also become the subject of criticism for its abstract psychological leaning. Caiden has picked up rightly that the theory is infected by 'vagueness, psychological jargon, distortion of

the organizational environment, and unwillingness to distinguish the administrative aspects'.

- Fourthly, the human relations theory is also subject to criticism for glorifying the human elements of organization at the cost of basic structure.

Despite the above criticisms it is hard to deny the contribution of human relations approach to the organization theory. It has foregrounded the centrality of social environment in the overall output of the workers. Further it stresses on the appropriate communication between the workers and the management. Another redeeming feature of this school to organizational management is that it has discovered the criticality of informal organization in the overall performance of an organization.

11.6 Conclusion

The human relations method finished extraordinary involvement to the organization theory. The tests led by the scholars of this school ensued in the appearance of a new concept that an organization is a social system and the worker is the most vital element in it. Their experiments established that the person in an organization is not a simple tool but a multifaceted personality interrelating in a group condition which is difficult to recognise. In totality, the human relation school was mainly accountable for a chief move in the organization theory and this move caused in appearance of a new concept known as organizational humanism which became a major field in the social science disciplines.

The results of the Hawthorne experiment were published in 1941. The results have led to an increase in knowledge and understanding of workers and their work. The Hawthorne study provides a landmark to the evolution of management thought and made a significant contribution to the process of humanizing organization and management. The major contributions of Hawthorne studies can be presented as follows.

- Employees are not motivated solely by money. Personal and social factors are also important to motivate employee's attitudes towards their works.
- Informal leaders play an important role in setting and enforcing group norms.
- Management must understand and recognize interpersonal and group relations on the job.
- The importance of recognizing the concept of "social man" becomes unavoidable.
- Effective supervision plays an important role in maintaining employee's morale and productivity.

Limitations of Hawthorne Study

The human relations approach lacks adequate focus on work. It lays all emphasis on interpersonal relations and informal groups.

Human relations tend to neglect the economic dimensions of work satisfaction.

11.7 Summary

- In the foregoing analysis an attempt has been made to introduce Human Relations theory, especially how it originates via elaborate experimentations at the Hawthorne plant of General Electrical Company.
- With an objective of exploring the reasons behind the moderate productivity despite the application of all the known methods of incentivization, a group of theorists led by Elton Mayo had stumbled upon an unexplored terrain of organization i.e. human element.
- In the context of Hawthorne experimentation, they have identified the relative apathy of the organization theory towards human elements of organization. Mostly preoccupied with the mechanized theory of organization, managers usually ignored the role of human factors in the overall performance of an organization. Consequently the status of employees in organization had been relegated to a mere cog or appendage of the organization.

Human Relations theory considers organization as human organization which requires human solution.

11.8 Glossary

Mechanistic theory of organization, Behavioural revolution in social science, Employer-employee relations, Concepts of social man and Economic man.

Mechanistic theory of organization : It is an organizational structure with centralized authority, division between departments and specialized roles that work independently of each other.

Behavioural revolution in social science : It advocates the use of empirical and scientific methods in the study of human political behavior in each society.

Employer-employee relations : It is the way an employer and employees view and treat one other in a work setting.

Concepts of social man : A person whose decisions are highly influenced by sociological conditions.

Concepts of Economic man : A rational person who attempt to maximize the utility recovered from monitary outflows.

11.9 Model Questions

Long Questions :

1. Write a critical note on Human Relations theory as propounded by Elton Mayo.
2. Examine the major features of Human Relations theory.
3. Elucidate the major criticisms labeled against Human Relations theory.
4. Examine Mayo's contribution to organization theory.

Short Questions :

5. Mention in brief the central idea of Human Relations theory.
6. What is the significance of Human Relations theory in Public Administration?
7. Write a short note on the Hawthorne study.

11.10 References

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Unit-12 □ Herbert Simon-Decision Making Theory

Structure

- 12.1 Learning Objectives**
- 12.2 Introduction**
- 12.3 Simon's Rational Decision-Making Approach**
- 12.4 Major Criticism**
- 12.5 Conclusion**
- 12.6 Summary**
- 12.7 Glossary**
- 12.8 Model Questions**
- 12.9 References**

12.1 Learning Objectives

After studying this unit the learners will understand :

- Importance of decision-making in Public Administration
- The act of decision-making as meant and propounded by Herbert Simon
- Role of rationality in decision-making
- Limitations of Simon's theory of decision-making

12.2 Introduction

Decision making lies at the heart of any organization. Herbert Simon is known for his pioneering contribution to decision making, especially for deciphering the intricacies of decision making, so long remained relatively unexplored. Unlike the traditional approaches which equate decision making with a specialized activities associated with seasoned mandarin, Simon considers it as an indispensable part of policy making in an organization. Every part of organization, Simon, argued is associated with decision making. It depends upon the sagacity of the administrator to spot the area of an organization that deserves a new decision. However, it would be wrong to consider decision making as 'the' task of the administrator. Rather, it is a complete team work starting from chief executive officer (CEO) down to the rank and file of the organization. Hence, it has no starting point or finishing point as such. It would better to be understand it as a continuum involving a series of steps including feedback and follow up actions. Apart from Simon's rational decision making approach, three more approaches like Bargaining

approach, Participative approach, and Public Choice approach are also recognized under the rubric of decision making.

12.3 Simon's Rational Decision Making Approach

Simon considers organization as a structure solely concerned with decision-making. Throughout his career, Simon's intellectual pursuit of decision making was to explore human nature. In the introduction of his book *Reason in Human Affairs* he had noted it in the following words: “the nature of human reason-its mechanisms, its effects, and its consequences for the human condition- has been my central preoccupation for nearly fifty years”. To him decision making, unlike the popular perception, is not confined to any particular part of organization or any specific section of personnel. In fact, 'decisions are made at every level of organization'. Simon had tried to lay bare the complex inner dynamics of decision making in an organization by identifying several value premises that are embedded in a given decision. For example, Simon has recognized several such value premises like decision maker's preferences, social conditioning and so on, which have substantially determined the decision making process. In order to make the complex process of decision making intelligible to the common people, Simon has divided the decision making process into three successive phases, viz, intelligence activity, design activity and choice activity. Whereas, intelligence activity refers to a kind of alertness on the part of the decision maker regarding the environment, especially locating the portion of an organization calls for immediate intervention in terms of decision; design activity on the other hand, stands for spelling out of possible alternative options to be deliberated upon; and finally the choice activity, signifies settling down for a particular option out of the available alternatives. However, the above categorization by Simon is only meant for analytical purposes. In fact, in real situation they are mostly intertwined in nature.

Hence, decision making entails selection among the alternative plan of actions by logically coordinating between fact and value propositions. The distinctiveness of Simon's decision making approach is the rationality criteria, which clearly gives him an edge over other proponents of the decision making theory. As a pragmatic theorist, Simon was quite vigilant about a common tendency among the decision makers to get carried away by lofty ideals and to set unreachable goals. Hence, actual decision making behavior falls short of the ideal of objective rationality. To him the rational-objective position is an abstraction from the messy world of real politics which depicts the world of decision makers is a rosy world, containing the following conditions: “a well-defined problem, a full array of alternatives to consider, full baseline information, full information about consequences of each alternatives, full information about consequences of each alternative, full information about values and preferences of citizens, and fully

adequate time, skill, and resources.” However, the actual situation is far more complicated than it is assumed in comprehensive rational decision. James March and Herbert Simon, in *Organizations* have shown that actual decision making situation is marked by the following conditions: “ambiguity and poorly defined problem, incomplete information about alternatives, incomplete information about baseline, the background of the problem, incomplete information about the consequences of supposed alternatives, incomplete information about the range and content of values, preferences and interests, and limited time, limited skills and limited resources”. Hence, the absolutely objective rational decision is a contradiction of term. Charles Perrow has nicely encapsulated the concept of bounded rationality: 'Given the limits on rationality, what does the individual in fact do when confronted with a choice situation?' He constructs a simplified model of the real situation. This "definition of the situation," as sociologists call it, is built out of past experience (it includes prejudices and stereotypes) and highly particularized, selective views of present stimuli. Most of his responses are "routine"; he invokes solutions he has used before. Sometimes he must engage in problem solving. When he does so, he conducts a limited search for alternatives along familiar and well-worn paths, selecting the first satisfactory one that comes along. He does not examine all possible alternatives nor does he keep searching for the optimum one. He "satisfices" instead of "optimizes." That is, he selects the first satisfactory solution, rather than search for the optimum. His very standards for satisfactory solutions are a part of the definition of the situation. They go up and down with positive and negative experience. As solutions are easier to find, the standards are raised; as they are harder to find, the standards fall. The organization can control these standards and it defines the situation; only to a limited extent are they up to the individual.' He has prescribed a moderate level of rationality (bounded rationality) based on a practical level of satisfaction. At least four types of constraints or 'bounds' can be identified in making a rational decisions, viz cognitive limits in case of bounded rationality I, social differentiation in case of bounded rationality II, pluralistic conflict in case of bounded rationality III, and structural distortion in case of bounded rationality IV. The salient features of Simon's decision making approach may be summarized as follows:

- **Fact–Value proposition in decision making:** According to Simon decision making in an organization is solely contingent upon the proper coordination between fact and value proposition.
- **Rationality criteria in decision making:** The decision making approach propounded by Herbert Simon is also known as rational decision making approach for its purported rationality criteria. However, unlike the economists, who have been using the rationality criteria in terms of economic parameters, Simon used it in terms of the means–end construct.

Simon had ruled out the possibility of attaining total rationality in administrative dispensations. To him, total rationality in a real administrative context is a near impossibility. Since, the search for rationality is a seemingly endless process, Simon advised administrators to draw a line somewhere. In other words, administrators have to be contented with a moderate level of rationality or what is coined by Simon as 'bounded rationality', based on a point of adequate satisfaction or 'satisficing'. With an intention of capturing the moderate or satisfactory state of mind of an administrator, Simon has introduced the term 'satisficing', combining two English words—satisfactory and sufficing. Hence, Simon's decision-maker is not merely an utility 'maximizing' man, rather a satisfying man. The essence of Simon's usage of the word 'satisficing' can be better understood if we draw on Herbert Simon only: "While Economic man maximizes, selects the best alternative from among all those available to him-his cousin, whom we shall call Administrative Man, satisfices-looks for a course of action that is satisfactory or good enough."

While economic man maximizes, selects the best alternatives from among all those available to him-his cousin, whom we shall call Administrative Man, satisfices-looks for a course of action that is satisfactory or good enough.

12.4 Major Criticism

However, Simon's rational decision making approach is not free criticism. His efforts to construct a value-free science of administration have been subjected to scratching criticism. For example, Selznick argued that in Simon's decision making approach there was a clear-cut divorce between the means and the ends⁴⁸. Similarly his concept of rationality has been criticized for grossly overlooking the role of intuition, tradition, and faith in decision-making. For Argyris, institutions, traditions, and faith have a pivotal role in the decision making process, which Simon seemed to have ignored in quest of achieving status quo in organization. In addition to that, Simon had also coined the term 'satisficing' to rationalize incompetence in organization. Some critics have argued that Simon's notion of rationality had an instrumental rationality, designed to rationalize the capitalist immorality. Above criticism notwithstanding, Simon's contributions not only considered as a major breakthrough in the evolution of administrative theory, but also has necessitated the use of various management techniques in public policy-making.

12.5 Conclusion

In sum, the decision making theory, its criticism notwithstanding, has uncovered the nuances of decision making in an organization. Though, Simon

introduced a rational theory of decision making, he was not unaware of the limitations a manager has to work under. Hence, Simon wants his manager to draw a line in his pursuit of absolute rational decision since the absolute rational decision is no less a mirage.

12.6 Summary

- Decision making substantially constitutes the very core of administration, be it public or private.
- Simon's theory of decision-making argues that every aspect of administration revolves around decision making.
- As Simon contends, decision making requires rationality. But as the decision makers do not know in advance all the consequences of decisions to be taken and as they have inadequate information relevant to proper decision making, they look for a satisfying course of action in the arena of decision making using bounded rationality in the place of absolute rationality.

12.7 Glossary

Bargaining approach, Public Choice approach, Participative approach, Human nature in decision-making, Bounded Rationality, Instrumental Rationality.

Bargaining approach : Characterized by the interaction of actors who have a common interest in reaching an agreement but strive to maximize their individual gains.

Public Choice approach : The public choice approach answers that public servants are always motivated by the wauls to maximize the welfare of society.

Participative approach : In the approach the person in charge of solving a problems or designing an innovation involves people who are directly concerned by the result of his or her work.

Human nature in decision-making : Decisions are made explicitly wherever one consciously combines beliefs and values in order to chose a course of action.

Bounded Rationality : It is the idea that rationality is limited when individuals make decisions and under these limitations, rational individuals will select a decision that is satisfactory rather than optimal.

Instrumental Rationality : Behaving in the world so that you get exactly what you most waul, given the resources available to you.

12.8 Model Questions

Long Questions :

- Discuss major tenets of decision making theory as propounded by Herbert Simon.
- What is meant by Rational Decision making approach ? Explain how Herbert Simon had developed this approach.
- Examine critically Simon's view on decision making in administration.
- How did Herbert Simon relate the concept of rationality with decision making ?

Short Questions :

- What are the basic elements of decision making, according to Herbert Simon ?
- Why according to Simon, decision makers are forced to follow 'bounded rationality' in making decision ?

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Unit-13 □ Socio-Psychological Theory: Abraham Maslow

Structure

- 13.1 Learning Objectives**
- 13.2 Introduction**
- 13.3 Motivational theory of Maslow**
- 13.4 Critical evaluations of Maslow's theory**
- 13.5 Conclusion**
- 13.6 Summary**
- 13.7 Glossary**
- 13.8 Model Questions**
- 13.9 References**

13.1 Learning Objectives

After studying this unit the learners will understand

- The central idea of Maslow's Theory of Motivation
- The points of criticism labeled against his theory
- Significance of his theory Theory of Motivation

13.2 Introduction

The socio-psychological approach/theory introduces a fresh perspective to the theory of organization by exploring psychological roots of human behaviour. In order to understand the variability of the organizational output, this new approach borrows liberally from the works of sociologists and psychologists. This new theory relates human behaviour with organizational productivity. Thanks to its preoccupation with human behaviour, this group of theories is also known as behavioural theory. The rigorous scientific study of human behaviour in diverse social environments was the basic objective of this school. Several conceptual dimensions of organizational behaviour like motivation, leadership, communication, organizational conflict, organizational change, organizational development, and group dynamics have been discussed under this school. Scholars like Abraham Maslow, Frederick Herzberg, Douglas McGregor, Rensis Likert, Chris Argyris, were among the few who have contributed to the development of this school. The origin of behavioural school can be traced back to the famous

Hawthorne experiment and the consequent rise of the Human Relations theory. Hence, behavioural approach can be regarded as a continuation of human relations approach. However, a subtle distinction is present between the Behavioural approach and its precursor Human Relations approach. Whereas, the Human Relations approach is too much preoccupied with workers' satisfaction, Behavioural approach, on the other hand, seeks to gauge human psyche to make sense of the puzzle as to why people behave the way they do.

13.3 Motivational theory of Maslow

Dr. Abraham Maslow was one of the famous behaviouralists and social psychologists. In 1943, he published a paper entitled 'A Theory of Human Motivation'. His book, "*Motivation and Personality*" was published in 1954. In these two works he developed his theory of motivation, a unique addition to the theory of organization. His theory of motivation is known as Hierarchy of Human Needs theory. In this theory, Maslow explains how the motivation of the workers and the employees is built through fulfillment and gratification of the rising and developing needs and expectations. For this reason, his theory of motivation is also regarded as the Satisfaction of Needs theory.

Maslow constitutes a few hypotheses regarding how motivation of workers can be built and grown. These hypotheses relate to the following considerations.

1) Generally man uses to search for satisfaction of his needs or desires. As he becomes satisfied with fulfillment of some primary needs he becomes anxious to have other set of qualitatively better and improved needs to get them fulfilled and to have greater and better satisfaction in a comparatively better way. So the more a man becomes satisfied the more he becomes desirous of having greater and better satisfaction from fulfillment of greater and better needs and expectations.

2) Attention and commitment to work are always preceded and dictated by firm belief and objective of achieving success in need-fulfillment and by strong will to have full satisfaction in need-fulfillment.

3) Dissatisfaction instead of satisfaction accrued from need-fulfillment is the source or cause of motivation. It implies that needs are of various types and of varying qualities and also they are stratified. After fulfillment of some needs having particular forms and qualities some other higher needs having relatively better qualities are grown to become fulfilled. These latter needs which are of higher and better qualities than the former or the preceding needs motivate a man to do things in a better way with strong will, enhanced promptitude and greater enthusiasm.

Maslow has mentioned of five kinds of needs and expectations which belong to five upward strata. The needs and expectations belonging to lowest stratum are the 'physiological needs'. These physiological needs relate to hunger, thirst, food, clothes and shelter etc. These needs are thus the most primary or basic and these are

related to the basic biological needs for an individual. Satisfaction of these basic or primary needs, Maslow argues, is required by the individual for his survival which is a basic requirement for him.

After this need-fulfillment, an individual expects security of life or life free from fear of insecurity. At this developed second stage, he or she tries to have satisfaction out of fulfilling the needs and expectations related to security of life. The expectations of organized life condition bereft of danger and insecurity motivate and induce him or her to work. The needs and expectations of this second stage are called 'safety needs', according to Maslow.

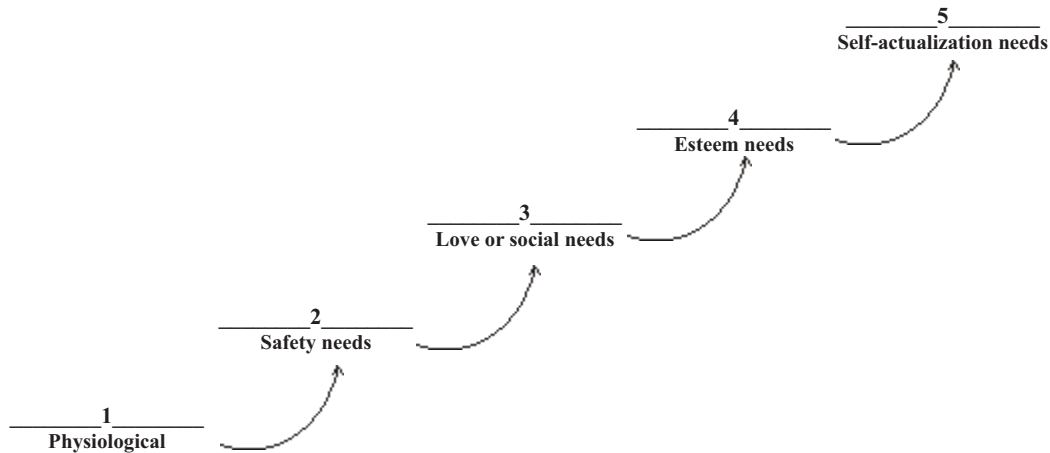
In the next upper third stage, the individual expects to acquire the status of social being after gaining love, affection, co-operation and fellowship from others in his or her surroundings. He or she at this stage expects to make an agreeable and loving social environment. In the earlier two stages, the expectations and needs were exclusively personal and self-centric. In this third stage, he or she requires these needs and expectations to become fulfilled for his or her individual self. But, as Maslow observes, these needs and expectations are deeply associated with the sense of sociability and with its constituents. The needs and expectations of this third stage are, according to Maslow, 'love needs' or 'social needs'.

In the fourth stage, the individual, as Maslow contends, expects self-respect, social dignity and social recognition to acquire and then to become satisfied after fulfilling these expectations. Self-respect is called to be a personal need of an individual but social dignity and social recognition are not easy to achieve. They are achieved from the society, but the individual is resolute to strive to achieve them too. The needs and expectations of this stage are 'esteem needs', according to Maslow.

The needs and expectations of the fifth and final stage are called by Maslow as the 'self-actualization needs' or the 'growth needs'. After accruing satisfaction achieved through fulfillment of the former four types of needs and expectations, the individual in this stage tries to become satisfied with full enjoyment of whatever considered important and essential for being a complete human being with full ability and potentiality. As Maslow observes, the satisfaction of individual reaches its peak or gets full if he or she actualizes his or her cherished needs and expectations in real life. Maslow opines that when an individual becomes a superior individual after fulfilling various needs and expectations at various stages or at various levels, he or she seeks to move forward to achieve the highest and perfect goals of life and with the attainment of these goals he or she becomes a perfect individual. For this reason, Maslow has called the needs of this fifth stage as also being the 'growth needs'. An individual seeking fullness in life becomes fully satisfied when he or she gets highest and fullest satisfaction of the highest needs and the highest expectations.

As Maslow points out, the types of needs and expectations that a person intends to get them satisfied as well as the corresponding stages are both ascending. They are moving upward, from relatively lower to higher state. Both they are directed to

qualitative growth and development. The nature and standard of human needs and expectations are, according to Maslow, are primarily low but they move upward as soon as they get fulfilled by the satisfying person. The diagram, drawn below, expresses vividly the hierarchy of needs as explained by Maslow.



The Hierarchy of Needs theory as propounded by Maslow is sourced from viewpoint of human relations. This theory has depicted the limitations of bureaucratic organization that relies on stratification, specialization and particularization of work, formalism, anonymity, impartiality and rigid adherence to rules, etc. Bureaucratic organization promptly rejects the importance and relevance of intention, will, expectations, and satisfaction either of the role performer or of those for whom the role performer performs. In the theoretical scheme of Maslow an organization is essentially human and social organization, and a person is not one conforming to a machine. He or she does have his or her own intention and will, desire and expectation and these intention and will, desire and expectation motivate and drive him or her to work or not to work for definite goal or goals to achieve.

13.4 Critical evaluation of Maslow's theory

Maslow's exposition, however, is not examined by experience. Maslow has not provided empirical evidences in favour of his arguments. For methodological reasons, therefore, his theory is not a complete one.

Secondly, the way Maslow has stratified the needs and expectations of persons is either oversimplified or arbitrary. His projection of the sequences of needs seems to be baffling for many who do not feel about needs and expectations in the same way and same direction. A very ambitious person can desperately set his or her higher objectives to pursue or to achieve discarding love, assistance and co-operation of other fellows around him or her. He or she again can go for fulfilling the higher needs requirements leaving the needs and requirements of the interim stage to halt for sometimes. So the needs and requirements of persons do not follow any uni-linear direction in setting their needs and requirements according to any fixed sequence. So Maslow's theory is far from being a right projection of human needs and requirements.

Thirdly, the concept of self-actualization of the highest and superior quality needs and expectations is not distinct. Because of various constraints all persons cannot always become the persons as they desire to be. In fact, no organization can have such resources at its disposal as it enables all its members to attain whatever they like to pursue and to achieve in life. Maslow's theory has not thus given due attention to the constraints of need fulfillment.

Fourthly, Maslow's theory, as some critics argue, denies the importance of structure, principles and work environment of organization. It conceals the hidden interest and motive of profit-making in organizational functioning emphasizing only human element as a factor in production.

13.5 Conclusion

Although Maslow's theory has been subjected to criticism, his ideas have greatly influenced the other behavioural scientists such as Chris Argyris, Douglas McGregor, Renis Likert and Fredrick Herzberg. Maslow's theory of human motivation based on satisfaction of basic and other higher needs can hardly be denied as it involves enormous implications for the administrators who need to motivate large number of employees and workers for optimum performance for yielding optimum output in their respective organizations. In fact, there are several parallels in our daily life, which validate the centrality of Maslow's arguments. In an organization too, if an administrator understands the ascending needs of the employees and workers, he creates there conditions accordingly for the satisfaction of their needs and expectations. Also, if the employees and workers find condition

conducive to the satisfaction of their ascending needs and expectations they work for the organization with increasing enthusiasm.

13.6 Summary

- Maslow has given a fresh perspective to the theory of organization exploring the psychological roots of human behaviour.
 - Maslow is of opinion that man is always in pursuit of satisfaction of varying needs and it motivates him or her to do his or her work.
 - Maslow refers to five kinds qualitatively growing needs that correspond to five ascending stages pursuing and fulfilling these needs man becomes a perfect man.
 - Maslow's contention about the source of motivation is not validated by empirical research data and, hence, it is limited.
 - Despite its limitation, Maslow's theory has influenced modern management theory and later researches to a great extent.
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13.7 Glossary

Socio-Psychological approach, Man-Organization relationship, Motivation, Needs Hierarchy.

Socio-Psychological approach : The Socio-Psychological approach asserts that individual and society are interlinked.

Man-Organization relationship : Organizations have different relationship different man employees - clients, share holder etc. Their interrelationship is determined by the object of their association with the organization.

Motivation : Motivation is a state-of-mind, filled with energy and enthusiasm, which drives a person to work in a certain way to achieve desired goals.

Needs Hierarchy : The Pyramid of Hierarchy of needs comprises of physiological needs and self-actualization needs at the bottom while social needs, esteem needs and self-actualization needs at the top.

13.8 Model Questions

Long Questions :

- Explain Maslow's Theory of Motivation.
- Discuss Maslow's Theory of Needs Hierarchy.
- Critically examine Maslow's Theory of Needs Hierarchy.

- Examine, following Maslow, how the needs hierarchy operate in creating motivation.
- What are the basic assumptions on the basis of which Maslow builds his Theory of Motivation?

Short Questions :

- Mention after Maslow the five types of needs that an individual seeks to pursue.
- Is Maslow's Theory of Motivation a consistent one? Argue your case.
- Explain any two needs of Maslow's needs hierarchy.
- Explain in brief the importance of Maslow's Theory of Motivation.

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Unit-14 □ Socio-Psychological Theory : McGregor

Structure

- 14.1 Learning Objectives**
- 14.2 Introduction**
- 14.3 McGregor's Theory X**
- 14.4 McGregor's Theory Y**
- 14.5 Critical Evaluation**
- 14.6 Conclusion**
- 14.7 Summary**
- 14.8 Glossary**
- 14.9 Model Questions**
- 14.10 References**

14.1 Learning Objectives

After studying this unit the learners will understand :

- Meaning and content of Theory X
- Meaning and content of Theory Y
- Differences between Theory X and Theory Y
- Shortcoming of these two theories.

14.2 Introduction

For understanding the relationship between man and organization, socio-psychological approach is an important theoretical tool. From the perspective of socio-psychological analysis we can appreciate why people work or do not work satisfactorily in their respective organization. Socio-psychological analysis seeks to unearth the intricate human nature and to find out the several multi-dimensional trends implicit in human behaviour, which together induces human being to do or not to do work for the formal organization to which he or she belongs. We have a few management theorists who from the socio-psychological standpoint have tried to explain human nature and human behaviour of persons associated and engaged in organizations producing goods and services for the community. In this unit, the learners will be offered a very important discussion on the theory of motivation

propounded by Douglas McGregor, a noted psychiatrist, who put together some negative and positive trends implicit in the nature and behaviour of people that get them averse or eager towards work in organization.

14.3 McGregor's Theory X

Douglas McGregor is an American socio-psychologist who is known for his famous Theory X and Theory Y. He was one of the protagonists of behavioural movement of the post-Second World War period. He did have extensive research works in the field of social psychology and behavioural science. In his great work, '*The Human Side of Enterprise*', published in 1960, he had illuminated the theory of motivation which is very important in organization and management. '*The Professional Manager*' is his another important work which was published in 1964. In these two works, McGregor discussed on the attitudes of both the workers or employees and the managers in organization and emphasized the need for correcting the negative attitudes and negative behaviour and for utilizing the positive attitudes and positive behaviour in the accomplishment of the productive purposes of the organization.

According to McGregor, the negative assumptions and attitudes of the workers and the employees are the constituent parts of Theory X. The main assumptions of this Theory X are:

1. Man is generally lazy and does not want to work. He is averse to work and he does not like work and hence he tries to avoid work.
2. Because of this human characteristic of dislike of work, most people are coerced or threatened and controlled with punishment to get them put forth adequate effort towards the achievement of organizational objectives.
3. The average human being prefers to be directed and he wishes to avoid responsibility.
4. The average human being is less ambitious and he expects the security of his job and earning.
5. He again does lack creativity and he is indifferent to the demands and requirements of his organization.
6. Normally the average individual is averse to and he resists change.

These negative assumptions belonging to the contention of Theory X, according to McGregor, are too disheartening. The workers or employees here are opposed to work and got prey to insecurity, fear and punishment. Management itself, on the other hand, shoulders the responsibility for assembling all the factors of production and the managers here are required to control their workers or employees, manage their efforts, motivate them and modify their behaviour to accomplish the purposes of organization. Also, in order to get their organization to run in the productive direction, the managers intervene to get either employees or workers persuaded,

rewarded and motivated. But in the place of this soft management strategy if the managers adopted hard strategy involving coercion, control, punishment and threat, the organization may soon face militant unionism, sabotage and antagonism which may defeat the purpose of management and jeopardize even the existence of organization. But soft management strategy, as McGregor opines, is not a sane one and it is limiting because it overburdens the managers with excessive works which are not their own and which retards them in becoming innovative and creative agents of management in organization. Theory Y does not explain how workers or employees get motivated and thus it does not illuminate the total texture of human attitude and behaviour. McGregor, hence, had proposed an alternative theory called Theory Y which will be discussed in the following part of this study unit.

14.4 McGregor's Theory of Y

In comparison to those of Theory X, the assumptions belonging to Theory Y are positive seemed largely adequate in realizing human potentialities. This Theory Y represents altogether a reverse explanation of the relationship human being and management. The assumptions in Theory Y are helpful in co-ordinating the functions of organizations oriented to the prompt achievement of cherished goals. Under Theory Y the assumptions about human behavior are:

1. In a sound and healthy organizational environment, an average man's love for work is as natural as play and rest. He is not inherently averse to work and he gains and enjoys satisfaction in work performance and this satisfaction acts as a source of pleasure and enthusiasm inducing him to perform more and more work.
2. Most people are governed by their own sense of self-control and self-direction while performing work.
3. Under proper conditions, most people are ambitious. They learn to accept responsibility and perform duty towards organizational achievement.
4. Most people can have the capacity and potentiality to generate and apply creativity in case the organization faces crisis or critical problems.
5. Most people do have imagination, ingenuity and innovativeness, which enhance the capacity of the organization to cope with new challenges of future growth and development.
6. People perform in organization not because of threat of coercion and punishment. They work for rewards which are associated with satisfaction of the organizational goal achievement and this achievement actualizes the dream of workers inculcating positive attitudes and developing values.

As McGregor contends, the assumptions implicit in Theory Y are immensely helpful for the management of an organization to motivate workers towards goal achievement. As compared to Theory X, Theory Y casts light on the positive nature

and creative and hopeful image of the workers or employees. Self-controlled and self-directed man feels himself as an integral part of the organization. In this respect, Theory Y is conducive to evolve and successfully activates the concept of participative management of organization. As the workers or employees in Theory Y are eager to take responsibility, as they possess creativity, ingenuity and innovative skill and faculty, they do not wait for the direction to come from management and, instead, they themselves become the leaders of the organization. It reduces the extra workload of the manager in the form of directing the workers on regular basis. Again, the managers have not to take any extra effort to integrate the workers with the organization or to integrate the goals of organization with the goals of the workers or employees. So Theory Y of McGregor is a tool for solving the problem of integration in organization.

Theory Y is consistent with solving the problem of delegation and decentralization of power, authority and responsibility in an organization. As the workers are themselves positive, responsible, self-controlled and self-restrained power and authority of the organization can easily be shared with them. This process or scheme of power sharing get them more responsible in respect of achieving the optimum output of organization on the one hand and creating a human and social environment within the organization on the other. This act of creating a human and social environment is considered as a far more important work than the instant achievement of optimum result for the present.

Apart from it, the assumptions inherent in Theory Y concede space and opportunity for the managers of an organization to evaluate and review their own performance and to become more and more innovative and creative and let them make new road map for future growth of their organization.

Theory Y, above all, recognizes the wisdom, self-knowledge, self-initiative and entrepreneurship of both the workers or employees and the managers. It also gives and extends freedom for them in organization and all these advantages and opportunities create an environment there where both the parties, i.e., the workers or employees and the managers work together and work in tune with the aims and objectives of the organization.

14.5 Critical Evaluation

But the socio-psychological theory of McGregor is not free from flaws. The way he had bifurcated the workers or employees with either their negative or their positive tendencies is either oversimplified or deterministic. He did not discuss the circumstances and conditions when a worker becomes lazy, irresponsible and apathetic in organization. Again, self-driving, responsible and diligent worker may be forced, for a number of reasons, to succumb to the forces of negativism at any point of time. Besides it, human nature and human behaviour, in fact, are composed

of diverse and even mutually opposing inclinations about which no particularization is absolutely possible and practicable. McGregor did not take these considerations seriously. So his theoretical exposition is not adequate. How the management or administration will consider its workers or employees useful for and consistent to organizational goal achievement is left unanswered in the theoretical projection given by McGregor.

14.6 Conclusion

Despite inherent limitations, McGregor's exposition of Theory X and Theory Y is an important addition to the theory of motivation in management and administration. The assumptions of both Theory X and Theory Y involve practical relevance. They resemble the practical behaviour of workers or employees and common people as well and this practical behaviour governs and conditions their action or inaction in real life situations. So the effort of discovering and theorizing of the tendencies and human attitude of persons in organizations is enormous and, for this reason, McGregor is considered to be very important in management science. The way he had illuminated the behavioural role of the workers or employees in the organizational growth and development or in the removal of problems of management and organization has made the path for and given direction to future researches on man-organization relationships.

14.7 Summary

- McGregor presents a socio-psychological analysis regarding how man works or does not work in an organization
- He introduces Theory X and Theory Y in the domain of management and organization.
- His theory X contains negative assumptions associated with human behaviour that retards motivation towards work.
- But his Theory Y involves positive assumptions that promptly induce the workers or employees to attaining organizational goals.
- Despite some limitations, McGregor's work is significant in managing organization and in providing direction to future research as well.

14.8 Glossary

Motivation, Theory X, Theory Y

Motivation : Motivation is state of mind, filled with energy and enthusiasm, which drives a person to work in a certain way to achieve desire goals.

Theory X : Mc Gregor's theory X consist of a hands-on approach which involves micro managing people work to ensure proper exactions of duties.

Theory Y : Mc Gregor's theory Y is a managerial approach which trusts the people to take ownership of their work and effectively work by themselves.

14.9 Model Questions

Long Questions :

- Discuss The basic assumptions associated with Theory X, as propounded by McGregor.
- Explain the fundamental assumptions upon which McGregor has built his Theory Y.
- Examine critically What McGregor's contribution to the theory on Man-Organization relationship.
- What are the basic assumptions of human behaviour as explained in Theory X by McGregor?

Short Questions :

- What are the main assumptions of human behaviour as mentioned by McGregor in his Theory Y?
- Critically discuss McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y.
- What is the significance of McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y?

14.10 References

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Unit- 15 □ Ecological Theory: Fred W. Riggs

Structure

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15.1 Learning Objectives

After studying this unit, the learners will understand :

- The interaction between administrative system and its environment as has been depicted in ecological theory of Fred W. Riggs.
- Components of ecology.
- Meaning and content of various models of administration as developed by Riggs.
- Significance of ecological theory.

15.2 Introduction

Among the many contemporary theorists in the fields of political development and comparative public administration, Fred Riggs was perhaps the first who had attempted to conceptualize the interactions between administrative systems and its environment. With an objective of assessing the cumulative impact of social, cultural, historical, and political environment on administrative system, he had introduced ecological approach to administration. However, the ecology-administration relationship is not the one way traffic. In fact, Riggs had acknowledged the supposed impact of administrative system on society as well. His views pertaining to the ecology of administration are found in two of his

publications viz. 'The Ecology of Public Administration' (1961) and 'Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society' (1964). Drawing on the ecological perspective, Riggs had developed two important models to make sense of the nature of political development in both developed and developing societies. The first model i.e. 'agraria-industria', constructed by Riggs in 1956 sought to classify societies on the basis of development. Taking development as a continuous linear process, the said model considered development and underdevelopment are the two axes, while agrarian societies are placed in the underdeveloped axis; the industrial societies are placed in the developed axis. The categorization in this model, however, failed to capture the nature of the transitional societies which have started their journey towards development but ended up in mid of the course. Considering this lacuna Riggs had added another element to this model in 1957, known as *transitia*, encapsulating the essence of the transformational societies. However, his later attempt to rectify the lacuna of the said model by incorporating the nature of the administrative systems in the developing countries could not satisfy his critics. In fact, on the face of severe criticism, Riggs was forced to introduce another model solely dedicated to the developing societies, entitled *fused-prismatic-diffracted* model. Based on the structural functional analysis, Riggs categorized societies into two, *fused* and *diffracted*, types with an intention to foreground the very nature of developing societies or what he called as prismatic society. For Riggs, *fused* society is a structurally unified society where one unified structure performs all the functions. It refers to typically agrarian societies, where source of authority is traditional in nature based on deference to the ruler. The economic system is also rudimentary in nature based on barter system. Riggs has cited the examples of Imperial China and Siamese Thailand as the examples of fused society. The *diffracted* society, on the other hand, is a structurally diversified society, where each function is carried out by specific designated structure.

In the sections that follow a discussion will be made to demonstrate how Riggs has analyzed the ecological approach to administration in the following models viz prismatic model, administrative subsystem, which he calls *sala model* and market as *bazaar-canteen model*.

15.3 Prismatic Model

Among the three-fold categorization put forward by Riggs, prismatic model attracts most of the attention. He was too much preoccupied with the social structures of prismatic society and their interactions with the administrative subsystem in a society. Riggs has identified three important characteristics features of the prismatic society, namely:

1. *Heterogeneity*: Heterogeneity is the distinguishing feature of this kind of societies. Typically indicative of a transitional society, prismatic society represents the simultaneous presence of diverse kinds of sub-systems, practices, and viewpoints. Co-existence of modern administrative structure in urban areas with traditional administrative structure in rural areas is the hallmark of transitional society.
2. *Formalism*: Formalism in common parlance means strict adherence to norms, laws, and principles. In prismatic society, however, formalism does not always mean adherence to norms, laws and principles. Adherence to formalism in these societies is restricted to the constitutional provisions, but in actual situation they are not properly followed. The discrepancy between the prescription of laws, rules and their actual implementation may be better understood if we take a look at the administrative systems in those societies. Though constitution has empowered the legislators in these societies to deliberate upon policies, in reality, they rarely engage in any serious act of policy making. In fact, they remain busy mostly in power politics, leaving bureaucracy to take vital decision on their behalf. Such taking over of the responsibility of decision making by the bureaucracy often lead to official corruption.
3. *Overlapping*: The prismatic society is also known for its structural overlapping. Here differentiated structures of *diffracted* society usually co-exist with undifferentiated structures of a fused type. The modern social structures are not rare in these societies. In fact, there is substantial number of such structures present in those societies, but they are fairly outnumbered by the presence of strong undifferentiated structures of primordial social system.

Riggs has demonstrated that the prismatic society is marked by several types of social, economic, political, and administrative sub-systems. For example, Riggs called the administrative sub-system as the *sala model* and economic subsystems as the *bazaar-canteen* model. In the following sections an attempt will be made to give an overview of the said subsystems.

15.4 Administrative Subsystem: The Sala Model

Riggs has coined the term *sala* to describe the administrative sub-systems of the prismatic society. Derived from the Spanish lexicon, the word *sala* represents something akin to government or bureau. Unlike the two extreme types of administrative sub-systems (viz, *chamber* and *bureau*) he has identified for the *fused* and *diffracted* societies respectively, *sala model* is marked by several mixed features like *nepotism* and *favouritism*, *poly-communalism* (hostile interaction

among diverse groups), and the existence of elects (interest group having communal membership).

A. *Nepotism and Favouritism:*

The administrative system of the prismatic society is marked by *nepotism* and *favouritism*, whereby appointments, promotions to different governmental positions are made on the basis of family lineage or kinship. Interestingly, *prismatic* society or its administrative sub-system, unlike its counterpart in the fused society, has never acknowledged the any patrimonial feature or spoil system in the recruitment process. But in practice, patrimonialism and favouritism were the driving forces of the administrative system of the *prismatic* society. The *sala* officials rampantly flouted the constitutional provision of free and fair administrative practices to serve their narrow self-interest.

B. *Poly-communalism:*

In order to capture the essence of socio-cultural diversity of the *prismatic* society manifested in terms of numerous ethnic, religious and racial groups, Riggs has coined the term *poly-communalism*. Riggs has mentioned that these ethnic, religious and racial groups are often locked into hostile exchanges among themselves that have serious implications for the administration. Ideally speaking, administrative officials are supposed to go by the law and discharge their duties impartially. But in a *prismatic* society, thanks to *poly-communalism*, the possibility of partial treatment by the administrative officials in favour of his/her own community may not be entirely ruled out. Hence, *poly-communalism* not only creates problems for the administration, but also threatens to destroy social equality as one group may get disproportionate advantage over other.

C. *Poly-Normativism:*

Another important feature of the administrative system of the prismatic society is the existence of multiple values and norms. People in these societies usually subscribe to multiple norms and values, leading to serious problem of decision making. The problem of *poly-normativism* is clearly discernible if we draw on the administrative system of the prismatic society. In the *sala* model, bureaucrats, normally get into the service through competitive examination, but eventually rely upon several inscriptive criterions to get plum posting or desired promotion.

D. *Formation of 'clect':*

The administrative system of the prismatic society is also known for its typical group formation. Riggs has christened these groups as *clects*. However, the uniqueness of these groups is that it does not qualify to be an association of the modern sense of the term. It carries the characteristics of both the pre-modern and modern societies as Riggs, has shown that *clect*

combines the features of *sects* of the fused societies and *club* of the diffracted society. It forms a close-knit group based on any primary identity and acts as a pressure group vis-à-vis other groups and government. These groups especially the affiliation to these groups virtually determines the administrative sub-culture of the prismatic society.

E. Blurring of authority structure and control mechanism:

The *sala* system is also marked by a queer mixture of authority structure, which is out and out centralized and concentrated in nature, with that of an overlapping control mechanism which is highly localized and dispersed. This blurring of authority structure and control mechanism has resulted in an unbalanced polity with bureaucracy, as it were, takes the hindmost. The political system of the prismatic society, which is supposed to control the entire politico-administrative system gets weakened in the process, leading to disproportionate rise of bureaucracy with resultant blues like *favouritism* and *nepotism* in recruitment, institutionalized corruption, and inefficiency in handling the administration of laws.

15.5 The Bazaar Canteen Model

The economy, another important sub-system of the *prismatic* society, has been identified by Riggs as the *Bazaar Canteen Model*. True to the spirit of the *prismatic* society, the economy of it also carries the mixed characters of both the traditional and modern societies. In this model, market a very modern mechanism of economy based on spontaneous dynamism of demand and supply is coincided with the traditional economic systems based on barter or exchange system. This model has the following distinguishing features: first, favouritism, a common feature of prismatic society, also prevails in its economic system. Secondly, unlike the diffracted society where prices of commodity are determined by the markets forces, the prices of commodity in the *prismatic* society vary from situation to situation, person to person and place to place. Interestingly, no rational standardization in pricing is available. Several non-economic factors like family contacts, bargaining power, individual equations, and politics are held responsible for the variability of prices of goods and services in these societies. Thirdly, unlike any sound economic logic, the wage relations in these societies are mostly determined by family ties or kinship considerations. Fourthly, in the said model a gross economic discrepancy can be noticed where a small section of people enjoy all the benefit at the cost of a sizable section of the society.

15.6 Critical evaluation

Riggs' ecological theory and its various constituent concepts have been criticized by both the western and non-western scholars. Some of them are of opinion that 'fused-prismatic diffracted model' of Riggs is too abstract and too confusing. His structural functional studies which include several ecological factors such as economic, social and political, are too difficult to follow. His prescription and concept of formalism is not satisfactory. They point out that research scholars often face numerous difficulties when they attempt to use his model to study empirically the administrative systems of alien countries. These critics argue that when Riggs himself requires scholars to take historical background, political structure, territorial size, social ideologies, role of military, etc., of the countries under investigation into account he himself negates the uniqueness immanent in history, culture, psyche and behaviour of each nation. His approach is thus deductive leading his theory to base on logical speculation and assumptions. Apparently his is an approach seemed too broad but inherently it is reductionist and sceptical too. Riggs has neglected the psychological and cognitive base or aspects of different societies. His 'fused-prismatic-diffracted model' uses too much discrete terminology and got overweight with specialized linguistic jargon.

The critics also observe that the concept of social change and transformation as explained in 'fused-prismatic-diffracted model' is uni-dimensional. They are of opinion that the factors causing or propelling social change and transformation may be latent, varied, unstable, indefinite and unprecedented. In many cases, again, social change may result from powerful external forces. For proper and adequate explanation and understanding of the administrative systems of these varied countries resulting from varied forms of social change and transformation, the analytical tool of 'fused-prismatic-diffracted model' is appeared to be too simplified and irrelevant to facts. In delineating the varied tendencies, nature and characteristics either of the diffracted or of the prismatic societies, Riggs has applied western epistemology and colonial cultural standards and mindset. This attitude, the critics opine, is improper, prejudiced, pessimistic and dangerous.

The critics again bring out the fact that Riggs has deliberately avoided the discussion relating to the fundamental issues and problems of administration as prevalent in the developing countries. Riggs' model provides no answer to the problems which pertain to reconstruction of agriculture, industrialization, poverty elimination, employment generation, public health and sanitation, education, import reduction and export promotion, search for appropriate technology, ensuring food security and clean environment for all, etc., Riggs' model does have nothing to solve the general problems of administration in developing societies, nor it has any intention to be a guide to action for the practitioners in administration there.

The critics, again, mention that Riggs only has explained how ecology influences administration. But in reality the individuals too in administration and also the individuals for whom the administration is carried out, exert tremendous influence upon creating, changing and modifying the ecology. So Riggs has overemphasized ecology and undermined the will, intention, and capability of animate being in administration and thought the latter being the passive force in the sphere of administration.

15.7 Conclusion

Ecological approach to administration has uncovered the subtle interaction between administration and its environment. Riggs was the first to have applied macro level approaches to the study of the administrative systems in the developing societies along with devising several conceptual tools of analysis on the subject. He is also known for his pioneering contribution to the cross cultural administrative studies. His work had spearheaded many empirical studies on administrative systems of the developing societies.

15.8 Summary

- Ecological approach of Fred W. Riggs focuses attention on the dynamic relationship between administration and its total environment which conditions the content, direction and consequences of policy-making and policy-execution.
- Drawing on the ecological perspective Riggs developed three important models applicable to the analysis of political and administrative development of developed, developing and transitional societies.
- In the face of critical observations Riggs in the later days developed 'fused-prismatic-diffracted model' for the purpose of analysis of the nature of administration only of the developing societies.
- He characterized prismatic society as having some particular traits.
- Riggs had coined the term 'sala' to describe the administrative sub-system of prismatic society and had noted characteristics of sala administration.
- He introduced bazaar canteen model to analyse the economy of the prismatic society.
- Despite several critical notes labelled against his ecological analysis of administration Riggs had admittedly opened up a new mode of explanation and analysis of administrative systems which respond to and are largely conditioned by ecology or by ecological forces.

15.9 Glossary

Ecology, Prismatic society, Sala, Agraria, Industria, Transitia.

Ecology : It is a malfunction of the environment focus that check the practice of Public administration in any given Society.

Prismatic society : Riggs defined the Prismatic society as one in transition from a fused to a diffused model.

Sala : Sala is the administrative Sale system of traditional or developing societies.

Agraria : Societies which are agro dominant

Industria : Society which are industrial dominant

Transitia : Society which are transitioning from agraria to industria.

15.10 Model Questions

Long Questions :

- Write a critical note on the ecological approach to administration.
- Make an assessment of the role played by Fred Riggs in developing ecological approach to administration.
- Write a critical note on the prismatic-sala model as enunciated by Fred Riggs.
- Is ecological theory of Fred W. Riggs a satisfactory theory in the context of developing societies? Argue your case in detail.

Short Questions :

- What do you mean by 'cleft'?
- What is 'poly-normatism'?
- Write a short note on Bazaar-Canteen model.
- What do you mean by 'sala'?
- Explain in brief the significance of ecological theory as developed by Riggs.
- Mention the characteristics of prismatic model as developed by Fred W Riggs.

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