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MAPOLS-502

Public Administration

MA POLITICAL SCIENCE

3rd Semester

Rajiv Gandhi University

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PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

MA [political Science]

Third semester

MAPOLS 502



RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY

Arunachal Pradesh ,INDIA – 791112

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Revised Edition 2021

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

Public Administration

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
UNIT 1 Development of the Discipline Role of Public Administration in developed and developing states	
UNIT 2 Approches to the study of public Administration Traditional Approach,Behavuiral Approach,Structural Functional Approach,Comparative Approach,Decision-Making	
UNIT 3 Organization Typology of Organization. Theories of organization-classical Theory,Human Relation Theory, Scientific ManagementTheory,Bureaucratic Theory	
UNIT 4 Development Administration and Bureaucracy Origin,Meaning and challenges of Development Administration Bureaucracy and Administration The concept of New Public Management	
UNIT 5 Public Policy Meaning,Nature and scope of public policy Policy Formulation Implementation and Evaluation	

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INTRODUCTION

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UNIT 2 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

UNIT 3 TYPOLOGY AND THEORY OF ORGANIZATION

UNIT 4 DEVELOPMENT ,ADMINISTRATION AND BUREAUCRACY

UNIT 5 NATURE AND SCOPE OF PUBLIC POLICY

INTRODUCTION

Public administration refers to the process of implementation of governmental policy by the people who have been appointed for the same, namely, the civil servants. It is also an academic discipline that studies this process of implementation and also prepares the civil service aspirants for the task ahead. It is an essential subject for the students of political science as well.

Public administration has a direct influence on the overall quality of life of the masses. It is concerned with that part of the government which is action-oriented. Public administrators are looked upon as the people who design important public policies aimed at the betterment of cities and villages through planning, development and management. To put it simply, public administrators help to improve the future of the community in general. A study of public administration would require focus on many issues including citizen participation, local autonomy, public administration strategies, innovative governance, public services, conflict resolution, demographic imbalances/transitions and healthcare.

In India, public administration is basically carried out by the Indian Administrative Service or the IAS. The Indian administrative structure is basically a legacy of British colonial rule. The different structural and functional features of Indian administration, such as the secretariat system, all-India services, local self-government, district administration, budgeting, auditing, police administration, revenue administration, and so on, have their genesis in the British Raj.

According to its Constitution, India is a 'sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic'. The country has a federal form of government. Its union government is divided into three separate, but interrelated branches, namely legislative, executive and judicial. As in the British parliamentary model, the leadership of the executive is drawn from and responsible to the legislative body, i.e., Indian Parliament. Article 50 of the Constitution stipulates the separation of the judiciary from the executive. However, the executive controls judicial appointments and many of the conditions of work. Different statutory commissions have been constituted to ensure democratic functioning of the administrative institutions in the country.

This book — *Public Administration* — has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the **Introduction** followed by the **Unit Objectives** for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner and is interspersed with **Check Your Progress** questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of **Questions and Exercises** is also provided at the end of each unit. The **Summary, Key Terms and Activity** further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

This book is divided into ten units:

Unit 1: Covers the various introductory concepts related to Public Administration. The unit also highlights the role of Public Administration in developing and developed countries.

Unit 2: Examines the various approaches related to the study of Public Administration such as traditional approach, behavioural approach, etc.

Unit 3: Traces the various theories and types of organizations including classical theory, human relations theory, scientific management theory and bureaucratic theory.

Unit 4: Deals with development administration and bureaucracy. The concepts of New Public Administration and Public Management are explained in a simple manner.

Unit 5: Introduces you to the meaning, nature and scope of public policy, with focus on the formulation, implementation and evaluation of a public policy.

Unit 6: Explores the basics of welfare administration. It also throws light upon the changing nature of administrative culture.

Unit 7: Familiarizes you with the need and significance of participatory administration in bringing change at the mass scale in the society.

Unit 8: Discusses the various schemes and programmes launched for the empowerment of the weaker sections of the society.

Unit 9: Describes the evolution of the concept of managerial administration. The unit also explains the processes related to the management of public enterprises and gives an overview of the challenges of liberalization and globalization.

Unit 10: Deals with the relation between administrative accountability and corruption, methods of ensuring accountability and redressal of grievances.

UNIT 1 DEVELOPMENT OF THE DISCIPLINE

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Unit Objectives
- 1.2 Public Administration
- 1.3 Evolution of Public Administration as a Discipline
- 1.4 Nature and Scope of Public Administration
 - 1.4.1 Elements of Public Administration
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 - 1.6.1 Honey Report on Higher Education for Public Services (1967)
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- 1.7 Role of Public Administration in Developed and Developing Countries
- 1.8 Summary
- 1.9 Key Terms
- 1.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 1.11 Questions and Exercises
- 1.12 Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

As an academic branch of learning, public administration has its origin in the United States. The seminal essay, *The Study of Administration*, written by Woodrow Wilson in 1887 in the periodical *Political Science Quarterly* laid the foundation for its budding into a full-grown educational branch of learning. From the time the essay was published, a number of renowned scholars like Frank Goodnow, L. D. White, Henry Fayal, J. D. Mooney, Luther Gullick, L. Urwick, Elton Mayo, Chester I. Barnard, F. M. Marx and Herbert A. Simon have added value to the field with their numerous intellectual publications.

In India, the University of Madras became the first to establish a division for public administration and local self-governance in 1949. However, it was only after the establishment of the Indian Institute of Public Administration on March 29, 1954, that universities like Chandigarh and Jaipur decided to set up independent public administration departments. In 1987, the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) introduced a full paper on public administration for the all-India and central services exams. After this, all universities became enterprising enough to acknowledge public administration as an independent course and set up autonomous departments. Presently, more than 30 odd departments of the university are providing learning programmes on public administration. Elsewhere in the country, public administration is still regarded as a constituent of political science.

The discipline has got superior sponsorship in the Osmania University under the educational guidance of M. A. Muthalib. The Department of Public Administration, Kakatiya University, was at the front position and accountable for getting the approval of pioneers in political science.

In this unit, we will study about the evolution of public administration as a discipline, its nature and scope and its role in developing societies.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the concept of public administration
- Trace the evolution of public administration as a discipline
- Explain the difference between public and private administration
- Identify the role of public administration in developing societies

1.2 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Public administration is centrally concerned with the organization of government policies and programmes, as well as the behaviour of officials (usually non-elected) formally responsible for their conduct.

Public administration is detailed and systematic execution of law. Every particular application of law is an act of administration. Administration is the most obvious part of the government; it is the government in action; it is the executive, the operative, the most visible side of the government.

-Woodrow Wilson

Public administration consists of all those operations having for their purpose the fulfilment or enforcement of public policy.

-L.D. White

Public administration is that part of the science of administration which has to do with government and, thus concerns itself primarily with the executive branch where the work of government is done, though there are obviously problems in connection with the legislative and judicial branches.

-Luther Gullick

Public administration, on the one hand, is an organized activity on the part of a group of people, having been authorized on behalf of the ultimate sovereign, and the voters, to administer and exercise direct control over their activities. On the other hand, it is a subject matter of study, teaching and research in colleges and universities. As an academic endeavour, it concerns the pursuit of understanding relating to the real and proper structure and functioning of government organizations and behaviour of organizational participants. The study of public administration is the study of the most effective ways of organizing the executive branch of a government, its institutions and procedures. It is mainly concerned with the means for implementing political values. It is the coordination of individual and group efforts to carry-out public policy.

The meaning of public administration can be studied from the following points of view:

- Its significance as an instrument of governance
- Its significance as an instrument of development and change
- Its significance in modern domestic welfare state

The most important function of the government is to govern, i.e., to maintain peace and public order and to ensure the safety and security of the life and property of citizens. It is also the responsibility of the government to ensure that contracts are honoured by the citizens and disputes are settled.

Public administration has to play a very significant role as an instrument of development and change. The administration of a country reflects the genius of its people and embodies their qualities, desires and aspirations. Whenever people decide to proceed on the road to development, their main instrument is public administration. They need trained manpower to run schools, colleges and technical institutions. They need technical manpower to build roads, bridges, buildings and to run machines in the industries. They need scientific manpower to undertake research and development. Only a well-developed public administration can make all this possible. It is true that part of the effort comes in the private sector, but it alone cannot complete the task. A lot of basic infrastructure has to be developed for which private initiative is usually not forthcoming. For example, nationwide rail transport, the telecommunication network, fundamental research, are all undertaken by the government for the most part.

The government has to provide many services for the welfare of its citizens. It includes the provision of schooling, medical facilities and social security measures (refer to Figure 1.1). With the breakdown of joint families, the problem of looking after the old and infants, orphans and widows also comes up. When economic activity slows, the problem of unemployed youth also crops up. The development process brings up many new problems like those of urban slums and juvenile delinquents. The welfare state has to identify these problems and devise solutions for them. The formulation of these schemes and their implementation is another significant function of public administration. Public administration is, thus, not only about the protection of citizens from external dangers or internal disorders, but it also about providing various services to citizens. The welfare of people depends very much on the way the public administration functions.

As lives get more complex in this fast-paced modern age, each one of us, as citizens of our country, have to interact with some governmental agency or department at some point or the other. In the past, the needs of the people were neither too many nor too complex. Times are different now.

Unlike citizens of the past who were able to live on comfortably within self-sufficient communities or villages, producing enough for their own consumption, today, citizens have bigger challenges to face. With the industrial revolution and the advancement of science and technology, production is no longer a simple task. Therefore, the means of production are not simple either. The industrial products in use in this age cannot be produced by small self-sufficient village communities. There is a need for specialized skills, for which communities have to move to the urban areas or the big cities. With the size of the communities increasing, more organizational skills are also required.

Given the nature and number of activities today, it is not possible for a small community of citizens to organize or manage them on their own, either as individuals or even as small groups or teams. This has led the governments, both at the Centre and at the state levels, to intervene by providing the required infrastructure and production facilities along with suitable environment for citizens to live in communities.

The infrastructural facilities can be seen in the form of roads, railway tracks and transport network for the convenient transportation of raw materials. The transportation facilities are not only significant at the site of production where they deliver the raw

material, but are also essential for distributing the finished/manufactured product(s). The citizens also make use of these facilities to travel from one place to another.

Communication facilities need to be provided to the communities too in terms of telephone lines, satellite connectivity, Internet connection, and so on. Such facilities can be set up only if there is sufficient finance available. A small village or self-sufficient community cannot even dream of investing in such facilities. Only the national government can step in to do the needful with the help of the state/local governments in the implementation of various schemes, projects and activities. Of course, nothing can succeed without the active involvement of the local communities. In addition to monetary aid and funds, a lot of effort is required in terms of organization and fulfilment of the needs of the communities.

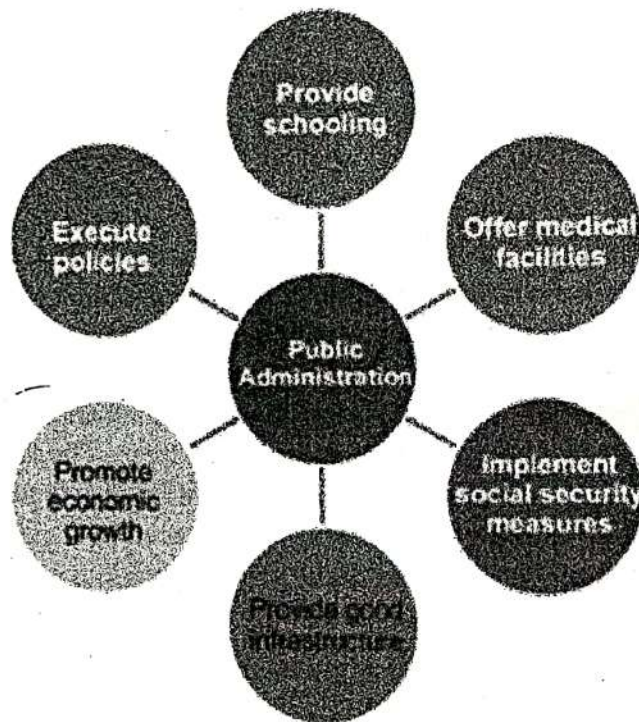


Fig. 1.1 Basic Functions of Public Administration

Thus, public administration consists of the actions undertaken by the government to look after its people or to manage its affairs.

Perception of public administration

The concept of public administration has been given various interpretations by different thinkers. As the term itself signifies, 'public administration' simply means the activities undertaken by the government to fulfil its desired ends. The difference between the various interpretations is regarding the 'activities' that are to be considered as the administrative activities. Some thinkers take a broad view and include all governmental activities having for their purpose the fulfilment of public policy, while others take a narrow view and consider only those activities concerned with the executive branch of the government.

There are some writers who lay emphasis on the function of the implementation of public policy. As the author J.S. Hodgson states, 'Public administration comprises all the activities of persons or groups in governments or their agencies, whether these organizations are international, regional or local in their scope, to fulfil the purpose of those governments or agencies'.

Thinkers like J.M. Pfiffner lay more emphasis on the coordinating role of the administration. According to Pfiffner, 'administration consists of getting the work of government done by coordinating the efforts of people so that they can work together to accomplish their set tasks'. Then there are others who emphasize upon the administrative function of implementing the law of the country. In the words of H. Walker, 'the work which the government does to give effect to a law is called administration'. However, the definition given by F.A. Nigro is more comprehensive and includes, besides the above mentioned functions, the relationship between public administration and political process, as well as its association with the community as a whole. Nigro defined public administration as: 'Public administration is cooperative group effort in a public setting, covers all three branches-executive, legislative and judicial-and their interrelationships. It has an important role in the formulation of public policy and is thus a part of the political process. It is more important than, and also different insignificant ways from private administration; as a field of study and practice has been much influenced in recent years by the human relations approach. It is closely associated with numerous private groups and individuals in providing services to the community'.

The above definitions take a broader view of the term. There are thinkers who take a narrower view and as students of public administration you should be more concerned with the ideology. In this category comes D. Waldo who defines public administration as 'the art and science of management as applied to the affairs of state'. According to M. Dimock, 'public administration is the fulfilment or enforcement of public policy as declared by the competent authorities. It deals with the problems and powers, the organization and techniques of management involved in carrying out laws and policies formulated by the policy-making agencies or government'. He further adds, 'Public administration is law in action. It is the executive side of government'.

All these definitions make it clear that public administration is really the government in action. In common usage, it is concerned with the executive, the operative and the most obvious part of the government. In other words, it is mainly concerned with executing the implementing part of the governmental activity, with the question as how law should be administered with equity, speed and without friction. An ignorant Indian villager may not know anything about the constitution of the country, but a *daroga* or a *patwari* is a living reality to him. Therefore, public administration comprises the systematic execution of the will of the people which has been discovered, formulated and expressed in the form of laws by the legislature. For instance, the assessment and rating of taxes, the hanging of a criminal, the delivery of mails, the recruitment of the army, and so on, are all acts of public administration. To summarize, it may be said that public administration is the non-political machinery of the government carrying on its work for the welfare of the people according to the laws set up by the state. It is the permanent executive as distinguished from the political one.

At this stage, you must be clear that public administration has to do with people and not with things. There is a school of thought that holds that in the future the tendency will be a form of administration of persons towards the administration of things. But this appears to be only a narrow view. Things may be arranged, but ultimately it is the participation of the human elements that matters. Things, no doubt, are of great importance to the administrator who arranges them, but they cannot be administered by him. Administration has to do with human beings for which it is meant. It is essentially a matter of social relationships. It must not also be forgotten that the administrator is neither a philosopher nor a politician, but the non-political side of the executive.

1.3 EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AS A DISCIPLINE

Administration as an activity or as a process is believed to be as old as the human civilization. You find traces of the activity in all types of human organizations that had been in existence during the ancient times. As soon as primitive man began to act jointly with his fellows, he had to plan, organize, assign roles and coordinate, which literally makes administration.

Public administration as an academic discipline is hardly a century old. What public administration today as a discipline is, was not so a century ago. During all these years, it has been through many ups and downs. Its study developed as an offshoot of Political Science or Public Law, and until recently administration as an academic subject was the very plain stepsister of these older disciplines.

It is believed that the term 'public administration' crept into the European languages during the seventeenth century to distinguish the monarch's administration from his management of the private household.

Public administration is regarded as one among the newest disciplines of the social sciences. Like other disciplines, it has passed through several phases of evolution. The study of its evolution can be made by dividing its evolutionary history into several phases of development (refer to Figure 1.2).

Phase I (1887-1926): Era of politics-administration dichotomy

Public administration as a discipline is said to have originated in the United States. The first stage of its evolution is considered to have begun with the appearance of Woodrow Wilson's essay titled *The Study of Administration* in 1887. Wilson is regarded as the father of the discipline.

In the early half of the twentieth century, many American universities began to take active interest in the reform movement in government. Scholars were, therefore, attracted to the field of public administration. In 1914, the American Political Science Association published a report which discussed the objectives of the teaching of political science. One of the objectives was to 'Prepare specialists for government positions'. Thus, public administration was recognized as an important subarea of political science. The subject, i.e., public administration began to gain increasing recognition in the American universities, and its study began to spread steadily.

The remarkable feature of the first period of the evolutionary stages of the discipline was a passionate belief in the 'politics-administration dichotomy'. Woodrow Wilson emphasized the need for studying public administration as a discipline apart from politics. This is known as the principle of politics-administration dichotomy, i.e., a separation of politics and administration. However, the practical invalidity of the dichotomy did not bother the thinkers at that time.

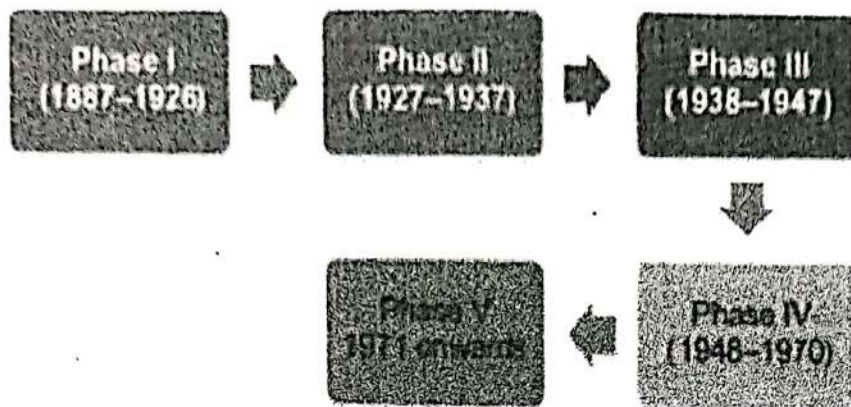


Fig. 1.2 Division of the Study of Public Administration

Phase II (1927-1937): Principles of administration

The second period of evolution of the discipline is marked by the tendency to reinforce the idea of 'politics-administration' dichotomy, and to evolve a value-free science of management. The central theme of this period was that there were certain principles of administration and the task to discover them and to promote their application was left to the scholars.

The main thrust of public administration studies in the first two stages, summarized by US political scientist Wallace Sayre, are as follows:

- The 'politics-administration' dichotomy was assumed both as a self-evident truth and as a desirable goal. Administration was perceived as a self-contained world of its own, with its own separate values, rules and methods.
- Organization theory was started in 'scientific management term', i.e., it was seen largely as a problem in the organization technology - the necessity of hierarchy; the use of staff agencies; a limited span of control; subdivision of work by such scientific principles as purpose, process, place or clientele.
- The executive budget was characterized as an instrument of rationality, coordination, planning and control.
- Personnel management was stressed as an additional element of rationality (jobs were to be described scientifically, employees were to be selected, paid and advancement by 'scientific' methods).
- A 'neutral' or 'impartial' career service was required to ensure competence, expertise and nationality.
- A body of administrative law was needed to prescribe standards of due process in the administrative conduct.

The years under the second stage, i.e., from 1927-1937, were the golden years of 'principles' in the history of public administration. This was also a period when the discipline of public administration commanded a high degree of respectability and its products were in great demand both in government and business.

Phase III (1938-1947): Principles stood challenged

The third stage can be termed as one of reaction and challenge against the so-called 'principles of administration', which were dubbed as 'naturalistic fallacies' and 'proverbs'. In a way, the advocates of the principles of administration began to be challenged and the period from 1938-1947 was, indeed, one of continuous and mounting challenge and questioning.

Herbert A. Simon's article entitled, *The Proverbs of Administration* in 1946, put a big question mark on the acceptability as well as applicability of the 'principles of administration' which he branded as 'mere proverbs' and nothing more than proverbs. His argument was further strengthened by him in his *Administrative Behaviour: a Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization* which was published in 1947. This work got him the Nobel Prize in the year 1978.

Simon's book is a critique of the older public administration. While rejecting anything as 'principles' he said, what are paraded as 'principles' are in truth no better than proverbs. He declared 'how can principles help in determining proper actions when two principles provide contradictory arguments for action?' He also rejected the politics-administration dichotomy and laid substantive focus on 'decision-making' and termed decision-making as the heart of administration. Simon's approach provided an alternative definition of public administration, and widened the scope of the subject by relating it to psychology, sociology, economics and political science.

Robert A. Dahl, Sterling Professor emeritus of political science at Yale University, identified three important problems in the evolution of a science of public administration. These problems are as follows:

- (i) The first problem arises from the frequent impossibility of excluding normative considerations from the problems of public administration. Scientific means to achieve efficiency must be founded on some classification of ends.
- (ii) The second problem arises from the inescapable fact that a science of public administration must be a study of certain aspects of human behaviour. Dahl criticized the 'machine concept of organization' and argued that the study of administration must embrace the whole psychological man.
- (iii) The third problem relates to the conception of the principles of administration. There was a tendency, as he pointed out, to enunciate the universal principles based on a few examples drawn from limited national and historical settings. But the laws of public administration are not universally valid. The principles of public administration applied to developing and developed nations are considerably different. So, the social framework of public administration cannot be shunned altogether.

According to Dahl, 'The study of public administration inevitably must become a much more broadly based discipline, resting not on a narrowly defined knowledge of techniques and processes, but rather extending to the varying historical, sociological, economic and other conditioning factors.'

This stage was marked with such criticism that the discipline of public administration found itself in a very shaky position and its morale was low. This period was followed by another critical period, i.e., the period of crisis.

Phase IV (1948-1970): Crisis of identity

This period has been one of crisis for public administration. The brave new world promised by the thinkers of the 'principles' era stood shattered. The future of the discipline appeared uncertain as it faced a grave crisis, i.e., the crisis of identity.

Many public administrators responded to the crisis of identity by returning to the fold of the mother science, namely, political science. But they discovered that they were not very much welcome to the home of their youth. Many political scientists began to argue that the true objective of teaching in the field was 'intellectualized understanding' of the executive, thus, reserving the objective laid down in 1914, namely, preparing 'specialists for governmental position'. There was a talk of continued dominance of political science over public administration. This period witnessed the spectacle of political science not only letting public administration separate itself from it, but also not fostering and encouraging its growth and development within its own field.

Public administration, naturally, was in search of an alternative which was available in the form of administrative science. Here, too, public administration had to lose its distinctiveness, identity and to merge with a larger field.

After the Second World War, the whole concept of public administration expanded to include policy-making and analysis. Thus, the study of administrative policy making and analyses were introduced into government decision-making bodies. Later on, the human factor became a pre-dominant concern and the emphasis was on the study of public administration. This period witnessed the development and inclusion of other social sciences and knowledge, predominantly, psychology, anthropology and sociology, into the study of public administration.

Phase V: 1971 onwards

The discipline has registered great progress and has entered the new phase, 1971 onwards, with an enriched vision, the uncertainty and turmoil of the preceding period notwithstanding. It has attracted to its fold scholars from various disciplines, thus becoming truly interdisciplinary. It is focussing its attention more and more on the dynamics of administration. Public administration has also identified itself with political science.

The foregoing discussion deliberately tries to trace the history of public administration solely in the context of the United States. This is so because the USA is the country of its origin.

In India, the traces of the history of public administration are only half-a-century old. Today, a large number of universities in India offer courses in public administration. Many of them have independent departments of public administration. Besides, this subject is also taught in the joint departments of political science and public administration as well as in the departments of political science.

Both the academicians and practitioners of the discipline are required to make sincere efforts in the right direction before the discipline regains its status and a place of respectability among the other notable disciplines of social sciences.

1.4 NATURE AND SCOPE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

There are different opinions about the scope of public administration, whether it is the managerial part of the governmental work or the entire complex of activities of only executive branch of government or of all branches, i.e., legislative, executive and judicial. There are, thus, two divergent views regarding the nature of the study of public administration. These are as follows:

- **Integral view:** Public administration is the sum total of all the activities undertaken in pursuit of and in fulfilment of public policy. These activities include not only managerial and technical activities, but also manual and clerical activities such as filing paperwork, maintaining records, or all the non-managerial aspects of the job of a public administrator. Thus, the activities of all persons working in an organization from top to bottom constitute administration. In other words, public administration is conceived in a comprehensive sense to include all the activities of the government whether they are performed in the executive, legislative or judicial branches of the government.
- **Managerial view:** The work of only those persons who are engaged in the performance of managerial functions in an organization constitutes the administration. It is these people who shoulder the responsibility of keeping the enterprise on even keels and to run it most efficiently. Their job is to plan, programme and organize all the activities in an organization so as to achieve the desired ends. The following list describes the managerial work of the administrative personnel:
 - **Planning:** Planning means working out broad outline of the things that need to be done and the method to be adopted to accomplish the proposed set for the enterprises.
 - **Organizing:** Organizing means building up the structure of authority through which the entire work to be done is properly arranged and defined in order to achieve the desired goals.
 - **Staffing:** Staffing means appointing suitable persons to the various posts under the organization. It covers the whole of personnel management.
 - **Directing:** Directing means making decisions and issuing orders and instructions and embodying them for the guidance of the staff.
 - **Coordinating:** Coordinating means inter-relating various parts of the work and, thus, eliminating the overlapping and conflict in different activities of an organization.
 - **Reporting:** Reporting means keeping both the supervisors and subordinates informed of what is going on and arranging for the collection of such information through inspection, research and records.
 - **Budgeting:** Budgeting means fiscal planning accounting and control, i.e., all the activities related to financial management.

The scope of public administration can be divided under two broad heads, namely, principles of public administration and sphere of public administration.

Viewed from the jurisdictional point of view, the sphere of public administration includes the central government, state government, its regional and local authorities and also the public corporations.

Therefore, public administration encompasses all activities of the government, including organizational effort and the use of management techniques to ensure social order and meaningful work with the aim of fulfilling a purpose.

According to H. Walker, the scope of public administration is made up of the following two parts:

1. **Administrative theory:** This comprises the analysis and examination of various types of public authority in terms of the following:

- (i) structure
- (ii) organization
- (iii) functions
- (iv) methods

Such public authorities are involved in administration at the national, regional, local and all other levels. It is also the study of all issues and challenges pertaining to the external control of the following:

- Parliament and the Cabinet over administration
- Internal control of administrative mechanism
- Judicial control over administration
- Administrative tribunals
- Public actions (planning, programming and execution)
- Recruitment of personnel
- Relevant issues (pertaining to research, information and public relations)

The objective is to identify the appropriate principles of administrative action, which can be successfully applied or practised in administration.

2. **Applied administration:** It is not easy to define the components of 'applied administration', more so since public administration itself is a relatively new field, which is also growing at a rapid pace. Walker has tried to come up with a simple classification of the types of applied administration, based on ten primary functions as follows:

- **Political:** This comprises an analysis and examination of the relationship between the executive and the legislature. It also studies the political and administrative activities of the Cabinet. It analyses the relationship between the ministers and their officials or administrative personnel.
- **Legislative:** This involves delegated legislation, such as elementary functions of the officials in drafting the bills for enactments.
- **Financial:** This involves the entire financial administration, for example, right from the stage of preparing to the stage of enacting a budget.
- **Defensive:** As the name suggests, this involves studying the military administration.
- **Educational:** This involves studying all features and characteristics of the educational administration.

- **Social:** This covers housing, employment, food, social security and all other administrative functions in the social field.
- **Economic:** This comprises all the administrative activities in the fields of agriculture, commerce, industries, foreign trade, public enterprises and other economic fields.
- **Foreign:** This comprises foreign administration including international collaboration, global agencies for world peace, prosperity, international relations, and so on.
- **Imperial:** This covers issues and methods of imperial supremacy or command over other countries.
- **Local:** As the name suggests, this includes the administration of local bodies.

Although a lot of overlapping is observed in the way in which Walker has classified applied administration, it does make way for a more comprehensive and far-reaching definition of the subject. You can summarize the same in the following manner: applied administration comprises the study of administration in the various countries of the world; in the different service departments of the states; in the various organizational hierarchies at the governmental, local, national, and international levels; in relation to the historical development and evolution of administrative techniques; and with reference to the issues and challenges in international organizations.

1.4.1 Elements of Public Administration

The essential components of administration in any field, regardless of the area of operation or work, can be broken down into three important groups. Administration can be successful if it is characterized by the following three fundamentals of effective administration:

- (a) Good interrelationship between the executive body and the legislature regarding policy and decision-making (in the case of the private sector, effective relationship among the board of directors)
- (b) Competency of the chief executive and his chief assistants and subordinates to streamline the policies and decisions adopted by the legislature or board of directors so that they are broken down into a series of action to be undertaken
- (c) Ability of the people in charge of operations in providing effective leadership to the rank and file so that they follow orders and carry out tasks that are laid down in the plans properly

Hence, it can be said that the elements of public administration comprise three sets of considerations or hypotheses: the first consideration pertains to the part played by the executive head in making decisions and policies, the second to the interrelationship between the executive official and his immediate associates in the top structure of the administrative hierarchy, and the third to interrelationship between the higher operating chiefs and all employees of progressively lower rank.

People and government expectations

It may be observed that public administration is only a means to the attainment of the objects of the state itself. The scope of public administration varies with people's expectations of what they should get from the government. A century ago they expected

chiefly to be left alone. Now they expect a wide range of services and protection. Throughout the world, the demands made by people have continually increased and in time to come they would further increase. The expansion of government functions inevitably means more of the administrative agencies, more officials and employees. The administrative system consequently grows and becomes diverse. Hence, it is quite natural that although public administration leans on the administrative branch of the executive organ only, but its range is wide as it varies with people's idea of a good life.

1.4.2 Significance of Public Administration

There has been a tremendous increase in the importance of public administration with the expansion of state activities. The state is no longer considered as the preserver of status quo; instead, the concept of the service state has been almost universally accepted. The centuries old notion of police state which was to be responsible only for the maintenance of law and order and the policy of laissez faire, i.e., least interference in day-to-day activities, has completely lost its relevance. The modern state has undertaken the new role of accelerator of economic and social change as well as prime mover and stimulator of national development. With this change in the ends of modern state, the purpose of public administration has also been completely reoriented. Its functions have enormously increased in number, variety and complexity and its methodology has grown from the trial and error stage into an orderly discipline with an organized, ever-increasing body of knowledge and experience. Today, you see a great bulk of administrative departments coming into being.

Since a child remains under public administration from 'cradle to the grave', his birth as well as death is to be registered with the local authorities. There are a number of welfare agencies which provide all necessary benefits to the child. Besides, all of us use the services of public administration in almost every walk of life.

Public administration is an integral part of the social, cultural and economic life of a nation and is a permanent force in its life. It is possible for a state to exist without a legislature or an independent judiciary, but no state can exist without a well-organized administration.

With the great advancement of science and the invention of new techniques at all levels of human life, the problem of maintaining effective coordination between the administration and the rest of the community has assumed great importance. The administrator is the essential servant of the new age, which is becoming so complex that neither the bluster of the power politician nor the abundant goodwill of the multitude will avoid a breakdown, if, despite the adoption of right policies; wrong administrative steps are taken. Therefore, the pursuit of greater knowledge of public administration becomes the most essential feature of civilized government. And even civilization itself, rests upon the ability to develop a science and a philosophy and a practice of the administration competent enough to discharge the public functions of a civilized society.

1.5 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ADMINISTRATION

The term public administration appears to suggest that there must be non-public or private administration also. Some thinkers believe that all the administration is one and there is no difference between public or private administration. There is difference of opinion regarding the relationship between public and private administration. There are some thinkers who consider that there is no difference between the two and that the

administrative activities and techniques are similar in all the organizations, whether they are private or public. Urwick, Mary Parker Follet and Henri Fayol subscribe to this view. According to H. Fayol, 'You are no longer confronted with several administrative sciences but with one which can be applied equally well to public and private affairs'.

Similarities between public and private administration

Various thinkers suggest various points of similarities between the two. First, many skills, techniques and procedures adopted in private and public administration are the same, e.g., accounting, office procedure and management. This view holds true because of the fact that there is an occasional interchange of personnel between the two. This would not have been possible had there been a difference in the working of private and public administrative organizations.

Public and private administrations show a number of similar practices. We usually say that all those activities that are performed by the governmental agencies or public agencies form part of public administration, while those performed by the private agencies are called private administration. There are, however, many activities which are performed both by private and public agencies. For example, business activities were mainly performed by private organizations. But, the government has taken upon itself many economic and business activities, which, hitherto, were the preserves of private administration.

This has given rise to a new form of organization, namely, a public corporation, which is much different from the usual departmental form of the organization prevalent in the government. This form of organization has become necessary to provide the public administration sufficient flexibility necessary for running business enterprises in developing countries like India. The public sector has come to occupy an important position in the economic organization of the country. The role of public corporations has, therefore, gone up tremendously, giving rise to the phenomenon of adopting the business practices of private organizations in the government. It has also been increasingly realized that there are many skills, techniques and procedures, which are common to both public and private administration. For example, accounting, statistics, office management, office procedures, purchases, disposals and stocking and many other activities are common to both public and private administration.

There are four basic elements of similarity between the public and private administration, which are as follows:

- (i) **Cooperative element:** Public administration is a cooperative group effort in a public or private setting. In every human organization, be it private or public, the key to successful operations is the effective utilization of human and physical resources. Though the purposes or goals of these organizations may vary, the common factor is the element of cooperation which is present in both.
- (ii) **Large size of organizations:** In all the organizations, where the number of employees is substantially high, the bureaucratic element is present. As it becomes difficult for one person to look after all the employees, the intermediate levels of supervisions are required. In other words, various levels of hierarchy evolve and the organization grows in complexity. Thus, bureaucracy is another major element of similarity between the two.
- (iii) **Scientific analysis:** Scientific analysis involves breaking down each task into its component parts, studying the movement of the workers, the use

made of materials and equipment, experimenting with different work methods and procedures and finally adopting those which proved to be most efficient. This scientific technique is increasingly used in both public and private administration.

- (iv) **Human relations approach:** The human relations approach is the main focus of similarity between the two.

Dissimilarities between public and private administration

Though there are certain points of similarity between public and private administration, no private organization can ever be exactly same as a public one.

The following are some points of differences between the two types of administration:

- **Political direction:** The primary distinction between public and private administration lies in the fact that unlike public administration, private administration is not subjected to political direction, save in times of the gravest emergency. The ends it pursues are of its own device. Its objectives generally do not depend upon political decisions. But the administrator under public administration has to carry on the orders he gets from the political executive with little option of his own.
- **Profit motive:** Public administration is conducted with the motive of service while the motive of private administration is profit-making. If the establishment of a textile mill brings more profit to the capitalist than the establishment of a sugar mill, the former will be preferred by him, however, urgent may be the need of the latter. If private administration is useful to the public, its service is a by-product of profit-making. In public administration, some functions are performed by the state, which are entirely money-consuming functions, for instance, running of a government school or hospital.
- **Service and cost:** In the matter of public administration only such amount of money is raised by taxation which is necessary for the rendering of the service. In other words, there is an intimate relationship between the service rendered and the cost of service charged from the public. A government budget is generally a deficit budget, i.e., expenditure exceeding the income. In private administration, income often exceeds expenditure, because there is usually an attempt made to extract as much money as possible through the sale of products or services.
- **Nature of functions:** Public administration is more comprehensive than private administration. It deals with the various types of needs of people, for example, in most countries, it maintains railways to facilitate movement of goods and passengers, provides posts and telegraphs to facilitate communication, maintain hospitals and dispensaries to protect public health. In a socialistic state, the scope of state activity is still greater since its aim is to achieve greatest happiness of the greatest number. Private administration does not usually cover the economic needs of life. Public administration carries out functions, which are vital for the very existence of the people, for instance, the defence of the country and the maintenance of law and order. Private administration is concerned with less vital functions, e.g., manufacture of cloth, supply of sugar, and so on. Besides, public administration own a monopoly in some of the services, for example, in India, it alone runs the railways, manages posts and

telegraphs and maintains an army. No private individual can undertake any of these functions. In private administration, more than one organization undertakes the same activity, e.g., supply of cloth, plying taxis for hire, and so on.

- **Public responsibility:** Public administration has responsibility to the public. In the words of P.H. Appleby, 'Government administration differs from all other administrative work by virtue of its public nature, the way in which it is subject to public scrutiny and outcry'. On the other hand, private administration is only responsible about the people indirectly, and generally it secures its own ends and not the welfare of its people.
- **Uniform treatment:** Public administration should be consistent in procedure and uniform in dealings with the public. An official cannot show favour to some people and disfavour to others. A private administration, on the other hand; need not worry about the uniformity in treatment. A shopkeeper selling cloth may give cloth on credit, but a clerk in a post office will not sell stamps on credit.
- **Public relation:** The public and private administration also differ on the principle of public relations. In the business world, it is employed to win customers, by window displaying, free samples, design and colour of labels.
- **Efficiency:** It is felt that private administration is superior in efficiency to public administration. The glamour for 'a businessman's government' or 'Commercialization of the whole machinery of government' or privatization of electricity production and distribution, and so on, shows that the people regard private administration as being more efficient. Private administration enjoys certain advantages, e.g., differential wage payment as incentive to increase production and to attract staff of superior ability from rival firms, and so on, over public administration which is marked by red tapism, extravagance, corruption and inefficiency. In a private administration, the incentive of more profits impels the individual to devote himself whole heartedly in his business. But it does not mean that private administration is always efficient, or public administration is always inefficient. Although the incentive of cash profits is lacking in public administration, the incentive and desire to make one's own administration successful and win public approval and do public good is present, and with this incentive, administrators devote themselves wholeheartedly to achieve the efficiency of the office.
- **Organization:** Though the principle of 'organization' is relevant to both public and private administration, yet it has greater social consequences in the sphere of the former than in the realm of the latter because a defect in the organization in public administration will do more harm to the public than a lacuna in private administration. Huxley writes, 'The state lives in a glass house, we see what it tries to do, and all its failures, partial or total, are made the most of. But private enterprise is sheltered under opaque bricks and mortar'.
- **Monopolistic:** In the field of public administration, there is generally a monopoly of government, and it does not allow private parties to compete with it. For example, in most countries no person or body of persons can establish post and telegraph, railway, for these are the exclusive fields of the government. This is not so in private administration, wherein there are several organization

competing with each other to supply the same commodity or to meet the same need. Of course, in certain cases, even private concerns may have a monopoly.

- **Officials remain incognito:** In the public administration, even the most senior officials remain incognito and their identity is not disclosed. This is so because whatever they do, they do in the name of the government and not in their own name. On the contrary, a private administration entrepreneur does things on his own behalf and is well known in the business circles. In many cases, even business concerns are named after the names of their proprietors.
- **Psychological difference:** There is also a psychological difference between private and public administration. In the United States, during the Second World War, the coal mines were placed under government control and although no appreciable changes in the administration of the coal mines were made, there came about a change in the psychology of the workers for now they well knew the dangerous consequences of strikes, etc.

According to Simon, the distinction between public and private administration relates mainly to three points, which are as follows:

- (i) Public administration is bureaucratic, whereas private administration is business like.
- (ii) Public administration is political, whereas private administration is non-political.
- (iii) Public administration is characterized by red tape, whereas private administration is free from it.

1.6 CONCEPT OF NEW PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The new public administration movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s criticized the 'old' public administration for its lack of an explicit ideological framework. The basic principles of the new public administration were participation, decentralization and representative bureaucracy. Both types of participation as a political process and participation as an organizational process were supported, because political participation was to be a means of dispersing power and increasing citizens' involvement in government, while organizational participation was believed to be a means for promoting change and dispersing power within the organization.

Decentralization was intended to increase citizens' involvement in governmental and organizational processes. Representative bureaucracy was meant to produce client-centred administration and the representation of clientele interests by administrators.

A new managerial approach in the public sector emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s and it was named new public management. This new approach lay the emphasis on the economy, efficiency and effectiveness of government organizations, instruments and programs, and higher quality service delivery. This new model of public sector management emerged in the most advanced countries, as well as in many developing ones, and is regarded by many authors' not as a form of the traditional public administration, but a transformation of the public sector and its relationship with government and society'.

Some of the important characteristics of new public administration were:

- It refused to define public administration as being value-free
- It did not accept a rationalist and determinative view of mankind

- It refused to accept the dichotomy of politics and administration
- It went against the bureaucracy and the hierarchical order
- It did not approve of the excessive emphasis laid on the machinery and the system

These anti-goals were the key features of new public administration. It was deeply concerned with problems that plagued the society and laid emphasis on ethics, values, innovation and social equality. It emphasized human relations, as well as a creative perspective of administration and social change. The essential characteristics that new public administration was expected to possess to be able to attain the desired goals were:

- Higher level of orientation towards changing reality
- Ability to impact policies aimed at improving the quality of working life
- Competence to implement policies directed at improvement of quality of working life
- Higher degree of orientation towards measurement of the impact of laws on citizens instead of making do with their mechanical application
- Less neutrality and more normative

The chief landmarks in the evolution of new public administration were:

- Honey Report on Higher Education for Public Services, 1967
- Conference: Theory and Practice of Public Administration, 1967
- The Minnowbrook Conference, 1968
- Publication of *Toward a New Public Administration; The Minnowbrook Perspective*, edited by Frank Marini, 1971
- Publication of *Public administration in a Time of Turbulence* edited by Dwight Waldo, 1971

Let us now look in detail at a few important landmarks that led to the genesis of new public administration.

1.6.1 Honey Report on Higher Education for Public Services (1967)

In 1966, an affiliate of the American Society for Public Administration asked John C. Honey of the Syracuse University to undertake an evaluative study on public administration as a field of study in the US universities. This report was submitted in 1967 was known as the Honey Report. It offered many solutions and identified the need for remedying many problems. It stressed on developing a coherence and identify for public administration, both as a discipline and as a focus for professional development. The Honey Report is significant in the sense that it disclosed the true state of health of the discipline of public administration in the United States, the country of origin of public administration. It sought to broaden the subject's scope by making it continuous with the total governmental process (executive, legislative and judicial). It identified four problems confronting it, and suggested immediate action on them:

- (i) Insufficient resources at disposal of the discipline (students, faculty and research funds).
- (ii) Intellectual argument over the status of the discipline-is it a discipline, a science or profession.

- (iii) Institutional weakness (inadequacy of public administration departments).
- (iv) Gap between scholars of public administration and the practising administrators.

The Honey Report made the following recommendations:

- The establishment of a National Commissions Public Service Education to exert broad leadership in meeting the needs of governments for educated manpower.
- A substantial fellowship programme (perhaps initially 2 years), 5 years for postgraduate students who are preparing for public service at the master's and doctoral levels, and also including preparation for professional degrees.
- Internship programmes to operate at the Federal, State, and local levels for postgraduate students, and advanced undergraduates preparing for public service careers.
- A special fellowship programme for those planning to become teachers in schools and programmes of public administration and public affairs.
- A programme to provide opportunities for practical governmental experience to university faculty engaged in public affairs teaching and research.
- A programme of assistance to universities for public affairs, curricular experimentation and development.
- Support for university personnel engaged in research on governmental and public affairs issues.
- Support from Federal, State, and local governments, as well as from private industry, for the provision of facilities to schools and programmes of public administration and public affairs.
- The establishment of an advisory service for new public affairs programmes, and the development of personnel rosters to provide current information on experienced graduates of schools of public administration and public affairs.
- It recommended that a study of the universities and education for public service be undertaken, the purposes to show how various types of institutions now approach their public service, educational and other tasks and to identify stimulative and innovative developments as well as deficiencies and problems.
- The second major and closely associated research proposal was for a study of the professions, professional education and the public service.

The Honey Report aroused interest as well as controversy in the US. What it said was important, but what it did not say carried even greater meaning. It, for instance, said nothing about public administration's role in the strife torn tumultuous society of the United States in the 1960s. However, the Report induced many scholars to think deeply about its place and role in the society and thus it, in a way, acted as a catalyst in encouraging discussion on its adequacy in solving societal problems.

1.6.2 Conference on Theory and Practice of Public Administration (1967)

A conference was held in Philadelphia in December 1967 to discuss the topic—*The Theory and Practice of Public Administration: Scope, Objectives and Methods*. James C. Charlesworth, chairman of the conference, thus described the feelings of the participants: 'The participants in this meeting evinced a mood to make a bold and synoptic

approach to the discipline of public administration and sought to measure the importance of public administration in a broad philosophic context and to consider whether it is an adornment of the mind as well as a practical instrument of the government'.

The views expressed by the participants were varied. Public administration was viewed as an academic discipline, as a field exercise, and as a profession. Some defined public administration as ministration in the *public interest*, while others made coextensive with *governmental administration*. There was no agreed definition of public administration but there emerged a broad consensus on the following points:

- It is just as difficult to delineate the scope of public administration as it is to define it.
- Public administration agencies make policies and the policy administration dichotomy is erroneous.
- American public administration as a discipline should deal restrictively with public administration in America.
- Bureaucracy should be studied functionally as well as structurally.
- Public administration and business administration training should not be combined since they are similar only in unimportant aspects.
- Public administration as a profession should remain separate from the profession and discipline of political science.
- Normative administrative theory as well as descriptive analytic theory in public administration is in a state of disarray.
- A hierarchical/pyramidal view of organizational authority is no longer appropriate. Administrators must view workers as *co-ordinates* rather than *sub-ordinates*. The executive is not so much on top as he is in the centre, being affected by *sub-ordinates* who surround him.
- Policy and political considerations are replacing management ability as the major focus of concern in public administration. Computerized information is not good simply because it is computerized. Nor does it provide reliable political answers. Quantification and cost analysis cover only a small part of the total factors in a decision.
- Administrators of the future should be trained in professional schools—public administration curricula should emphasize not only administrative organization and procedures but also the psychological, financial, sociological, and anthropological aspects of the subject.
- Public administration has not been able to deal with societal problems. Public administration theory, has not caught up with emerging problems, like the huge military, industrial complex, riots, labour unions and strikes, public school conflicts, slums, the impingement of science, and developing countries.
- Public administration is a discipline, but it cannot employ all the methodologies of the contemporary social science. While parts of public administration are capable of using scientific methods, other important parts of the discipline are not amenable to scientific treatment. In the words of Charlesworth: 'We can be scientific, if we severely limit the scope of our discipline, but if we did, would we not excise its most valuable parts? And we are scientific in some corners, our subject is heavy with values and prescriptions, we can never be scientific'.

It is significant that some of these views found full throated expression in the Minnowbrook Conference, and thus viewed, the Philadelphia Conference could be credited with being a precursor of the Minnowbrook event.

1.6.3 Minnowbrook Conference (1968)

The genesis of the Minnowbrook Conference lay in two factors. First, the 1960s was a turbulent period besieged by numerous societal problems, but public administration showed no signs of being aware of them, much less being serious to solve them. This was well highlighted by Waldo's article on *Public Administration in a Time of Revolutions*, published in *Public Administration Review* in 1968. Secondly, there was a need to hear young scholars and practitioners. The Philadelphia Conference, it may be noted, was attended by participants who were above the age of 35 and the majority being in their 50s and 60s. There were no scholars and practitioners who were in their 30s. The younger age group was invited to the Minnowbrook Conference. The Minnowbrook Conference was the youth conference on public administration, and it was this academic get-together which gave rise to what has to be known as new public administration.

The key-note of new public administration is sensitivity to and concern for the societal problems of the day. Its parameters are relevance, post-positivism, morals, ethics, and values, innovation, concern for clients, social equality, and so on. The proponents of new public administration express their dissatisfaction with the state of the discipline of public administration and want it to be alive to problems that arise during turbulent times.

The advocacy for a post-positive approach emphasized the need to abandon value-free and value-neutral research and instead to cultivate an approach emphasizing social equity. 'Social equity' means that public administrators should become champions of the under-privileged sections of the society. This implies that they must become active agents of change and non-believers in the status quo. New forms of organization need to be carved out to suit the fast changing environment. Emphasis is placed on cultivation of client-loyalty and programme-loyalty.

The Minnowbrook Conference may rightly be credited with the honour of having produced the first coherent grammar of new public administration. It was this Conference which expressed, very loudly, and clearly the dissatisfaction with the state of the discipline. It was the first one which sought to give a new image to public administration—a subject actively concerned with the problems of the society and full of reformist intentions.

Minnowbrook perspective in a time of turbulence

The Minnowbrook ideas found wider circulation through two works edited by Marini and Waldo, respectively. Marini's *Toward a New Public Administration—The Minnowbrook Perspective* was the first published work on new public administration and was thus, a pioneer in the area. Dwight Waldo's *Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence* carries forward the Minnowbrook idea. At the 1969 annual conference of the American Political Science Association, a series of panel discussions were organized by him, his attempt being to catch the attention of the younger age group. Waldo's work includes the papers presented at the conference.

New public administration certainly broke fresh ground and imparted new substance to the discipline. In the process, it prepared an agenda for action, a part of which was of a populist nature. One also suspects that the advocates of new public administration today are trying to arrogate to themselves what really falls within the legitimate domain of political institutions, processes and leadership. New Public

Administration has some radical contents, but these can be successfully implemented only by legislative and political will.

The foregoing discussion, however, amply proves that public administration has come a long way since 1887. It has established its credentials as an autonomous field of enquiry. Scholars of public administration have sought to borrow a lot from other disciplines, making it truly interdisciplinary in nature. Public administration has faced both empirical and normative thrusts from time to time. It has also incorporated much new development from the field of policy sciences.

What is also important to see here is the reforms that are working in the industrial context and the development context. In the industrial context, the old public administration was characterized by two traditions:

- (i) Colonial bureaucracy
- (ii) Business power

The objective of both was profit. Bureaucracy and business management characterize the contemporary public administration as well. However, today, the State cannot leave the individual alone to pursue his own happiness.

The basis of the modern administrative welfare state is the welfare of the maximum number. This change in the nature and scope of the functions of the State has been brought about by industrialization. Today, the administrative state circumscribes the whole life of a man.

In the development context, most developing countries are trying to bring about rapid socio-economic development by introducing changes in almost all the sectors including social overheads, infrastructural facilities and productive enterprises like industry and agriculture. As an indispensable aid to nation-building, the role of public administration is now universally acknowledged and is reflected in the form of 'Development Administration'. Edward Weidner, one of the pioneers in this field, has defined development administration as action-oriented, goal-oriented administrative system.

It may be noted that administration in developing countries is more politically or ideologically oriented and influenced to a greater extent by a socio-political elite group than that in the advanced countries. Development administration is thereby characterized by the following features:

- Change orientation
- Result orientation
- Commitment
- Client orientation
- Temporal dimension

What holds good for developed countries, is also relevant to the needs of the developing nations in the field of administration, for leaving aside the technological sophistication of the West, the fundamental frame is the same — the administration working for change, a change accepted by the national policy framers, and if administration does not keep pace with this change, its socio-economics and political implications can be serious.

1.7 ROLE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In developing countries, public administration has actually facilitated modernization. The public administration mechanism in these countries has been established by various economic development theories, innate colonial administration structures as well as the geopolitical impact of the Cold War.

As a repercussion of decolonization, in some of the newly independent countries, the military, which was once regarded as the perfect example of discipline and modernization, took charge of the leadership functions, thereby improving the strict and dictatorial manner of administration. In many developed countries, the administration has become a sort of bureaucratic class, which extracts rent and invests and indulges in politics to pacify the critics. This has naturally affected the economy adversely, with local markets vanishing and consumer demand dwindling.

Public administration in developing countries

Less-developed countries have had to face the opposite problem with their civil services. Following the Second World War, many less-developed countries won their independence even before developing adequate administrative structures or formal bodies comprising trained civil servants. Very few colonial powers possessed adequately trained local administrators. India inherited a worthwhile administrative structure and a partially Indianized civil service from the British. However, the same was not the case in Pakistan, which had also gained independence. When the Belgians departed from the Congo, they did not leave them any trained staff. Needless to say, for a couple of years, there was total chaos and lawlessness.

Not all political leaders of the newly independent nations possessed the capability of meeting the expectations of their supporters, despite inheriting an efficient administrative mechanism. The civil servants who were left behind by the colonial powers, did not always find the new fundamental and drastic policies and leaders compatible. This caused many of these civil servants to quit and leave, making matters worse. To add to the issues, the local civil servants were usually not half as competent.

With a dearth of adequate and competent personnel, there was a fall in the level of efficiency as well as morality in administration. Some of the maladies of the newly acquired independent countries included partiality, corruption, discrimination, tribalism, as well as ineffective and inept civil services. In several countries, the incompetency of the civil service played a significant role in bringing about military rule. The political failure and incapability of the elected leaders was yet another factor. In countries where the civil power was been unable to deal with the issues related to independence, military rule was often the only option left.

Subsequently, the United Nations (UN) joined hands with the governments of the developed countries, to begin creating training programmes to equip civil servants from the underdeveloped countries with the required knowledge and confidence. The first beneficiary was Brazil, where a school of public administration was established. Soon, in 1953, an Advanced School of Public Administration was established in Central America. Many other international organizations, such as the Organisation for Economic Co-

operation and Development and the World Bank, lent their support to institutions whose objective was to train administrators in underdeveloped countries. Examples of such institutions are: the Arab Planning Institute in Kuwait, the Arab Organization of Administrative Sciences in Jordan, and the Inter-American School of Public Administration in Brazil, and so on. Civil servants of the underdeveloped countries were also trained at institutes such as the Institute of Social Studies, Netherlands, the Institute of Local Government Studies, England, and the International Institute of Public Administration, France.

The interest in providing training to the underdeveloped nations reduced in the late 1970s as the international agencies assumed, and wrongly so, that these countries would take the initiative to shoulder more responsibilities on their own. Also, the training programmes took on a more general and academic form, which resulted in a severe paucity of trained 'specialized' administrators, in the financial and planning fields. However, attempts were made to rectify these insufficiencies by the British Council and other such organizations in the early 1980s.

Public administration in developed countries

The distinctive characteristics of the developed countries are:

- Well-developed economy
- Superior technology and infrastructure
- High GDP and net income per capita
- High degree of industrialization
- Superior standard of living of the people

When a state is developed and modernized, a positive and significant effect on its social, political and cultural environment is inevitable. This positive impact also shows up in its pillars, that is, the executive, judiciary, and legislature.

The administrative history of the United States of America is dotted with changes and reforms, owing to industrialization, the two world wars and the studies conducted in the sciences, social as well as behavioural.

General features

The government organizations have specific functions to perform. The large Weberian bureaucracies are involved in different specialized functions. Let us look at some of their general features:

- Each role requires internal specialization within it.
- People are selected on the basis of merit.
- The process of law making and decision-making is rational.
- The government agencies/institutions touch all aspects of the citizens' lives.
- Political power is directly related to legitimacy, more so because public affair is a matter of popular interest.

The issues and challenges faced by the public administration of developed countries is far from simple.

- (i) There is incoherence between the various service-providers and regulatory bodies. (This issue is more rampant at the local level where the concerned

authorities chart out their own programmes and run them along with the nationally funded programmes.)

- (ii) Politicians are over dominating, especially in matters of the bureaucracy where specialized skills/knowledge is required.

The majority of the developed states, mainly European, are referred to as administrative states. The bureaucracy in each of these states fulfils specific functions. As the author of *Public Administration, Concepts and Theories*, Rumki Basu explains, the public administration in such developed nations fulfils regulatory functions and, at the same time, ensures that law and order is enforced, revenues are collected and the country is secure and protected from aggression of any sort.

The various services provided by the public administration include educational and health-related services, as well as cultural, insurance and housing-related services. Unemployment benefits as well as facilities for communication and transportation are also offered. Public administration plays a significant part in stimulating the growth of the economy by efficiently operating the nation's industries and putting in place loan disbursement mechanisms.

The challenges faced by the developed countries today are mostly economic in nature. Their economies, especially government services, feel the pressure of economic depression. The proposed reforms involve close supervision and administration of the resources of the state. The public administration of these nations has been criticized by the citizens and commoners for withdrawing some aids. The regulatory function of public bodies has also received flak for failing to check certain major disturbances. With time and relevant improvements, the role and challenges of public administration shall yet again undergo some level of transformation.

ACTIVITY

Prepare a report on the state of public administration in your country. You may refer to the Internet for information and statistics.

DID YOU KNOW

Ancient Indian administration is by and large considered synonymous with Kautilya — the most celebrated figure of Indian administrative history. His celebrated work *Arthashastra* is the most important work on public administration in ancient India.

1.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Public administration, on the one hand, is an organized activity on the part of a group of people, having been authorized on behalf of the ultimate sovereign, and the voters, to administer and exercise direct control over their activities. On the other hand, it is a subject matter of study, teaching and research in colleges and universities.

- Public administration is not only about the protection of citizens from external dangers or internal disorders, but it also about providing various services to citizens.
- Public administration is regarded as one among the newest disciplines of the social sciences. Like other disciplines, it has passed through several phases of evolution. These are:
 - (i) Phase I (1887-1926): Era of politics-administration dichotomy
 - (ii) Phase II (1927-1937): Principles of administration
 - (iii) Phase III (1938-1947): Principles stood challenged
 - (iv) Phase IV (1948-1970): Crisis of identity
 - (v) Phase V: 1971 onwards
- There are different opinions about the scope of public administration, whether it is the managerial part of the governmental work or the entire complex of activities of only executive branch of government or of all branches, i.e., legislative, executive and judicial.
- Administration can be successful if it is characterized by the following three fundamentals of effective administration:
 - (a) Good interrelationship between the executive body and the legislature regarding policy and decision-making (in the case of the private sector, effective relationship among the board of directors)
 - (b) Competency of the chief executive and his chief assistants and subordinates to streamline the policies and decisions adopted by the legislature or board of directors so that they are broken down into a series of action to be undertaken
 - (c) Ability of the people in charge of operations in providing effective leadership to the rank and file so that they follow orders and carry out tasks that are laid down in the plans properly
- Public and private administrations show a number of similar practices. We usually say that all those activities that are performed by the governmental agencies or public agencies form part of public administration, while those performed by the private agencies are called private administration. There are, however, many activities which are performed both by private and public agencies.
- The basic principles of the New Public Administration were participation, decentralization and representative bureaucracy.
- Following the Second World War, many less-developed countries won their independence even before developing adequate administrative structures or formal bodies comprising trained civil servants.
- Subsequently, the United Nations (UN) joined hands with the governments of the developed countries, to begin creating training programmes to equip civil servants from the underdeveloped countries with the required knowledge and confidence.
- The various services provided by the public administration in developed countries include educational and health-related services, as well as cultural, insurance and housing-related services. Unemployment benefits as well as facilities for communication and transportation are also offered.

1.9 KEY TERMS

- **Staffing:** It refers to appointing suitable persons to the various posts under the organization.
- **Administrative theory:** The study of structure, organization, functions and methods of all types of public authority engaged in carrying out administration at all levels.
- **Bureaucracy:** It refers to a large group of people who are involved in running a government but who are not elected; or it may refer to the system of official rules and ways of doing things that a government or an organization has.
- **Orientation:** It refers to the type of aims or interests of a person or an organization.
- **Scientific analysis:** Breaking down each task into its component parts, studying the movement of the workers, the use made of materials and equipment, experimenting with different work methods and procedures and finally adopting those which proved to be most efficient.
- **Monopolistic approach:** An approach that is controlling or trying to get complete control over something, especially an industry or a company.

1.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The US President Woodrow Wilson is considered to be the father of the study of public administration. His work, *the Study of Administration*, written in 1887, was the first to recognize public administration as a different academic branch.
2. Waldo defines public administration as 'the art and science of management as applied to the affairs of state'.
3. The study of public administration can be divided into the following phases:
 - (i) Phase I (1887-1926): The era of politics-administration dichotomy
 - (ii) Phase II (1927-1937): Principles of administration
 - (iii) Phase III (1938-1947): Principles stood challenged
 - (iv) Phase IV (1948-1970): Crisis of identity
 - (v) Phase V: 1971 onwards
4. The years under the second stage, from 1927-1937, were considered the golden years of 'principles' in the history of public administration as it commanded a high degree of respectability and its products were in great demand both in government and business.
5. According to Robert A. Dahl, there are three important problems in the evolution of public administration as a science, these are:
 - (i) Problems arising from frequent impossibility of excluding normative considerations from the problems of public administration.
 - (ii) The inescapable fact that a science of public administration must be a study of certain aspects of human behaviour.
 - (iii) The third problem relates to the conception of the principles of administration. There was a tendency, as Dahl pointed out, to enunciate the universal

principles based on a few examples drawn from limited national and historical settings. But the laws of public administration are not universally valid.

6. The two divergent views regarding the nature of the study of public administration are:
 - The integral view
 - The managerial view
7. Two similarities between private and public administration are:
 - (i) Many skills, techniques and procedures adopted in private and public administration are the same, e.g., accounting, office procedure and management.
 - (ii) The public and private administration shows a number of similarities in practice. For example, business activities were mainly performed by private organizations. But, the government has taken upon itself many economic and business activities, which, hitherto, were the preserves of private administration.
8. The following are some points of differences between public and private administration:
 - political direction
 - profit motive
 - nature of function
 - public relation
 - efficiency
9. The Minnowbrook Conference was the youth conference on public administration, and it was this academic get-together which gave rise to what has to be known as New Public Administration.
10. The Minnowbrook Conference may rightly be credited with the honour of having produced the first coherent grammar of New Public Administration.
11. Some of the challenges faced by the public administration of developed countries are the following:
 - (i) There is incoherence between the various service-providers and regulatory bodies. (This issue is more rampant at the local level where the concerned authorities chart out their own programmes and run them along with the nationally funded programmes.)
 - (ii) Politicians are over dominating, especially in matters of bureaucracy where specialized skills/knowledge is required.
12. The general features of the bureaucracy of a developed country are as follows:
 - Each role requires internal specialization within it.
 - People are selected on the basis of merit.
 - The process of law making and decision-making is rational.
 - The government agencies/institutions touch all aspects of the citizens' lives.
 - Political power is directly related to legitimacy, more so because public affair is a matter of popular interest.

1.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is public administration concerned with?
2. How did Luther Gullick define public administration?
3. Give the principles of administration for Period II (1927 - 1937).
4. What is the integral view of public administration?
5. List the four basic elements of the similarity between public and private administration.
6. According to H. Walker, what is the scope of public administration?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the concept and role of public administration.
2. Write a note on the evolution of public administration as a discipline.
3. Explain the differences between public and private administration.
4. What do you understand by new public administration? How is it different from conventional public administration?
5. Describe the role of public administration in developing societies.
6. What were the recommendations of the Honey Report? Discuss.

1.12 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Traditional Approach
- 2.3 Behavioural Approach
- 2.4 Structural-Functional Approach
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- 2.13 Questions and Exercises
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2.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt that public administration is both the implementation of governmental policy, as well as a field of study. In terms of the implementation of governmental policy, it refers to the management of those public programmes that interact with the residents of a community or a region. There are various approaches to the study of public administration. This unit focusses on these approaches. It begins with a discussion on public choice theory. Public choice theory had a major impact on public administration, such that it tried to change the working culture of traditional public administration, which was based on legal and rational models. It ushered the concept of new public management in the public sector.

The unit goes on to discuss the different approaches to public administration, including the behavioural approach, the systems approach in public administration as well as Fred W. Riggs' comparative/ ecological approach and Herbert Simon's models. The unit also provides an overview of the different approaches of public policy and the concepts of participatory and sustainable development. It also discusses the role of the bureaucracy in development as well as the rights-based approach to development.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the traditional approach to public administration
- Discuss the behavioural and structural-functional approaches to public administration
- Understand the public choice approach in public administration
- Describe the importance of decision-making approach to public administration
- Analyse the systems approach to public administration
- Describe Fred Riggs' comparative approach
- Discuss the public policy approaches

2.2 TRADITIONAL APPROACH

In order to understand the changes and reforms in the system of public administration we need to understand the traditional model of governance, because any attempt at reform is viewed and evaluated against it. This classical model was thought to be the best way for organizing the public sector work and undoubtedly worked well for a long time.

The traditional model of public administration has been regarded as the most successful theory of public sector management, although it does not have a single, coherent intellectual foundation. Its theoretical basis is derived from W. Wilson and Fr. Taylor in the United States, the Northcote-Trevelyan Report in the United Kingdom and Max Weber in Germany. In general, it is characterized as 'an administration under the formal control of the political leadership, based on a strictly hierarchical model of bureaucracy, staffed by permanent, neutral and anonymous officials, motivated only by the public interest, serving and governing party equally, and not contributing to policy but merely administering those policies decided by the politicians'.

This model and its definition was widely accepted and was used in the West, especially in Europe, during the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. The key feature of this model is that 'in the modern governmental systems professional bureaucrats execute the tasks of public administration while separating it from the political mechanisms as well as from the private sphere'.

In contrast to this model, the earlier, pre-modern models were based on personal relationships. The most important characteristic shared by the earlier systems of administration is that they were 'personal', based on the loyalty to a particular individual such as a king, a leader, a minister or a party, instead of being 'impersonal', based on legality and the loyalty to the organization and the state.

The end of patronage or nepotism in Europe and the spoil system in the United States at the end of the 19th century set the beginning of the formation of a governmental administration based on merit and political neutrality, instead of political dependence and clientelism.

The European and the American public administration have passed through different historical developments, but the Weberian approach become common for them and both

stressed the necessity of an impersonal, formally regulated and hierarchical mechanism. It is well known that the principal focus of Weber's analysis was not administration, but his main distinctive contribution to the field of public administration is related to the analysis of the social and historical context of administration, and more particularly, bureaucracy. Weber did not invent the term 'bureaucracy', but identified bureaucracy as the dominant form in a legal-rational society and specified the features of the most rational form of bureaucracy, which was called the 'ideal type' bureaucracy.

Max Weber not only gave the characteristics and criteria for modern bureaucracy, but also outlined the terms of employment in the bureaucratic organization:

- Officials are personally free and are appointed on the basis of a contract.
- Officials are appointed, not elected. Weber argues that election modifies the strictness of hierarchical subordination.
- Officials are appointed on the basis of professional qualifications.
- Officials have a fixed money salary and pension rights.
- The official's post is his sole or major occupation.
- A career structure exists with promotion based on merit (though pressure to recognize seniority may also exist).
- The official is subject to a unified control and disciplinary system in which the means of compulsion and its exercise are clearly defined.

An important dimension to this classical model of the public administration was added by Woodrow Wilson, who introduced the politics-administration dichotomy. In Wilson's words, public administration is 'the detailed and systematic execution of public law'. He believed that there should be a strict separation of politics from administration because administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics and administrative questions are not political questions. Wilson firmly believed that the dichotomy between politics and administration could not only eliminate the arbitrariness and corruption in the administration, but also may have wider effects.

From a theoretical point of view, the realization of the dichotomy seems to be very simple, but in reality, there has not been complete and clear separation between politics and administration.

What distinguishes America from Europe is the transfer of effective management methods between large private and public organizations. It became evident that a strong business culture had been developed and attained in America and this import of managerial innovations from the private sector became a characteristic feature of American public administration. The most important theory, which was first transferred from the private organizations, was known as 'scientific management'. In 1911, Frederick W. Taylor published his fundamental work *Principles and Methods of Scientific Management*.

At that time, there was a search for general administrative techniques in the private sector that could possibly be used to enhance the efficiency in the operation of the American government. Scientific management attracted the support of governmental officials, who believed that its techniques, directly concerned with the question of efficiency, could be applied in the public sector.

Today, it is beyond any doubt that Frederick Taylor is credited with formulating scientific management; his belief was that there was only 'one best way of working'. According to Hughes, 'there are two main points to Taylor's theory: standardizing work,

which meant finding the “one best way of working” and controlling so extensively and intensively as to provide for the maintenance of standards’. In short, as Fry says, ‘these three components—time and motion studies, wage incentive systems, and functional organization - constitute the core of Taylor’s scientific management’. Taylor’s ‘idea of one best way’, the standardization of work, the systematic control and the hierarchical organization fit public administration and explains why scientific management was the most influential theory in the public sector until the 1940s.

After the Second World War, the basis of scientific management was questioned, both in theory and in practice, and the most powerful critique came from the Nobel Prize winner in economics Herbert Simon. Simon’s work represents a radical departure from the classical approach to public administration. The classical approaches of Weber and Taylor have been referred to as the public administrative ‘orthodoxy’, but when a series of challenges to the classical approach to public administration appeared in the 1940s, ‘heterodoxy replaced orthodoxy’, to quote Dwight Waldo. In other words, different theoretical approaches and practical experiences started to influence administrative organizations.

The classical approach to public administration, in terms of both theory and practice, was an outstanding success and widely emulated by governments all over the world. The traditional public administration approach developed at a particular point of industrial development, but the later large-scale reconsideration of governance was followed by attempts to move administration far away from its roots.

The traditional model of public administration is an ideal type of model. In an ideal bureaucracy, public and private interests are completely separated and a clear distinction between politics and administration is made. The central assumption of the classical approach to public administration is that hierarchy involves direct control, with the civil servant being accountable only to their superior.

The growing criticism of the traditional organization of the bureaucracy prompted a new wave of reforms that swept across many Western democracies during the 1980s and 1990s. From a model based on Weberian principles of hierarchy, neutrality and career civil servants, the reforms in the public sector introduced different models of governing which based on market principles and the transfer of the private sector principles of management to the public sector. The pure new public management model of marketization and privatization has spread over to the Anglo-American countries, whereas the countries in continental Europe, despite their many and substantial differences, have generally adopted an approach towards modernizing government in the Weberian tradition.

2.3 BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH

The behavioural approach to public administration has originated from the human relations movement of the 1930s. The movement began in the form of a revolt against the traditional approaches to public administration that was directed towards companies, institutionalization, rules and code of conducts. It completely ignored the people who actually triggered these activities.

The ground-breaking efforts of Taylor and the introduction of scientific management gave rise to an awakening in the industrial sector, as well as in management and field of public administration. Fayolism was introduced by Henry Fayol at

approximately the same time as Taylor initiated a different array of functions and theories of management, launching expressions such as discipline, unity of command, equity and team spirit.

Herbert Simon was one of the pioneers at this point of history. He believed that administrative behaviour is a subsection of behavioural sciences and the study of public administration will be deficient without the study of individual and behaviour of humans in groups, in the backdrop of administrative scenarios. The highlights of the behavioural approach were as follows:

- This approach was not authoritarian in nature. It was generally in-depth, except for the studies conducted in matters that require encouragement.
- The focus was on individuals and features like motivation, decision-making, leadership and power
- The unofficial facets of an organization and communicative behaviour between members were stressed upon
- This approach also tried to classify the functional definition of terms and a lot of experimental study in the field, in laboratories and through statistics was conducted
- It was very similar to other social sciences, social psychology and cultural anthropology

This approach was more relevant and objective, in comparison to previous approaches as it regarded the fact that political, social, economical and psychological environments impact human motivation, which eventually affects the performance of an individual. It also helped in learning the logic influencing the behaviour of public administrators. It proved that administration is influenced by emotions, prejudices and opinions, which most of us may have gone through, during our dealings with government organizations and public officials.

The behavioural approach is a factor in the study of public administration in a large number of ways such as in cross-structural and cross-cultural administration, which later ushered the comparative study of public administration. Like every new approach, this too became the target of critics, who pointed fingers at the utility of this approach for dealing with problems related to administration. According to them, it had little scope and utility. However, since the study of public administration is not only focused on social groups, but takes the bigger picture into consideration, the behavioural approach is not very effective.

Modern behavioural approach is more inclined towards active participation and has an instructive format. It stresses more on the decisions, results and the political ability needed for a specific managerial job.

2.4 STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

The term structural-functional approach to public administration, which has been used to interpret society as a structure with interrelated parts, has been adapted from sociology and anthropology. Anthropologist Malinowski and Radcliff Brown were the ones to develop this approach. According to the duo, the society has functions, such as, norms, customs, traditions and institutions and can be analogized as organs of a body, as explained by Herbert Spencer. The joint working of these functions will allow the body to work as a whole.

It was Dwight Waldo who was the first to refer to structural-functional approach in 1955. Subsequently, in 1957, Fred Riggs presented an agrarian industrial model based on the Waldo's approach and came to be considered the person behind the introduction of the approach in public administration. He was, however, criticized by people like Talcott Parsons, Robert Merton, G. Almond and David Apter.

So, what does structural-functional approach mean in public administration? According to this approach, every administrative system has a structure, and with the help of its arms, it performs its functions. The advocates of this approach hold that public administration is a well laid-out and organized machine like a car or a motor-cycle where all parts have a role to play for the proper functioning of the machine.

The structural-functional framework provides an important mechanism for the analysis of different social processes. This approach studies the social structure as a behavioural pattern that has turned into a standard feature of the social system. The structures are distributed in two categories - concrete and analytic. Concrete structures include government departments and analytic are structures of power and authority.

2.5 PUBLIC CHOICE APPROACH

Public choice means the application of economic analysis for studying political behaviour. In the domain of public administration, public choice becomes a theoretical basis for a critique of government bureaucracy as well as examining the market and quasi-market mechanisms for delivering public services, including voucher schemes, privatization, contracting out and competing bureaucracies. Under this approach, public choice methodology is applied to the problems faced by those managing people in bureaucratic organizations. Basically, public choice focuses on how rational individuals cooperate to ensure rational cooperation in the administrative system.

Generally, public choice theory is used to explain how political decision-making gives rise to outcomes which conflict with the general public's preferences. For example, many advocacy groups and pork barrel projects are not to the liking of democracy in general. Nonetheless, it does make some sense for politicians to support such projects. It may provide them a feeling of being powerful and important. Further, it may also benefit them financially by opening the avenues to future wealth as lobbyists. The project may be of interest and importance to the politician's local constituency. The politician has to pay a little or almost no cost to get these benefits, since he is spending from public money. In a way, special-interest lobbyists also behave rationally. They may get government favours worth millions or billions for comparatively small investments. They run the risk of losing out to their rivals if they do not seek out such favours. The taxpayer also behaves logically. The cost of defeating a governmental giveaway is very high, while the benefits for the individual taxpayer are very small. Each citizen pays only a few pennies or a few dollars for any given government favour, while the costs of ending that favour would be many times higher. Everyone involved has rational incentives to do exactly what they are doing, even though the desire of the general constituency is opposite. (It is notable that the political system considered here is very much that of the United States, with 'pork' a main aim of individual legislators; in countries such as Britain and India with strong party systems, the issues would differ somewhat.) Costs are diffused, while benefits are concentrated. The voices of vocal minorities with much to gain are heard over those of indifferent majorities with little to lose.

The basis of public choice debate is formed by the thesis of limited government. Public choice is a theory of politics sometimes called 'The economics of politics'. Under this approach, the political behaviour is explained and studied by assuming that political actors are 'utility maximizers' who are looking out to promote their own interests. A majority of public choice theorists agree that government has grown larger than requirements of the general public. They hold that it has grown to meet the interests and preferences of politicians, interest groups and bureaucrats. Public choice intellectuals launched a tirade against the nature of politics and the essence of bureaucracy.

2.6 DECISION-MAKING APPROACH

Decisions are a significant part of the working of any organization. The decisions taken need to be sound, timely and appropriate. Decision-making can be safely called the essence of management, irrespective of the sector. While decision-making is a cooperative activity in organizations, it is very much a plural one in the government sector. This is because in the governmental sector, even though a decision may be articulated by a single person, several people may play a role in the final decision-making. It is part of a political system.

There are a few false impressions about decision-making. These are as follows:

Misconception 1: Organizations are monolithic and only those at the top of the organizational hierarchy possess the power to make decisions.

Misconception 2: The behaviour of decision-makers, irrespective of their position in the hierarchy, is based on the rational comprehensive model.

With regard to the first misconception, let us look at some relevant opinions by some relevant authorities, even though they are associated with varying backgrounds.

- (a) According to James D Thompson, an organization theorist, it is possible for a single all-powerful individual to establish complete control only if he or she is independent or not reliant on anybody else for inputs (in terms of skills or information) required to arrive at a decision. This may be possible in a small and simple organization, but cannot happen in today's large and complex organizations.
- (b) According to American educator, diplomat and author, Harlan Cleveland, today's ever-growing organizations ought to be large enough to be able to take care of their functions. This means there is no stopping them from growing bigger and bigger. This also means that real power is more widely dispersed within the system and subsystems. There is also more opportunity for sharing real responsibility with outsiders. Cleveland believed that each important decision is the result of a detailed process of brokerage, in which many individual from within and outside the organization play a part. These are people who are impacted by the decision in some manner or other or possess the special skill or relevant knowledge to add value to it.

As regards to the second misconception, it is observed that it is not easy to understand government policies in terms of rationality. This could be because rivalry exists between agencies and coordination between agencies are rare. Even those involved seem to be unaware of what the others are up to. Of course, this does not imply that the chief executive lacks any control over the concerned agencies. There are serious

restrictions leading to constrained control by the chief executive's control and difficulty in coordination. It is not possible to understand all organizational decisions in terms of clearly outlined or definite rational choice. There is a high degree of uncertainty involved. Individuals may not always end up performing the right action, selecting the most logical option, doing the appropriate thing or making the most satisfactory decision. Therefore, most decisions can be comprehended in terms of non-rational choice.

According to John M. Pfiffner, co-author of *Public Administration* and Nicholas Nicolaidis, administrators do not go about the decision-making process in a logical or orderly manner. The logical procedure would involve the following systematic steps:

- Step 1: Recognizing the problem
- Step 2: Collecting the relevant data/information
- Step 3: Classifying the data and then analysing the same
- Step 4: Preparing an inventory of the means that will help realize their objectives
- Step 5: Listing alternative steps or solutions
- Step 6: Evaluating the alternatives
- Step 7: Arriving at the decision(s)
- Step 8: Implementing the decisions
- Step 9: Obtaining feedback on the results

According to author of *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascoes*, Irving Janis, group dynamics has the power to give shape to government decisions. When such decisions are made by small groups formed for the purpose of making policies, they often end up committing terrible mistakes. A cohesive group can arrive at better decisions, if all necessary precautions are taken. The quality of the decisions increases with the cohesiveness of the group. However, there are also cases where extremely cohesive groups sometimes end up surrendering to groupthink, which is a thought process wherein group members overlook appraising the alternatives in a realistic manner in trying to arrive at a unanimous decision.

The primary characteristics of groupthink are as follows:

- Imperviousness in the group, where the members feel that the group should possess immunity; that the group should be victorious and correct
- Collective rationalization, so that even warnings of impending issues or troubles that may lead to members reconsidering their assumptions are discounted
- Blind and absolute faith in the intrinsic principles and ethics of the group
- Fixed and typecast opinions of antagonistic or rival leaders are looked upon as malicious, pathetic, or insensible, and therefore, are either outsmarted or shot down
- The rebels within the group feel pressurized to express their loyalty for the group
- Members themselves prefer to ignore their doubts and avoid deviating from the group unanimity
- There exists a common illusion of consensus with regard to verdicts that conform to the opinions of the majority. As a result it is assumed that everyone agrees.

- There are members who consider themselves responsible for protecting the group from hostile or antagonistic people/information that may disturb the peace and feeling of satisfaction in the group.

2.6.1 Decision-making and Herbert Simon

Decision-making, as a subject, has gained importance very recently in administrative thinking and theory. The three primary elements of decision-making are:

- (i) Recognition of a problem (that is what a man does when tries to make a decision)
- (ii) Identification of the alternatives (A man either looks for alternatives himself or they are offered to him)
- (iii) Selection of the best alternative from the available choices

Herbert Simon, an American social scientist, was greatly influenced by the writings of Barnard. Many of Barnard's ideas are found in Simon's early works, *Administrative Behaviour* (1947) and *Public Administration* (1951). He put together economic theory and philosophy to come up with a modern theory of decision-making. His contribution to administrative studies, as a behavioural scientist, cannot be ignored, especially when it comes to the topic of decision-making. His theory of rational decision-making is worth mentioning.

2.6.2 Simon's Models

Herbert Simon was probably amongst the first to criticize the way public administration was redefined as the study of public policy. He argued that within its range would come various governmental issues and challenges that would ultimately make political science and may be even other social sciences vanish. Finally, it would end up as applied social science. According to him, it was preferable for scholars to focus more on the behaviour of the decision-makers than on public policy. He wished the focus to be on the individuals responsible for decision-making in the public field and the process that led them to define public policy.

Administrative theory should have everything to do with decision-making processes and action process. A general administration theory would comprise organizational principles to ensure accurate decisions as also principles that will guarantee right action.

Decision-making was central to administration and touched each and every part of the administrative process. It was as important as the skill of making things to happen.

In *Administrative Behaviour*, Simon states that at each and every level of the organization, decisions had to be taken. These decisions comprise different degrees of judgements, both factual and value. The former pertained to administrative means and the latter to policies and objectives. The two could not be easily differentiated because usually, the value judgements also consisted of factual questions. In addition, sanctions were necessary to guarantee that experts who decided factual questions did so by following the democratically framed value judgements. He was of the opinion that factual elements should be kept separate from ethical elements to the extent possible. These two elements should be assigned to politicians as well as administrators on the basis of their relative importance and the level to which the ethical elements were likely to create controversies. The decisions that resulted in the selection of the final (organizational) goals were *value judgements*, and those that helped implement such goals, were *factual judgements*.

Representatives should be well equipped with information and advice wherever they are required to make factual judgements (semi-scientific, quasi-judicial, quasi-business). Administrators should be able to respond to community values and be completely responsible and answerable for their decisions, wherever they are required to make value judgements (social policy, politics).

In actual practice, very often, representatives would request administrators to make decisions with high policy content for them; administrators followed their own values when called on to decide questions with high political content. Simply put, it was not possible to separate fact from value institutionally.

Simon emphasized right decisions along with the correct technique of doing things; the two were inseparable. Efficiency in decision-making was the selection of alternatives that will give the best results for the given application of resources. It was not the pitiless quest of mechanical efficiency in terms of means. Efficiency referred to the relationship between the results wished for and the means employed to fulfil the ends desired.

Perfect rationality, which was the ideal and which could actually help define and arrange all objectives as per priority was not possible to attain. A list was made of strategies against their consequences. A comparative study of the strategies and repercussions results in the selection of the right one that will give maximum results, given the resources used. However, when it came to practice, it was not possible to get complete information. Also, man was not a rational being, and the aims as well as repercussions in public policy cannot be vulnerable to being measured quantitatively or even evaluated approximately.

Besides objective rationality, subjective, personal rationality also existed. Experimental analyses disclosed the manner in which people actually arrived at decisions and what affected them the most. However, Simon's belief was that his initial research had led him to think that it was possible to measure and evaluate efficient decision-making and the desire to not only measure, but also define and quantify administrative choice.

Working as a team with D.W. Smithburg and V.A. Thompson, Simon came up with the first ever text book by behaviourists, on public administration. It aimed to reveal how American public administration functioned and described the administration processes as behavioural and realistic.

It focused on the informal aspect of public administration. It introduced and applied sociological and psychological concepts to public administration. Even though its design was not based on a decision-making approach, it did use certain arguments of administrative behaviour, moving a step further to challenge the belief that the model in public administration was rationality in search of mechanical efficiency. However, with time, when experimental evidence revealed the manner in which decisions were actually made, Simon gave up the belief of optimal rational choice and went for bounded rationality along with a satisfying model of decision-making. According to this, people merely accepted what they felt was good enough or what satisfied them without looking for all possible options. Their search is bound by their expectations, and they follow the alternative, which their perception makes them believe will bring them the maximum satisfaction. In his work, *Models of Man*, he mentions mathematical models of programme feasibility within limited or bounded rationality, once it was known what the time constraints, value systems and factually available options were.

Simon developed these ground breaking ideas through a series of lectures in 1960 and his work, *The New Science of Management Decision*. The decision-making process was yet again divided into the following:

- (i) Intelligence (hunt for conditions requiring decision, in the environment)
- (ii) Design (invention, development and analysis of possible courses of action)
- (iii) Choice (selection of a course of action)

Execution could not be distinguished from the making of a more detailed policy. Each skill could be learned and taught. However, organizational decision-making could be distinguished from personal decision-making.

Decisions were arrived along a continuum between monotonous and repetitive programmed decisions, for which a specifically defined routine had been designed. This ensured that they were not treated as new each time, and new non-programmed decisions, which were unstructured, and far-reaching, for which there did not exist any tried and tested technique of handling the problem (simply because the problem had not occurred before or because it was not possible to decipher its complex nature precisely or because it could only be handled by a treatment that was not tailored).

By 1960, Simon had arrived at three important models of decision-making:

- A non-programmed decision-making on the basis of extra-rational factors, such as instinct, judgement and intuition
- Pure-rationality optimal
- Decision-making, satisfying decision-making

Simon came up with yet another model in the 1960s. Called the maze model of decision-making, in this, those who resolve issues adopt different paths, some of which result in a payoff solution, while others simply lead to extra sets of paths.

Those who criticized Simon primarily argue that even though the decision-making process is significant in the organizational situation, on its own, it is not sufficient to explain the organization in total. For them, decision-making is a process that involves emotional and rational dimensions. While studying decision-making, Simon distinguished between fact and value in a logical positivist manner. This approach was criticized because it:

- Revived discredited politics in a new form; administration dichotomy
- Adversely affected the decision-makers
- Possessed little relevance to Simon's primary thesis

The concept of efficiency, as Simon saw it, received flak. Some critics equated the term to the economy, while some critics disapproved the use of the term because it not only led to the mechanical concept of administration, but also an inconsistent relationship between means and ends. Efficiency cannot be the sole aim of administration as there is an entire range of other important classes of organizational purposes, for example, satiating interests, producing goods, food services, mobilizing resources, conforming to certain organized codes, and using the most rational methods. One or more of these objectives could be of importance, alone or in combination, to an organization.

Critics have also thrashed Simon's concept of rationality. According to Argyris, by insisting on rationality, Simon has failed to recognize the significance of intuition, tradition and faith in decision-making. Incompetence has been rationalized through the

use of satisfying/satisfaction. Despite these shortcomings, Simon's models, thoughts and theories are regarded as revolutionary in the evolution of administrative theory.

2.7 SYSTEMS APPROACH

A branch of the behavioural approach is the systems approach. The general systems concept of organizational analysis played a significant role in the evolution of organization theory. Biologist Ludvig Von Bertalanffy is credited with the birth of general systems, in the 1920s. However, after the Second World War, a body of scholars conducted researches to try and integrate the various studies done in different disciplines, which led to the development of the concept of system. Simply put, the general systems theory was born out of a movement, which had as its aim, the amalgamation or union of science and scientific analysis. As per this approach in organizational analysis, it is possible to consider an organization as a social system, which needs to be studied in toto, that is, as a whole. A system can be described as a pool of interrelated parts receiving inputs, acting upon them according to a plan or structure, and thereby producing specific outputs.

The trend of placing categorizing all types of organizations within the general systems theory has been on the rise. A system is considered as a collection of sub-systems, or parts that are dependent on each other and also interact among themselves. This interdependence indicates that any alteration in one part impacts other parts, eventually influencing the whole system. Individuals are seen as the basic unit of organizational systems. All human organizations are basically open sub systems transacting within the society, which is the umbrella system or the bigger social system. Human resources as well as material resources are inputs received by all the subsystems from the larger system. Outputs are the products, services or rewards that are given to the members of the subsystem as well as to society, that is, the larger system. Other characteristics of organizational subsystems are:

- Adaptability
- Ability to influence the larger system and be influenced by it
- Dynamism (ability to undergo continuous change due to interaction with other subsystems within the larger social system)

Herbert Simon was the main contributor to systems analysis in organizational theory. Considering the organization as a system in total, Simon described it as a combination of the subsystems serving to produce the desired output. He assumed that the elements of organizational structure and function originate from the features of human problem-solving processes and rational choice. The organization is therefore, seen as a system consisting of persons making choices and exhibiting behaviour based on their reactions to their needs and environment.

The primary value of the systems approach is seen in the methodical hunt for relevant and important interactions during the evaluation of organizational actions or policies.

Systems analysts are on the brink of predicting the system's movements through interpretation of relationships between parts. The relevance of the systems approach to the study of large public organizations, in particular those functioning in larger social, political and economic environments cannot be ignored.

American philosopher and systems scientist, Charles W. Churchman, talks of five basic concerns with regard to the systems approach to management:

- Total objectives of the system and the measures of the system's performance
- Limitations posed by the system's environment
- Use of the system's resources in performance
- Goals and activities of the system's parts or components
- Regulation of the system and the management of its decision-making aspect

Many administrative thinkers see the organization as a socio-technical system consisting of the social as well as technical variables. It is not just a collection of machines, buildings, money and processes, but comprises an organization of people around different technologies. What motivates it or how it behaves and establishes relationships goes a long way in defining the quality and quantity of its inputs and outputs.

According to Eric J. Miller and A. K. Rice, authors of *The Modern Times Workplace*, 'Any enterprise may be seen as an open system which has characteristics in common with a biological organism. An open system exists, and can exist, only by exchanging materials with its environment. It imports materials, transforms them by means of conversion processes, consumes the products of conversion for internal maintenance, and exports the rest. Directly or indirectly, it exchanges its outputs for further Intake, including more resources to maintain itself. These import conversion; export processes are the work the enterprise has to do if it is to live'.

The systems approach to organizational analysis is rather popular now. It can take into consideration more variables and interrelationships while simultaneously observing organizational problems within the outline or structure of a larger system. Yet another significant aspect is the way a system interacts with its environment. The systems approach assumes that there is a continuous common interaction between the system and its environment. Ultimately, this concept was to lead to the ecological approach to organizational study.

2.7.1 Systems Approach in Public Administration

Webster defines a system as, 'a set or arrangement of things so related or connected as to form a unity or organic whole'. A system is thus, a unified whole having a number of interdependent parts or subsystems and it has identifiable boundaries that distinguish it from its surrounding environment in which it is entrenched, and with which it interacts. Systems are sometimes referred to as closed or open. The former comprise physical systems and mechanical ones, which are closed in relation to their environment. The latter comprise biological and social systems, which are constantly interacting with their environment.

In order to understand a system, it is essential to know the concept of *boundary*. The boundaries of physical and mechanical systems can be recognized with ease. However, the same cannot be said for social organizations whose boundaries require understanding based on their activities and utilities in real life situations. Closed systems generally tend to be categorized under entropy and disorganization. On the contrary, open systems, tend to grow through greater internal differentiation and progress toward higher degrees and stages of organization. Most social systems are open systems. They develop by internally elaborating their organizations and through increasing specializations, which result in increasing organizational complexity.

In the systems approach, the organization is considered to be a system, as it is an amalgamation of interdependent components that come together to form a meaningful whole, pursuing the objective of meeting some specific purpose or work. A business organization is basically a decision-making unit, and is created or developed following a detailed analysis of information requirements and communications networks. Therefore, it considers the decision-making procedure as very basic to the determination of objectives and policies.

The procedure followed by the systems approach comprises about five steps:

- Step 1: specification of objectives
- Step 2: establishment of subsystems (primary decision areas)
- Step 3: analysis of these decision areas and their information needs
- Step 4: designing of communication channels to ensure flow of information flow and proper communication within the organization
- Step 5: alignment of decision areas into groups so as to reduce or eliminate communication problems. Practically speaking, the approach highlights the significance of the organization of information. It emphasizes the benefits of the project instead of functional division, and highlights the need for central concentration of the information network

The contemporary model of the theory of organizations is to discard the concept of treating organizations as just inactive or lifeless instruments responding merely to pressures from outside. Organizations are considered to be semiautonomous systems developing their goals and objectives internally. According to Simon, the organization has performance objectives as well as conservation objectives. The latter pertain to the organization's urge or wish for survival.

American business theorist Chris Argyris defined an organization as an organic interrelation of parts involved in the following three activities:

- (i) Achievement of specific objectives
- (ii) Self-maintenance (internally)
- (iii) Adaptation to the internal environment

The relevance of the systems approach is more prominent while studying the far from simple public organizations, with intricate structures; organizations entrenched in larger social, political and economic environments. From the perspective of the open system, the survival and growth of an organization requires environmental inputs. These inputs are then internally processed internally to give rise to output. This process of converting inputs into output is responsible for the organization's life and development. The thinking of the system assists in giving us an overall view of the organization, along with its various components and the manner in which they are interrelated.

In the works of Mary Parker Follet and Chester Barnard, the organization's systems view was still in the nascent stage. The decision-making scheme of Herbert Simon follows the systems approach, which he again explained later. Philip Selznick employed the systems framework to study and analyse complex organizations, especially in the government sector. To quote Selznick:

'Cooperative systems are constituted of individuals interacting as wholes in relation to a formal system of coordination. The concrete structure is, therefore, a resultant of the reciprocal influences of the formal and informal aspects of organization. Furthermore, this structure is itself a totality, an adaptive organism reacting to influences upon it from an external environment.'

Several researches have been undertaken by the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in England, on the basis of the systems framework. The conception of an organization is in the form of a socio-technical system consisting of variables, both social and technical. In the words of Miller and Rice:

'Any enterprise may be seen as an open system which has characteristics in common with a biological organism. An open system exists, that can only exist, by exchanging materials with its environment. It imports materials, transforms them by means of conversion processes, consumes some of the products of conversion for internal maintenance, and exports the rest. Directly or indirectly, it exchanges its outputs for further intakes, including further resources to maintain itself. These import-conversion-export processes are the work the enterprise has to do if it is to live.'

The systems approach is quite popular in organizational analysis. It is used to conceptualize the organization along with its relationships, both internal and external. Deviating from the traditional model, which highlights the single best way of organizing or structuring an organization, it promoted the contingency or situational perspective of organizations. The impact of the systems approach on organizational analysis has been such that currently it is believed in organizational analysis, that the structure is rather variable, depending on the situation, because of the technology and various environmental conditions.

2.8 COMPARATIVE/ECOLOGICAL APPROACH — FRED W. RIGGS

The concept of 'Oikos', that is, a living space, originates in biology. It elaborates that the habitat, dwelling area or living space of each and living creature is unique. This concept indicates that each and every living creature is interrelated with its habitat. Its interactions further lead to development of capabilities for adapting to it. All creatures have slots within which they obtain their form or shape along with a value system. This leads us to conclude that even public administration, being a system of living beings based on knowledge, possesses a niche or a specifically identified space in which it dwells. The structures or arrangements and institutions of public administration keep interacting with the conditions that prevail in the dwelling space in a constant manner, similar to people in groups and communities, economic dealings, interchange of political powers and the conventionally recognized customs and standard of governing relationships among them. It is on purpose that the interaction is not called 'environment of public administration', because the term 'environment' has its constraints. It is employed to elaborate on the environmental factors, one at a time, in isolation.

However, the term 'ecology' has a wide scope wherein the focused and more relevant research subject is the continual interaction with environmental factors and the slow and steady adaptability and development of the individual. Thus, the ecology of administration can be described as the interaction of the discipline with its environmental factors and the examination of its capability to adapt and grow within a specific space or slot. This indicates that public administration is just one of several prevailing systems

within the bigger system. These systems keep interacting with each other and growing constantly. They may be called subsystems. Thus, the ecology of public administration refers to the study of how it interacts with other subsystems in its locale or haunt or the niche.

In urban studies, this term was sociologically interpreted, and a relationship was established with spatial effects/impacts over man and his habitat. In addition, this also became a vital entry point for the understanding of developing nations for the US Technical Assistance programme, which began in 1948. The manner in which the bureaucracy is related to its environment and their interdependence caught the attention of L.D. White, John M. Gaus and M.E. Dimock, who wrote about it in the book *The Frontiers of Public Administration* in 1936. They wished to suggest that the US should not try to replicate the administrative systems/approaches followed by other nations because the lifestyle of the people of the United States was unique. Therefore, their administrative systems would not be the same as in other countries.

This was in contrast to the new studies that indicated that public administration was not merely restricted to the maintenance of law and order, but is also continually changing along with the changing State and society. In *Reflections on Public Administration* (1947), Gaus said that the concept of ecology was meant for understanding how public administration evolved. In 1947, Robert Dahl, in 1952, Roscoe Martin and in 1961, F.W. Riggs advocated the ecological perspective. Dahl championed the ecological perspective in *The Science of Public Administration: Three Problems*.

F.W. Riggs, considered to be the most original and ground breaking contemporary theorist in comparative public administration, mainly dealt with how the environment and the administration system interacted. His interest lay in developing or transitional societies. Riggs belongs to the class of writers who are engrossed in the ecological perspective of comparative public administration.

It was Riggs' final conclusion that owing to the assumptions of the construction of Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy, being that of a somewhat autonomous administrative system, it is not of great relevance to studying developing societies. Such societies had administrative structures that did not enjoy the kind of autonomy enjoyed by their counterparts in other developed societies. The main features of these societies were a mix of ancient and modern structural features. Therefore, the study of these societies required the development of new theories.

The ecological approach in public administration is based on the principle that public bureaucracies are considered to be one of many elementary institutions in a society.

Systematically speaking, the bureaucratic system is engaged in constant interactions, is impacted by and dependent on the subsystems of society - political, economic as well as socio-cultural. It not only has a modifying impact on these subsystems, but also tends to get altered by the activities of these subsystems.

In its 1953 session, the American Society of Public Administration set up a group known as Comparative Administration Group (CAG), with F. W. Riggs occupying the post of Chairman. His energies were focused on studying how comparative public administration evolved. He observed the following three trends in the study of public administration:

- (i) **From normative to empirical:** While the normative approaches were, by nature, prescription, the empirical approaches were not only more realistic and dynamic, but also emphasized on reason.

- (ii) **From ideographic to nomothetic:** The ideographic model referred to the study of administration of a specific nation only. In the 1940s, this tendency anticipated a change. On the basis of many institutions, the nomothetic approach endeavoured to generalize with an aim to create rules, customs and principles which would develop behavioural generalizations.
- (iii) **From non-ecological to ecological:** In the past, public administration was studied in isolation. It did not suffer any impact from other institutions. But before long, the realization dawned that while studying a norm, there was no way to separate it from the environment within which it functions or operates, be it political or social or any other. At this point, it is pertinent to mention Riggs' observation about the significance of ecology, considering south Asian states like Thailand.

According to Riggs, only empirical, nomothetic and ecological studies are actually comparative. As per this aspect, it is possible to view the administrative process as a system possessing an environment within which it not only functions but also interacts. This suggestion is a consequence of the opinion that the larger society is a system comprising administrative institutions as subsystems. Riggs' interest mainly lay in the analysis of how the administrative subsystems interacted with each other and also with the subsystems of the society, including the political, social, cultural and economic subsystems. Clearly, he was ecologically oriented. This was because he believed that it is not possible to understand the nature of a country's public administration without understanding the social background in which it functions.

While emphasizing on ecology, Riggs did not divert his focus from the following environmental factors:

- **Physical environment:** This pertains to the character of the society. Riggs differentiated between societies, which were industrial and agrarian. The former were dominated by industries and the latter by agricultural institutions. The approaches were aimed at providing a system of hypothetical categories that would facilitate the categorization and study of realities as well as patterns of political and administrative change. Riggs advocated an inductive approach unlike Weber. However, he discovered that there was a lack of proper mechanism for the analysis of transition societies or mix-type societies in the ideal types. Irrespective of what the physical factors are, only the abilities and competencies of the administration change.
- **Human resource:** Another primary factor is human resource. The study of a country's demography is important in more ways than one. It refers to the abilities and competencies of human beings, which can act as limitations as well as resources for a country.
- **Culture:** This refers to the composition and pattern of the society, its economic, sociological or technical trends, or the trends pertaining to societal customs, values and beliefs.
- **International environment:** This also impact the understanding and working of today's administrative system. It is not possible for any country to survive in isolation. Countries are interdependent on each other in many ways, not just economically. Even for a highly developed nation like the US it is not possible to survive all alone, in isolation. Developments in other countries and around the world have an impact on the policies and decisions. The different

agreements, treaties and pacts are symbolic of the ways in which countries interact and transact.

According to Riggs, there are many more environmental factors. The administrative system of a country forms a part of a larger system, functions with alertness regarding the political system, and takes into account the political institutions and political framework despite there being a chance of a conflict or clash between politics and administration. The economic system affects the political system. In fact, economics plays a key role. The manner in which the resources are employed affects the political system, which, in turn, has an impact on the administrative system. All these interconnected systems are part of the social system. Complexities are inevitable. The manner in which a society develops is dependent on its ability to respond to its environment. This appears to be the ecology of public administration, from the viewpoint of the developing and developed nations and from the point of view of the people and their expectations.

2.8.1 Theory of Prismatic Society or Prismatic Sala Models of Riggs

There are two types of social structures based on their multi-functionality. They are either *functionally specific* or *functionally diffuse*.

Functionally specific structures are those that perform limited functions whereas functionally diffuse societies perform several functions. The former are referred to as *diffracted* while the latter are called *fused*. The ideal model of society existing between these polar types is prismatic. The design of the fused-prismatic-diffracted approaches or models are aimed at making them just perfect unlike the types actually seen in any society, although most try to get as close as possible. Some societies try to approximate the model since it plays a significant role in experiments and helps organize data.

Riggs came up with a hypothesis based on Parsonian pattern variables in which the ranking of a diffracted system would be high when it came to universalism and orientation towards achievement. It is a fused model with a high level of 'particularism' and 'ascription'. The prismatic model lies in between on the scale. Riggs also came up with pattern variable categories that lay midway.

The following are the features of a prismatic society:

- (i) Selectivism (category existing midway between universalism and particularism)
- (ii) Attainment (category existing midway between achievement and ascription)
- (iii) Poly-functionalism (category existing midway between functional specificity and functional diffuseness).

Riggs warned that all the variables were correlated hypothetically and not definitely.

While analysing, Riggs focussed on the main components of the structure of a prismatic society and the way they interacted with the *sala* (the administrative subsystem) of the society. Riggs was mainly interested in highlighting the administrative issues and challenges in societies that are developing or are in transition.

The fundamental characteristics of the prismatic sub-model according to Riggs are as follows:

- **Heterogeneity:** A very high level of heterogeneity is seen in a prismatic society. Several types of systems exist simultaneously with different methods, opinions, practices and perspectives. A prismatic society comprises urban areas with a refined, knowledgeable and intelligent class, and offices with

Western designs equipped with the latest tools of administration. There are also rural areas that look and function traditionally under the supervision of elders and village heads who play the roles of administrators, not just political but also religious and social. Even the administrative structures are heterogeneous. A prismatic society comprises *sala*, a modern bureau as well as traditional courts.

- **Formalism:** The term 'formalism' here implies the level of discrepancy or similarity that exists between a formal prescription and effective practice; the resemblance between what is the norm and what is the reality. The degree of similarity amongst these elements is a converse reflection of the degree of realism. Formalism refers to the incongruity or difference that exists between them. The higher the level of discrepancy between the formal and effects, the greater will be the degree of formalism in the system. In the case of fused and diffracted societies, the level of realism is relatively high. On the other hand, in the case of a prismatic society, the level of formalism is higher. Although those occupying public offices or posts may claim to follow certain laws literally, in actual practice, officials in prismatic societies do not exhibit behaviour corresponding to legal decrees or rulings in prismatic societies. While they do frequently insist on religious and meticulously following certain decrees and rulings, they also, at the same time, ignore others. The laws overlooked usually pertain to general terms and objectives.

Formalistic behaviour results from the lack of pressure toward program objectives, the lack of strength in social power as a guiding force for bureaucratic performance and leniency towards random or indiscriminate administration. Formalistic behaviour is motivated by the normal and regular inclinations of the officials or by the benefits earned from certain situations. Therefore, formalism usually goes hand in hand with the official corruption.

According to Riggs, the conflict between realism and formalism implies that, in most cases, formal reforms in administrative institutions within a diffracted society lead to alterations in the administrative behaviour. In a prismatic society, on the other hand, reforms of this sort usually have a very superficial effect.

- **Overlapping:** In relation to heterogeneity and formalism, overlapping is the feature that refers to the extent to which formally distinguished structures in a diffracted society exist together or co-occur along with the structure of a fused type, which is not differentiated. In a prismatic society, even though new or modern social structures are developed, the structures of the past, which are undifferentiated, remain the dominant structures in the society. The new or modern values, rules and customs, usually linked with the diffracted structures are paid lip service only. Therefore, they tend to get ignored with the values of the past being more favoured, as they seem better suited to an undifferentiated society. In the *sala*, overlapping maybe judged by the degree to which non-administrative criteria determine administrative behaviour in actuality. In other words, by other factors pertaining to politics, economy, society or religion. The dimensions of overlapping in a prismatic society are:
(i) **Nepotism:** In a diffracted society, loyalty towards the family is detached from official behaviour. In a fused society, on the other hand, the politico-administrative system is patrimonial in nature. Therefore, family and relations

take dominance. In a prismatic society, however, the new formal structures are placed over family and relationships. Additionally, there is a disregard for the universal standards and rules in administering the laws. Nepotism rules in the official recruitment. Therefore, patrimonialism is officially prescribed and practised.

- **Poly-communalism or Clects:** A diffracted society comprises a national (minority) community existing in its own group of elites. Also, each individual is prepared for mass communication. A diffused society is characterized by the absence of mass media, and therefore, mass mobilization is also missing. Midway between diffused and diffracted society, lies the prismatic society. Here, the rate of mass assimilation to the elite's symbol system tends to be slow in comparison to the rate of mobilization. In such a scenario, a state called poly-communalism sets in. This is characterized by the existence of several groups-racial, religious and ethnic-which survive together, but through moderately unfriendly interactions. The name that Riggs gave to such groups is clects. Such clects are characterized by: attainment, orientation, selectivism and poly-functionalism. Their functions are relatively diffused and of a semi-traditional type, although they are ordered in a new associational manner.

Poly-communalism and clects affect the character of the sala. An official holding a public position in a prismatic society will tend to be more loyal to those belonging to his own community than to the members of the government. When it comes to recruitment for official posts, the minority community that dominates, ends up earning disproportionate representation. This happens in case of the administration of rules and regulations also. However, a quota system may provide proportional representation in such recruitments, in order to ensure the protection of the interests of other minorities. Such an arrangement may result in mutual antagonism and aggression amongst different communities.

At times, sala, or its agencies may create strong and close associations with particular clect or even begin to function as a clect itself. This will result in an alliance between sala and clects wherein sala officials gain from inducements, bribes or discounts. This features of prismatic behaviour has close relations with the economic subsystem of a prismatic society.

- **Prismatic economy:** As per the Bazaar Canteen Model, market factors of supply and demand determine the prices in a diffracted society. A fused society, on the other hand, is dominated by arena factors in its economic system, that is, factors determining balance of power, respect and camaraderie. The price question rarely arises. In a prismatic society, there is interaction of market and arena factors. This results in a state of price indeterminacy. That is, it is not possible to arrive at a common price for a commodity or service.

Riggs has analysed the buyer-seller relationship of public officials and their clients. It is an exchange relationship. Therefore, in a prismatic society, the cost of public services varies as per the nature of the relationship between a public servant and his clients. Services are available for purchase to the members within the clects and to those belonging to the dominant community, at discounted rates. However, these very services are offered to those belonging to the minority community or those of the outside clects at higher prices.

Simply put, economic organizations function as subsidized canteens. In other words, economic organizations generally act like a subsidized canteen or as an offshoot or branch canteen or merely tributary.

An atmosphere similar to that of a bazaar exists, which is promoted by price-indeterminacy. There is a lot of bargaining with regard to financial dealings, such as taxes, discounts, fees, and bribes. Such practices have a significant impact on the entire financial administration setup, particularly, budgeting, accounting and auditing. It hinders government revenue collection, which, in turn, leads to lesser salaries for public officials, resulting in the employing of unlawful ways to earn more income.

- **Poly-normativism and lack of consensus:** A prismatic society is characterized by the coexistence of new standards and rules along with traditional behaviour. This causes the formal standards of conduct to overlap with the effective standards. As a result, there is no consensus with regard to behavioural norms in the social interactions of a prismatic society. This is called poly-normativism or normlessness, which influences the sala. In such a situation, the officials, who may claim to be following practices aimed at universalism and oriented towards achievements, actually follow practices that are subjective and oriented towards ascription. The mode of conduct is also particularistic. These officials lead people to believe that they apply western norms that are rationalistic, but in actuality, they continue to adhere to traditional practices.

In general, the source of potential public officials, in a prismatic society is confined to specific groups. Even after the acquisition of ranks by officials, through education or through competitive examinations, the career development opportunities and fringe-benefits rely heavily on ascribed means, support of superiors and seniors (in service), in particular. Even the citizen in his association with the sala, is poly-normative. He is willing to overlook official norms and laws in favour of his own interests and gains, but at the same time, emphasize the idea that governmental conduct should be of a very firm, legal and rational character.

- **Power distribution-authority vs control:** In a prismatic society, the power structure comprises a high degree of centralization in the authority structure, which is concentrated. On the other hand, in the control system, there is a localization of the authority structure. It is dispersed. Authority is separated from control. While the former refers to legal, legitimate and officially sanctioned power, the latter refers to illegitimate or unlawful power, which is not permitted officially, but is real.

There is an overlapping of the authority of the sala with that of the control structures of the society. These control structures have their foundations in poly-communalism and poly-normativism. Therefore, functions of administration can be performed by concrete structures that are mainly oriented towards administrative functions as well as structures having no orientation.

Thus, the administrative function may be performed by concrete structures oriented primarily towards this function and also by other structures lacking this primary orientation. This kind of overlapping has an impact on the politico-administration relationship. In general, a prismatic society possesses

unbalanced polity. This term, according to Riggs, means that bureaucrats dominate the political administrative system even though there are specific politicians who have been formally bestowed with the authority of policy-making. Therefore, the sala officials participate more extensively in the process of decision-making than their counterparts from a diffracted society. The concentration of power in this manner, in the hands of the bureaucrats, is the main reason why officials are unable to respond to the needs and demands of the public. To a certain extent, the ability of politicians to offer rewards or slap penalties or punish the administrators determines their importance or how influential they are. Therefore, the behaviour of sala officials can vary. They could be dominating and in complete control of the decision-making, or they could be mere sinecures, doing nothing but merely drawing a salary.

Irrespective of the role of a bureaucrat in a prismatic society, he or she manages to have considerable influence on the productivity or output in the sala. According to Riggs, the ratio between administrative output and bureaucratic power is inverse. As the officials gain more power, they lose their administrative efficiency. Nepotism is the characteristic feature of the sala. Other features include recruitment, organized corruption, inefficient administrators, vested interests of gaining power and wealth. In short, behaviour of the sala is reckless, extravagant and wasteful.

2.8.2 Dilemma of Change in a Prismatic Society

There are forces outside as well as within a prismatic society that keep pressurizing it to undergo change. If change is the result of mainly pressures from the outside, such as technical assistance programmes, this may be called exogenous change. On the other hand, change brought about due to pressures from the inside, is endogenous. If the external and internal pressures are almost equal, the change that results from such a pressure is called equigenetic.

According to Riggs' hypothesis, the more exogenetic the diffraction process, the more formalistic and heterogeneous will be the prismatic phase. The more endogenetic the diffraction process, the less formalistic and heterogeneous the prismatic phase.

Therefore, it is natural to find more formalism, heterogeneity, and overlapping in an exoprismatic one. This is because when it comes to endogenetic change, effective behaviour comes first, even before creation of new formal institutions. On the other hand, in exogenetic change, it is just the opposite because there is an attempt to absorb the change induced externally, in a short time. There is a higher chance of formalism in prismatic societies. Moreover, the degree of heterogeneity is more and revolutionary tensions are more severe.

2.9 PUBLIC POLICY APPROACHES

Since public administration has also to do with public policymaking, the definitions have been altered to include public-policy orientation. Public administration comprises all those operations that are aimed to fulfil or enforce public policy. Public administration is the coordination of individuals or groups to implement public policy. As a study, public administration looks at all aspects of the government to enforce laws and implement public policy.

2.9.1 Systems Model for Policy Analysis

David Easton's *Analysis of Political Systems* states that, 'the political system is that part of the society, which is engaged in the authoritative allocation of values'. Inputs are the physical, social, economical and political products of the environment. Inputs are received into the political system as demands and supports. The former refer to the claims made by individuals and groups on the political system to change or modify certain aspects of the environment. Demands are when individuals or groups, respond to conditions of the environment in order to effect public policy. Any condition or event outside the boundaries of the political system is referred to as the environment.

The supports of a political system comprise the rules, laws and customs which form the base of the existence of a political community and the authorities. Support is rendered when the individuals or groups accept decisions or laws. The institutions and policy-making personnel form the central point of the political system. These personnel comprise the chief executive, legislators, judges and bureaucrats, who convert inputs into outputs in the systems version.

Outputs are then the way values are allocated to the political system, and these allocations constitute public policy or policies. As per the systems theory, public policy is an output of the political system. Feedback implies that public policies may alter the environment and the demand it generates. It may also influence the character of the political system. New demands and supports may be generated by policy outputs. The old supports for the system may also be withdrawn. A key role in the generation of suitable demands for future policy is played by feedback.

Limits of systems approach to policy

The systems approach helps us understand the policy making process. The following points highlight how valuable this theory is to policy analysis:

- It finds out the dimensions of the environment that are important in the generation of demands upon the political system.
- It identifies the relevant features of the political system that facilitate the transformation of its demands into public policy and its preservation over time.
- It identifies the manner in which environmental inputs impact the very character of the political system.
- It attempts to reveal how the content of public policy is impacted by the features of the political system.
- It questions the manner in which environmental inputs influence the content of public policy.
- It studies the way in public policy influences the environment and the character of the political system, through feedback.

The utility of the systems model in the study of public policy is restricted owing to many factors. This model receives criticism for the use of value-laden methods of welfare economics, which are founded on the maximization of a clearly defined social welfare function.

The ingredients that are lacking in the systems theory are the power, personnel, and institutions of policy making. While studying these, it is important to keep in mind that economic factors hinder the political decision-makers in the political system environment.

This Eastonian model overlooks one important aspect of the policy process - the policy makers (including institutions) also possess the latent ability to influence the environment in which they function. The traditional input-output approach considers the decision-making system to be facilitative and free of value and not as causative (possessing a totally neutral structure). Simply put, variations in the structure of the systems do not seem to have any underlying impact on public policy.

Ultimately, the degree to which the internal and external environments, impact the policy-making process depends on the values and ideals adopted and followed by the decision-makers within the system. Policy-making encompasses not only the policy content, but even the values and perceptions of the policy makers. It is assumed that the values upheld and followed by the policy makers are critical in order to understand the policy alternatives.

2.9.2 Institutional Approach to Policy Analysis

It is not possible for a policy to become a public policy without it being implemented by the governmental institutions.

The various characteristics given by government institution to public policy are:

- Policies are legally authorized by the government. Public policy is the result of the legislature and its characteristic feature is the use of legal sanctions. It is considered to be a legal obligation requiring the strict compliance of the people.
- Public policy is applicable to all the citizens of the state. Therefore, it is universally applicable.
- Those who violate policies can be legally imposed with sanctions only by the State.
- Public policy and governmental institutions are closely related. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that political scientists concentrate more on studying the structures of government institutions.

Institutionalism, concentrates on the legal and structural facets of institutions. Therefore, it is possibly to apply it in policy analysis. The way structures and institutions are arranged and the manner in which they function and interact may significantly influence public policy.

Traditionally, studies focussed on describing structures and institutions of the government. The manner in which government structures and policy outcomes are linked is generally ignored during analysis.

To find out how valuable the institutional theory is to policy analysis, we need to:

- Find out the existing relationships between institutional arrangements and public policy content.
- Compare these relationships assuming that a specific modification in the structure of the institution would alter the public policy as well.

It is not possible to properly evaluate the effect or influence of institutional arrangements on public policies without actually examining the relationship between structure and policy.

2.9.3 Rational Policy Making Model

In the rational comprehensive approach, an administrator challenges a given objective, for instance, poverty reduction, with a list of values arranged according to priority, based

on their relative importance. This facilitates selection of the best policy. The policymaker is able to rank the relevant values or benefits associated with the achievement of the objective and make a rational choice, for example, the health of the poor, reduction in rate of crime and elimination of illiteracy. Then, the policy maker is able to formulate many alternatives that can help attain the stated objective, for example, higher welfare payments, a guaranteed income plan, unemployment relief schemes, direct government subsidies, or maximize the ranked list of values. This rational theory of decision-making helps weight alternatives and values in a logical manner before making a selection. The approach is also comprehensive as the policy-maker actually considers all the alternatives and values.

The task of policy-making becomes complicated and quite difficult because there are several factors within the policy-making agencies and in its external environment. In addition, these factors keep changing making it a big challenge to arrive at a rational decision.

If a policy-maker is following the standards of the rational decision-making approach, he would first list all the goals, assess the ones that are of relevance to the issues being faced by the agency. He would then decide on the steps to be taken for each policy that seemed to possess the ability to attain the potential goals. Based on the relevance of the information regarding the possible benefits and drawbacks pertaining to each set of goals and policies, the policy-maker will then choose the best combination of goal and policy to ensure that the programme objectives of the agency are realized.

According to the rational approach of policy making, officials should take into account the issue and arrive at decisions with clarity so that the actions of the juniors can be smoothly guided. The result is integrated policies that are complementary instead of conflicting. However, administrators who subscribe to the rational approach, encounter hurdles in the form of restrictions that are characteristic of democratic societies. These hurdles are reflective of the heterogeneity and conflict, which many writers consider to be part of the democratic process.

The following are the primary features of public administrative systems that hamper rational decision-making of administrators:

- (i) In the administrative units, several issues, objectives, goals and policy commitments are either imposed on decision-makers or concealed from them.
- (ii) There exist obstacles that make it difficult to collect sufficient information regarding the various goals and policies that are acceptable.
- (iii) The decisions-makers possess inhibitions and shortfalls that prevent them from properly assessing the goals and policies. Moreover, their vested interests and commitments may come in the way of their evaluation of goals and policies, in a way that is acceptable to the agency.
- (iv) Structural challenges and issues emerge within administrative units, which involve their associations with legislative and executive divisions of the government.
- (v) Some individual administrators may exhibit divergent or irregular behaviour.

Given the nature of these issues, it is natural that policy makers end up seeking decisions that are capable of satisfying instead of decisions that are optimal. To the extent possible, they try to keep away choices that are difficult or testing.

Critics have objected to the impracticality of the rational approach. It is not possible to gather all the required information and create a comprehensive list of policy alternatives involved in such a process. Moreover, the process takes a lot of time and effort. Policymakers, who are expected to act fast, cannot afford to waste time in such processes. It is also wrong to assume that ranking of values and their classification is possible. Disagreements do occur amongst legislators, administrators, and the public regarding the values to be pursued by a country. Policymakers do not select values in a haphazard and intangible way. Furthermore, as per this method, everything should be taken into account before deciding on new policies. Of course, this involves certain risks as the repercussions of choosing new policies are not known and are uncertain.

ACTIVITY

Plan a broad outline of the things that need to be done to organize a sports event in your locality. Enlist the basic administrative principles that you will adhere to.

DID YOU KNOW

Alexander the Great wasn't just a warrior. His organizational skills were beyond his time and helped him organize an army large and smart enough to conquer the world. It isn't typical public administration, but it does illustrate how important proper delegation helps the government conquer quickly.

2.10 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The traditional model of public administration has been regarded as the most successful theory of public sector management, although it does not have a single, coherent intellectual foundation. Its theoretical basis is derived from W. Wilson and Fr. Taylor in the United States, the Northcote-Trevelyan Report in the United Kingdom and Max Weber in Germany.
- The traditional model of public administration is an ideal type of model. In an ideal bureaucracy, public and private interests are completely separated and a clear distinction between politics and administration is made.
- The central assumption of the classical approach to public administration is that hierarchy involves direct control, with the civil servant being accountable only to their superior.
- The behavioural approach to public administration has originated from the Human Relations Movement of the 1930s.
- Public choice means the application of economic analysis for studying political behaviour. In the domain of public administration, public choice becomes a theoretical basis for a critique of government bureaucracy as well as examining the market and quasi-market mechanisms for delivering public services, including voucher schemes, privatization, contracting out and competing bureaucracies.

- Decision-making, as a subject, has gained importance very recently in administrative thinking and theory. The three primary elements of decision-making are:
 - (i) Recognition of a problem
 - (ii) Identification of the alternatives
 - (iii) Selection of the best alternative from the available choices
- A branch of the behavioural approach is the systems approach. The general systems concept of organizational analysis played a significant role in the evolution of organization theory.
- In the systems approach, the organization is considered to be a system, as it is an amalgamation of interdependent components that come together to form a meaningful whole, pursuing the objective of meeting some specific purpose or work.
- Since public administration has also to do with public policymaking, the definitions have been altered to include public-policy orientation. Public administration comprises all those operations that are aimed to fulfil or enforce public policy.
- It is not possible for a policy to become a public policy without it being implemented by the governmental institutions.

2.11 KEY TERMS

- **Public choice theory:** It is the subset of positive political theory that deals with subjects in which material interests are assumed to predominate.
- **Heterogeneity:** It refers to the simultaneous presence, side by side, of quite different kinds of system, practices and view points.
- **Formalism:** It means the degree of discrepancy or congruence between the formally prescribed and the effectively practiced, between norms and realities.
- **Nepotism:** It refers to providing unfair advantages to one's own family, especially if one is in a position that commands power.
- **Poly-communalism:** The simultaneous existence in a society of various ethnic, religious and racial groups which live in a relatively hostile interaction with each other.
- **Poly-normativism:** Affects the sala, where officials, although publicly claiming to follow objective, universalistic, and achievement-oriented practices, actually follow more subjective, ascription-oriented and particularistic modes of conduct.

2.12 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. In general, the classical approach to public administration is characterized as 'an administration under the formal control of the political leadership, based on a strictly hierarchical model of bureaucracy, staffed by permanent, neutral and anonymous officials, motivated only by the public interest, serving and governing party equally, and not contributing to policy, but merely administering those policies decided by the politicians'.

2. In Wilson's words, public administration is 'the detailed and systematic execution of public law'. He believed that there should be a strict separation of politics from administration because administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics and administrative questions are not political questions.
3. The behavioural approach to public administration originated from the Human Relations Movement of the 1930s.
4. The term structural-functional approach to public administration, which has been used to interpret society as a structure with interrelated parts, has been adapted from sociology and anthropology.
5. Public choice means the application of economic analysis for studying political behaviour.
6. The false impressions about decision-making are as follows:
 - Organizations are monolithic and only those at the top of the organizational hierarchy possess the power to make decisions.
 - The behaviour of decision-makers, irrespective of their position in the hierarchy is based on the rational comprehensive model.
7. The three primary elements of decision-making are:
 - (i) Recognition of a problem (that is what a man does when tries to make a decision)
 - (ii) Identification of the alternatives (A man either looks for alternatives himself or they are offered to him)
 - (iii) Selection of the best alternative from the available choices
8. A system can be described as a pool of interrelated parts receiving inputs, acting upon them according to a plan or structure, and thereby producing specific outputs.
9. Herbert Simon was the main contributor to systems analysis in organizational theory.
10. Organizational analysis is popular because it can take into consideration more variables and interrelationships while simultaneously observing organizational problems within the outline or structure of a larger system.
11. The ecological approach in public administration is based on the principle that public bureaucracies are considered to be one of many elementary institutions in a society.
12. There are two types of social structures based on their multi-functionality. They are either functionally specific or functionally diffuse. Functionally specific structures are those that perform limited functions whereas functionally diffuse societies perform several functions. The former are referred to as diffracted while the latter are called fused. The ideal model of society existing between these polar types is prismatic.
13. The supports of a political system comprise the rules, laws and customs which form the base of the existence of a political community and the authorities.
14. Two characteristics of public policy given by government institutions are:
 - Policies are legally authorized by the government. Public policy is the result of the legislature and its characteristic feature is the use of legal sanctions. It is considered to be a legal obligation requiring the strict compliance of the people.

- Public policy is applicable to all the citizens of the state. Therefore, it is universally applicable.

2.13 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. How has Herbert Simon contributed to the decision-making approach?
2. Define the term 'system'. What is the relevance of System Approach for the study of complex organization in public administration?
3. Write a short note on Riggs Ecological Approach as an important feature of comparative public administration.
4. Write a brief note on various public policy approaches.
5. List the limit of the systems approach to policy.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the various steps involved in making decisions.
2. Explain the systems model for policy analysis.
3. Describe the characteristic features of Simon's models.
4. Explain the dilemma of change in a prismatic society.
5. Discuss the traditional approach to public administration.

2.14 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 TYPOLOGY AND THEORY OF ORGANIZATION

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Typology and Organization
 - 3.2.1 Principles of Hierarchy
 - 3.2.2 Merits of Scalar System
 - 3.2.3 Demerits of Scalar System
 - 3.2.4 Span of Control
 - 3.2.5 Unity of Command
 - 3.2.6 Authority and Responsibility
 - 3.2.7 Delegation
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 - 3.2.9 Integration vs Disintegration
- 3.3 Structure of Organization: Line and Staff
- 3.4 Theories of Organization
 - 3.4.1 Classical or Traditional Theory
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 - 3.4.3 Scientific Management Theory
 - 3.4.4 Bureaucratic Theory
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 Key Terms
- 3.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 3.8 Questions and Exercises
- 3.9 Further Reading

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you studied the various approaches to the study of public administration. In this unit, you will study about organizations.

The administrative structure of every organization is in the form of a pyramid with the chief executive being on the top. The lower layers of the organizational pyramid are formed by the line agencies and members of the staff of the organization. Every organization needs proper leadership and the right flow of communication for progress. The right decision-making process boosts the morale of the employees and motivates them to work more. All of these topics will be dealt with in this unit. Apart from these, different approaches and principles of organization are also discussed in detail.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the nature and functions of organizations
- Understand the nature of formal and informal organizations
- Explain the different approaches and principles of organizations
- Describe the structure of organizations

3.2 TYPOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION

All organizations are engaged in pursuing specific goals and objectives. Their structures are based on principles that will help them fulfil or achieve those objectives. The principles on which organizations are structured are referred to as the 'principles of organization'. All organizations follow the principles of organization in order to achieve their goals. The principles of a good organization according to Avery Raube, author of the paper, *Principles of Organization*, are as follows:

- **Hierarchy/scalar principle:** There should be a clear hierarchy with well-defined lines of authority, from the topmost to the lowest line of workers in the organizational hierarchy.
- **Unity of command principle:** No employee or worker should be expected to report to more than one superior. The supervisor should be aware of those who are reporting to him and the workers should be clear about whom they are reporting to.
- **Clear definition of authority:** Each supervisor should be well aware of what his responsibilities are and what he is authorized to do. The details should be available with him in writing. The expectations from each supervisor and the limits of his authority should be well documented and available for reference at any point of time.
- **Accountability:** All higher authorities should be absolutely accountable for the acts of their subordinates. No executive should detach himself from the acts of the juniors or subordinates. He should never forget that he is as responsible for their acts, as they themselves are, whether it is a negative or a positive act.
- **Delegation of authority:** There should be delegation of authority down the line, as far as possible. The trend should be towards decentralization, only then will the top corporate members be able to spend more time on planning and getting an overall view of the organization.
- **Minimal levels of authority:** The more the levels of authority, the longer will be the chain of command. This will result in wastage of time. It will take longer for instructions to reach the intended levels. Therefore, there should be minimum levels of authority.
- **Specialization principle:** Each individual should, as far as possible, be assigned just one single leading function. Every individual should be specializing in one important function. Specialization is concerned with horizontal delegation of authority.
- **Line functions vs staff functions:** Care should be taken to not mix line functions with staff functions. All important staff activities should be given proper emphasis.
- **Span of control principle:** A single executive cannot coordinate too many positions and he should not be expected to do so either.
- **Flexibility principle:** The organization should be able to adjust to varying and altering conditions. It should not face chaos in case of any change. Only if it is flexible can it adapt to changes.

3.2.1 Principles of Hierarchy

'Hierarchy' literally means the control of what is higher over what is lower. In most big organizations, there are a handful of people who command and many who follow these commands. The ones who command are the superiors and the ones who follow those commands are subordinates. The superior-subordinate relationships run through several levels of responsibility, right from the topmost line in the organizational hierarchy to the lowest. This results in a structure that is shaped like a pyramid. James D. Mooney and Alan C. Reiley, authors of *The Principles of Organization*, refer to this pyramid as the 'scalar process'.

In any organization, the term 'scalar' implies anything to do with grading, especially of responsibilities and duties, based on the level or degree of authority. Mooney was of the opinion that this scale or the scalar chain is universally used. The scalar principle exists wherever there is an organization, even with just one superior and one subordinate.

The basic characteristics of an organizational hierarchy are as follows:

- An individual has only one immediate superior from whom he will receive orders.
- An individual does not get orders from another individual lower down in the hierarchy.
- Not a single intermediary level can be skipped while dealing from the top, with the lower levels or from the lower lines to the top.
- Each person who is assigned a responsibility is given authority proportionate to his responsibility.

These points make it clear that in the scalar system, authority, control and command, travels one step at a time, from the top to the bottom of the hierarchy. For instance, instructions or commands will travel from the secretary of a department to the next in line, say the joint secretary who, in turn, conveys the next in line, say the deputy secretary, who further deals with the undersecretary. The undersecretary will communicate further with the next in line, probably the section officer who, in turn, will communicate with assistants, clerks, and so on. In the same way, the line of upward communication shall be identical if the section officer wishes to communicate with the higher officers.

3.2.2 Merits of Scalar System

The scalar system cannot be dispensed with, especially in large organizations. The benefits of this system are many. Some of them are:

- The scalar system acts as a unifying force between the various organizational departments and units, creating a meaningful whole.
- The system facilitates the fixing of responsibility at every level and at every position of the organizational hierarchy.
- The scalar system acts as a proper channel of communication, where instructions are sent smoothly from top down or from the bottom upwards. It outlines a very clear channel of communication, both upwards and downwards, clearly stating who is to deal with who.
- The process of moving files is very simple in a scalar system.
- Decentralized decision-making in a scalar system ensures that business and tasks are not clogged at the top.

L.D. White stated that the scalar system 'is the channel of command, of communication, downwards and upwards, along with flow information, advice, specific instructions, warning and commendations. It is the channel for the delegation of authority. It establishes a sequence of related centres for decision-making, and thus prevents congestion in the dispatch of business by closing out much of it in lower levels.' According to Max Weber's bureaucratic model, the organization of offices is done as per the principle of hierarchy. That is, 'each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one' and 'the whole administrative staff is under the supreme authority'. All are organized in a clear structure and the hierarchy of offices is defined in a clear manner.

3.2.3 Demerits of Scalar System

The scalar system has its drawbacks too. These are as follows:

- The biggest drawback of the scalar system is that it slows down the process of decision-making. Since the file has to pass through clearly defined channels, the process becomes time-consuming. An experiment was conducted by the Government of India, called the 'file-jumping experiment' to see if it was possible to skip the intermediate levels in the organizational hierarchy, so as to eliminate tardiness and ensure that the files reached the decision-making authority directly.
- The scalar system does not in any way help to establish or reinstate mutual trust, neither in the inter-organization relations, nor in the interpersonal relations of the administration. There are chances that this may even lead to the promotion of a caste system in the bureaucratic setup.

The American scholar and organizational consultant Warren Bennis opines that in times to come, organizations will end up as mere 'task forces', put together to resolve issues. In such organizations, there will be flexible and functional demarcation of people on the basis of their skills and level of training. There will be no vertical differentiation of people on the basis of their rank or role.

In practice, however, organizations rarely work on the rigid principle of hierarchy. As Nigro states, 'An organization is more than its structure and its official relationships as spelled out in its organization charts and manuals'. The members of an organization, which is a social system, develop behavioural patterns, which may diverge or move away from official commands. This is known as informal organization. Its significance cannot be denied.

3.2.4 Span of Control

Span of control refers to the number of subordinates, who can be conveniently and effectively supervised, by a single officer or supervisor.

In a scalar system, there are several tiers or steps with a head in each tier. The number of persons who should receive orders from and report to a single person, at each level or tier, needs to be decided. It can be quite a challenge to fix the exact number of subordinates. This is the issue of span of control, which is also concerned with span of attention, a psychological issue.

It is a known fact that there is a limit to the number of things or individuals a person can attend to at a time. This could be due to the limited knowledge of a person or due to the limited time and energy at his disposal. Writers have conflicting opinions regarding the exact limit of the span of control. Sir Ian Hamilton was of the opinion that the limit could be fixed at 3 to 6. The British management consultant Lyndall Urwick

fixed the limit at 5 to 6 at the top levels, and 8 to 12 at the lower levels. Graicunas believed that with the increase in the number of individual subordinates through arithmetical progression, there was an increase in the network of relationships, through geometrical progression, which only further complicated the issue of span of control. Sexton felt that the decisions pertaining to the ratio of subordinates to supervisor was dependent on the following factors:

- Bottlenecks
- Psychological influence of tight and close supervision
- Patterns of communication
- Level of automation and the degree of interdependence

The following factors help determine the degree of span of control:

• **What is the nature of work**

If the work is of a monotonous, repetitive, routine nature, the span of control increases. In other words, when the work is of a measurable and homogenous character, the span of control is more. For example, it is convenient to supervise a large number of typists because the work is measurable and of an intellectual type.

• **What is the quality of leadership**

The span of control increases or decreases on the basis of the qualities of the supervisor. If the supervisor is not strong enough or lazy, he will be incapable of supervising even a handful of people effectively. Also, if the subordinates are not trained or competent enough, they will end up making more mistakes, which will mean a higher degree of supervision for them.

- **Age of agency:** It is easy to supervise an organization if it has existed for long. In such cases, the span of control increases. In old and established organizations of the past, standards and model are firmly rooted and the organization is running on well-oiled wheels. This is not the case in newer organizations, where new problems keep arising constantly demanding intervention and guidance of superiors.
- **Location of the organizational units:** It is easy to keep an eye on subordinates when they are all working in the same location as the supervisor. If the subordinates are located away from the supervisor, supervision can become quite challenging.

3.2.5 Unity of Command

'Unity of command' is a term that implies that each individual employee reports to just a single boss. Each individual employee also receives orders from that single person only. In case he is expected to report to and receive orders from more than one superior or boss, he will be unable to perform his duties effectively. The situation will get even more challenging if the orders he receives from different superiors turn out to be divergent or contradictory. The subordinate can also make things hard for the superiors by playing them against each other. This will only create a lot of confusion and send the whole administration awry. Responsibility can be fixed only if we know where the authority is resting. If the authority is divided, it is impossible to fix the responsibility.

On the basis of theory, the principle of unity of command seems unquestionable. However, practically speaking, there are certain exceptions to this principle, which are significant, and usually observed in individual employees, belonging to the technical or professional sides. In terms of administration, a doctor serving in a local organization,

will be controlled, administratively, by the chairman of the local organization. However, professionally, he is supervised by the director of public health, at the state level. The same applies to all the organizations using the services of technical personnel. In India, non-technical administrators who belong to the administrative services occupy the top positions. However, the duality of command is quite clear as is the technical nature of the divisions under their control.

F.W. Taylor used 'functional direction and supervision' in place of the concept of unity of command. He was of the belief that the individual employee would gain advantage and become more efficient if he specializes, and is also supervised by an expert as part of the 'unity of command' concept, in each function performed by him. He suggested a structure comprising eight foremen or supervisors for each individual worker. These eight foremen were to be referred to as:

- (i) Gang boss
- (ii) Speed boss
- (iii) Inspector
- (iv) Repair boss
- (v) Order of work and route clerk
- (vi) Instruction card clerk
- (vii) Time and cost clerk
- (viii) Shop disciplinarian

The first four supervisors assist in their own specific line or function, while the other four function from the administrative unit giving written instructions and commands. Though this kind of setup was suggested by Taylor for the industry, it entered public administration too. This happened because modern governments are increasingly performing economic and technical tasks. The general administrative supervision is happening alongside technical supervision by various technical experts. However, it should not be thought that the principle of unity of command is not applicable in public administration. If an employee reports to two superiors and takes orders from them with regard to different matters or subjects, the principle of unity of command is not dishonoured. The violation of the principle happens only if the subordinate receives commands from two superiors for the same matter. In case of technical divisions or departments also, the final word lies with the administrative head, who possesses the power and the authority to override the technical experts.

3.2.6 Authority and Responsibility

Authority, according to Fayol, is 'the right to give orders and the power to exact obedience'. In Allen's view, authority is 'the sum of the powers and rights entrusted to make possible the performance of the work delegated.' However, it is not possible to understand authority merely in terms of powers and rights. The importance of acceptance and obedience in relation to authority is equal to that of power and right. Authority becomes meaningless unless and until others accept it and are willing to obey it. The key element of authority is that those on whom it is exercised should accept it. No organization can function smoothly in the absence of obedience of authority. However, when commands contradict the individual's sense of right and wrong, there emerges a problem. According to conservative philosophy, even if the authority commands an act that is evil, it is preferable to perform it than to pull or disturb the structure of authority. However, humanist thinkers are of the belief that an individual should give more importance to his own moral

judgements and overrule the authority in case there is such a contradiction or conflict. In other words, he should listen to his conscience.

When it comes to practice, several factors affect the manner in which an individual responds to authority. This may differ from situation to situation. A lot depends on the person exercising the authority; his personality, dynamism and vitality; his ability to make others obey and comply with his commands to fulfil the organizational objectives.

Sources of authority

The various sources of authority are as follows:

- The main source of authority is the constitution or the law of the country, which allows certain people complete and absolute authority to take decisions and also exercise their powers over their subordinates. Thus, the law binds all those subjected to such authority, to obey the commands of their superiors. Penalty may be imposed or punishment meted out to those who do not obey.
- The status of the person is also a source of authority. The individual occupying the topmost position in the organizational hierarchy is bestowed with authority owing to his high status or position in the organization setup. Due to his position, the others have no choice but to obey his commands and orders.
- Informal authority is the most significant source of authority. This kind of authority is bestowed on an individual by the people working in the organization.

Kinds of authority

The various types of authority existing in an organization are:

- (i) Line authority:** This refers to the ultimate authority in an organization. It is the basic authority for taking decisions on all matters that may have an impact on others.
- (ii) Staff authority:** This authority is exercised by the advisory agencies also referred to as the staff agencies. Its scope is restricted because it does not possess the right to command or order. It is lower than, or secondary to, the line authority. It facilitates the performance of tasks directed and controlled by the line organizations.
- (iii) Functional authority:** This type of authority is exercised by the specialists of an organization. Though their rights are limited, they can command in matters pertaining to their area of specialization.
- (iv) Committees and authority:** Certain committees appointed to plan, investigate or conduct research and other specific purposes are also bestowed with some limited authority. They do not possess the power to make decisions, and therefore, do not need command authority.

The type of authority to be chosen by the organization executive is dependent on the various situations and issues specific to the organizations. It is seen that, a combination of different types works best for any management.

Authority and responsibility

'Authority' and 'responsibility' are related concepts. Authority will have to be proportionate to the responsibility being shouldered by the concerned person. Only then will the organization function efficiently. The authority bestowed must be enough to allow him to fulfil his responsibilities. Equal authority and responsibility implies that if a

particular individual or manager is asked to shoulder the responsibility of completing a certain task, he should also be bestowed with the proportionate authority to accomplish the task. In Urwick's words, 'to hold a group or individual accountable for activities of any kind without assigning to him the necessary authority to discharge the responsibility is manifestly both unsatisfactory and inequitable'.

3.2.7 Delegation

Delegation, according to Mooney, is the conferring of specified authority by someone occupying a higher position on someone occupying a lower position. In other words, in delegation, a superior transfers authority to his subordinate or agent subject to his supervision and control.

According to Millett, 'Delegation of the authority means more than simply assigning duties to others in more or less detail. The essence of delegation is to confer discretion upon others to use their judgment in meeting specific problems within the framework of their duties. Management leadership must then accept the responsibility for how this discretion is exercised.'

Need for delegation

Delegation is required for the following reasons:

- To help the chief executive devote his time and energy to organizational decisions that are more important.
- To make leadership effective by delegating.
- To ensure that managers get a chance to fulfil their duty of nurturing and training their subordinates to share responsibilities and make decisions, by delegating. By delegating authority managers actually end up educating their subordinates.
- To ensure that subordinates become increasingly loyal to the organization by making them partners in the exercising of authority. Delegation helps boost their morale and acts as an incentive for them to put in their best.
- To ensure that procedures that are generally rigid become flexible through delegation.
- To help regulate procedures as per the requirements of the situations.
- To reduce or eliminate delays and also to ensure effective, economical and efficient service.

According to White, 'Circumstances of magnitude and volume, however, require some delegation of authority, and the settlement of much business at the point where it arises'.

Type of delegation

Delegation can be categorized into various types, on the basis of the degree of authority:

- **Full delegation:** This happens when complete and absolute powers are bestowed on the agent, for instance, when a diplomatic representative is handed 'full power' to negotiate and sent abroad.
- **Partial delegation:** This kind of delegation happens when it is required to get advice and guidance on crucial matters from the delegating authority in his country.

- **Conditional delegation:** This type of delegation takes place when a subordinate's action is confirmed and revised by the supervisor. Delegation is unconditional when the subordinate is allowed to act and perform without any reservations.
- **Formal delegation:** Delegation is formal when it is documented, and passed via rules, laws and orders, in writing. Delegation becomes informal when customs, principles and mutual understanding form its bases.

Hindrances to delegation

There are two things that serve as hurdles to delegation:

- (i) **Organizational hindrances:** Organizations often do not have established methods and procedures. It is quite easy to delegate if rules and procedures are properly established. They do not possess sufficient means to coordinate or communicate. The nature of work is far from stable and non-repetitive. Delegation is possible to a greater degree if the work is repetition and stable.
- (ii) **Personal factors:** According to Pfiffner, several human causes also result in failure to delegate:
 - Individuals who occupy leading positions in the organizational hierarchy, tend to be more self-centred and even insensitive. Egotism is high.
 - Those on higher positions feel that others will not make the right decisions or are incapable of performing tasks in the manner required.
 - The higher officials are afraid that the stronger subordinates may turn rebellious.
 - Those who are energetic, bright and motivated, lack the patience to deal with subordinates who are slow, dull and unsure of themselves.
 - Delegation becomes a challenge in public administration due to various political considerations.
 - Delegation is an exercise, which is dependent, in part, on cultural changes. Our cultural heritage has been that of authoritarian or patriarchal leadership.
 - An authority has to be emotionally mature to be able to delegate. Unfortunately, this quality is lacking in most successful people.
 - The symbols of leadership are not consistent with the philosophy of delegation. The traits necessary in a leader are those that attract others' attention. Those who wish to be successful have to make themselves prominent.
 - Individuals who wish to delegate do not know how to go about doing so.

There is no denying the need of delegation. Hurdles in the way of delegation can be removed by following a methodical way of working. There should be an organization manual and a manual outlining details of office procedures. There should be a document containing descriptions of the procedures and responsibilities pertaining to each authority/position in the organizational hierarchy. Only then will delegation be specific, accurate and meaningful. There should be appropriate means of coordination and communication put in place to ensure delegation takes place smoothly.

With respect to personal factors, emphasis should be laid on training subordinates as well as higher officials. While the subordinates can receive training regarding the proper usage of discretion, and at the same time factor in the rules, the higher executives

can be trained to delegate efficiently and effectively. For example, it is a positive sign that delegation is discussed in India. Now, the Ministry of Finance exercises less control over the expenditure of various departments and ministries, because it has delegate financial powers to them.

General principles of delegation

The principles guiding delegation are as follows:

- Delegation should be in writing and documented.
- Authority and responsibility for every managerial position should be clearly stated and work should be delegated to a position rather than to an individual.
- Authority should be delegated keeping in mind the level of competence of the subordinates. They should not be entrusted with more than what they can handle.
- Delegation requires planning and systematic handling.
- The procedures, policies and regulations should be defined so well that there is no chance of anyone misunderstanding.

The level of delegation depends solely on the nature of the case, and the circumstances and responsibilities. The powers that are generally not delegated are:

- Power to supervise the work of the first line of immediate subordinates.
- Power to supervise finances and sanction expenditures beyond a certain limit
- Power to endorse proposals, plans and new policies or changes, exceptions or alterations in the existing policies or set standards.
- Power to make rules where it is vested in the delegating officer.
- Power to appoint people at high positions
- Power to hear the appeals from the decision of the immediate subordinates.

3.2.8 Coordination

In the military, a lack of coordination can lead to battles being lost despite the strength of the army. Battles are successfully won due to the coordination between the various wings of the army. Similar is the case in organizations. Despite the advantage of competent staff, the organization cannot dream of achieving its goal if there is no coordination. The most important principle of management is to see to it that no part of the organization repeats what is being done by another part. No individual should be working at cross-purposes. There should not be inter-unit conflicts. The technical term for this is 'coordination'.

Definition of coordination

Coordination can be constructive as well as unconstructive. The negative or unconstructive connotation would be when coordination implies removing conflicts and the repetitions or overlapping seen in administration. The positive connotation would be when all the units are working as a team and all the workers are cooperating with one another. This would be truly constructive coordination.

According to Newman's definition, coordination is, 'the orderly synchronization of the efforts to provide the proper amount, timing and directing of the execution resulting in harmonious and unified actions to a stated objective'. According to Terry, 'coordination

is the adjustment of the parts of each other and of the movement and operation of parts in time so that each can make its maximum contribution to the product of the whole'. In the words of L.D. White, 'coordination is a process causing disjunctive elements to a concentration on a complex of forces and influence, which cause the mutually independent elements to act together'. Political scientist and educator, Seckler Hudson views coordination as 'the all-important duty of interrelating the parts of the work'. According to Mooney, 'coordination is the first principle of organization and includes within itself all other principles which are subordinate to it and through which it operates.'

To summarize, coordination is the act of making it possible for all the wings and divisions of an organization function in harmony, avoiding differences, clashes and disagreements, and taking care that units are not working at cross-purposes, so that the desired and defined objective is achieved. However, it is pertinent to mention that coordination is merely the means and not the end. As Newman put it, 'it is not a separate activity but a condition that should permeate all phases of administration'.

Need for coordination

Coordination is required to ensure that the workers perform and cooperate and also to ensure that there are no disagreements and differences that may hamper the smooth functioning of the organization. Coordination is essential because:

- Employees and units are often clueless about the activities going on in the other units.
- Those in charge often tend to consider their task as the most important and ignore the needs of others. Some of those in charge may also end up encroaching into others' spheres.
- There emerges a tendency to amass power and indulge in empire-building in the various departments or units of an organization.

Types of coordination

There are two main types of coordination:

- (i) **Internal coordination:** Also called functional coordination, this type deals with the coordination of the activities of the individuals of an organization.
- (ii) **External coordination:** Also called structural coordination, this type has to do with the coordination of the activities of the organization's structural units, various departments and divisions.

When coordination aims to establish an interrelationship between one section, branch, department or division with another section, branch, department or division, it is called horizontal coordination. When coordination aims to establish cooperation between an employee and his superior, a superior and his boss, and so on, higher up the hierarchy, or between a section and a branch or a branch and a department, it is called perpendicular coordination.

Methods of coordination

There are many devices that can be used to coordinate at the organization levels:

- By establishing a special unit to coordinate work commonly referred to as 'coordination section' or 'establishment section or unit'.

- By standardizing procedures and techniques.
- By calling departmental meetings and arranging conferences.
- By deploying staff for organization (methods staff).

How to achieve effective coordination

McFarland has suggested the following four ways for effective coordination:

- (i) Clarification of authority and responsibility:** This reduces overlapping and ensures that work is not duplicated.
- (ii) Checks and documentation:** Proper records and reports allow the early identification of areas where the various units or divisions lack interrelation.
- (iii) Effective communication:** Putting in place effective communication processes and forming committees and using group decision-making techniques help make authority clear. It also facilitates observation of the existing kind of coordination.
- (iv) Coordination through leadership:** It is up to the top administration to stress its leadership role in the absence of which coordination will not take place.

How effective coordination is can be gauged by the following criteria:

- (i) It should not be forced or imposed but should be fostered by the leaders who realize how valuable participative management is. It should be timely and should spread to all corners and departments of the organization in a balanced manner, operating both in the horizontal as well as vertical directions.
- (ii) The process of coordination should be continuous.
- (iii) There should be direct coordination between the between the persons (immediately) concerned.
- (iv) Coordination must begin at the start of the activity.

Hindrances to effective coordination

Coordination becomes tough when there is no delegation by those on the higher positions in the administrative machinery. With the activities of the government expanding, matters become even more challenging.

Gulick believed that certain difficulties emerged because:

- Nothing was certain about how people and individuals would behave in the future.
- Leaders themselves lack adequate knowledge at times and also experience and intelligence. As a result, their ideas are not only confusing but also contradictory.
- There is dearth of administrative skills and methods.
- The knowledge of human beings regarding life and man is insufficient and deficient. In addition, there are several variables involved.
- There is paucity of structured and orderly techniques of not only adopting new ideas but also developing, considering and perfecting them.

Seckle-Hudson adds five additional difficulties to Gulick's list as follows:

- (i) Size and complexity
- (ii) Personality and political aspects and features

- (iii) Paucity of wise leaders with thorough understanding of public administration
- (iv) High-paced growth and development of public administration
- (v) Speedy development and spread extension of public administration into international proportions.

McFarland believed that coordination related issues arose in a business organization from two primary sources:

- (i) First is the number functions and the complexity of each, as also the activities delegated to various participants.
- (ii) The growing use of specialization of effort in constructing or putting together the structure of an organization.

Coordination issues also emerge due to the existence of different types of characters with varying degrees of awkwardness within the organization setup. In fact, it would not be wrong to say that management of the human aspect of coordination is the most difficult. When human beings are involved, there arise many variables in performance. Irrespective of the nature of hindrance, appropriate steps need to be taken to remove these hurdles in the interest of the overall effectiveness in the working of the organization.

3.2.9 Integration vs Disintegration

There are two principles according to which the operations of the government may be organized:

- (i) **Independent:** Also known as the uncorrelated system, its main feature is that each service or agency is treated as an independent unit, with no relation to other services. Also, the line of authority runs directly from the agency to the chief executive or legislature.
- (ii) **Integrated:** In this system, also known as the departmental system, all related activities in the same general field are put into departments or groups, which encourages and establishes close relations with each other. Therefore, the line of authority runs from the agency to the department, and from there to the chief executive.

Clearly, the integrated or departmental system is superior in every which way.

- The departmental system simplifies operations of the government. It is commonly known that the modern government has a wide range of tasks to perform. Unless and until the related activities, from the same field, are all integrated, it will not be possible to get a fair idea of the scope of governmental work and the services or agencies performing it.
- This integration will also help intelligent legislation. If the services operating in the same field are properly grouped, it becomes easy to formulate and implement an appropriate work programme.
- It is possible for a chief executive to develop an appropriate work programme only when he has a handful of chief subordinates to deal with. Each of these chief subordinates is given charge of services that are part of the general field. In the same way, the legislature is also able to deliberate intelligently if related operations the latter has not to devote it to separate budget of the agencies.
- With just a few departments to attend to, the chief executive is also able to control the administration better. Fourthly, under the departmental system, 'conflicts of

jurisdiction, overlapping of functions, and duplications of organization, plant and activities' may be avoided.

- Technical plants, such as libraries and laboratories are better utilized. Under the uncorrelated system, each service or agency needs to sustain its own complete organization and installations. If many services with operations falling in the same general field, are classed together in a department, they can all benefit from the services of the single agency, which can then be better equipped.
- By making groups of related services, not only does the performance of housekeeping activities become more efficient but also economical. The general character of the latter is similar for all services. The administrative processes become more standardized and uniform.

Without doubt, the departmental or integrated system will be superior to the uncorrelated or independent system. It is possible, however, to neutralize the innate advantages of an integrated system, if they are not completely lost due to the failure to fulfil the system's requirements. The primary need of the system is that all the services operating and performing identically in the same general field, should be clubbed into one department. No other services should be made part of that department. This implies that the department is non-functional. The disadvantages of this according to W.F. Willoughby are:

- It interrupts inharmonious and troubling elements that make it far from simple to coordinate the services concerning the key functions of the department. It makes it more complicated to standardize administrative practices and procedures.
- It demands that the time and attention of the departmental head should be dedicated solely to his important duties. The departmental head is forced to shoulder responsibilities, which he is likely to fulfil in a mechanical and obligatory fashion.
- It forces the administrative agency to be controlled and supervised by a head who contributes nothing to the effectiveness of its operation, even though he may cause delays in the work.

L.D. White is right in stating that 'the goal of non-functional departments is now generally accepted, however, difficult to achieve, and the objective is conducive to departmental unity'. The challenges emerge from the minor cases wherein more several departments may present valid claims.

3.3 STRUCTURE OF ORGANIZATION: LINE AND STAFF

Organizations are broadly divided into two categories: formal and informal organizations. A formal organization typically consists of a classical mechanistic hierarchical structure. In such a type of structure, the position, responsibility, authority, accountability and the lines of command are clearly defined and established. It is a system of well-defined jobs with a prescribed pattern of communication, coordination and delegation of authority. The informal organization, similar to informal groups, on the other hand, comes into existence due to social interactions and interpersonal relationships and exists outside the formal authority system without any set rigid rules. Though unrecognized, it exists in the shadow of formal structure as a network of personal and social relations, which must be understood and respected by the management.

The informal work groups, constituting the informal organization as a whole, comprise a loosely structured organization of interpersonal relationships, which affect decisions within the formal organization, but are either omitted from the formal scheme or are not consistent with it. These interpersonal relationships create a bond of friendship among the members of such an informal organization, and these bonds are very strong so that there is a sense of belonging and togetherness. This togetherness can have a powerful influence on productivity and job satisfaction. The members help and motivate each other. For example, during a busy period, one employee may turn to another for help instead of going through the supervisor. Similarly, an employee in the sales department may ask another employee in the production department, who also belongs to the informal organization, for information about product availability and receive this information faster than through the formal reporting system.

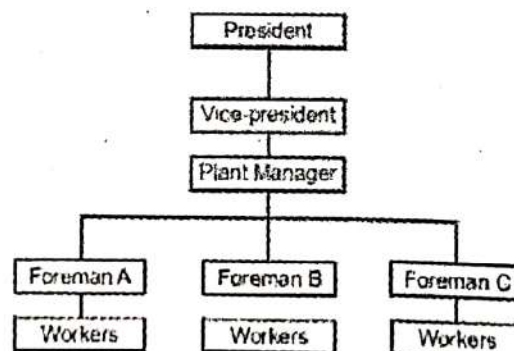
The informal organization is a powerful instrument in all organizations, and sometimes it can mean the difference between success and failure of the organization. When the group members want to do a job, it is always done better than when they have to do it because of instructions from supervisors. A cooperative group makes the supervision easier, thus, lengthening the effective span of management. Informal groups also make sure that the basic principles of the formal organization are not violated. For example, if a manager misuses his authority and promotes an unqualified person, the informal group may use its influence in making sure that this does not happen. The informal group also serves as an additional channel of communication to the management about conditions at work, which may not be available through official channels.

The type of organizational structure would depend upon the type of organization itself and its philosophy of operations. Basically, the structure can be mechanistic or organic in nature or a combination thereof. However, most organizational structures are still designed along mechanistic or classical lines.

Some of the organizational structures are explained below.

Line organization

This is the simplest form of organization and the most common one among small companies. The authority is embedded in the hierarchical structure, and it flows in a direct line from the top of the managerial hierarchy down to different levels of managers and subordinates and further down to the operative levels of workers. It clearly identifies authority, responsibility and accountability at each level. These relationships in the hierarchy connect the position and tasks of each level with those above and below it. There is clear unity of command so that the person at each level is reasonably independent of any other person at the same level, and is responsible only to the person above him. The line personnel are directly involved in achieving the objectives of the company. A typical line structure is illustrated as follows:



Due to the small size of the company, the line structure is simple and the authority and responsibility are clear-cut, easily assignable and traceable. It is easy to develop a sense of belonging to the organization, communication is fast and easy and feedback from the employees can be acted upon faster. The discipline among employees can be maintained easily and effective control can be easily exercised. If the president and other superiors are benevolent in nature, then the employees tend to consider the organization as a family and tend to be closer to each other; this is highly beneficial to the organization.

On the other hand, it is a rigid form of organization, and there is a tendency for line authority to become dictatorial that may be resented by the employees. Also, there is no provision for specialists and specialization that is essential for growth and optimization, and hence for growing companies, pure line type of structure becomes ineffective.

The line organization can be a pure line type or departmental line type. In the pure line type setup, all similar activities are performed at any one level. Each group of activities is self-contained and independent of other units. It is able to perform the assigned duties without the assistance of others. In a departmental line type of organization, also known as functional structure, the respective workers and supervisors are grouped on a functional basis such as finance, production and marketing and so on.

Line and staff organization

In this type of organization, the functional specialists are added to the line, thus giving the line the advantages of specialists. This type of organization is most common in business economy and especially among large enterprises. Staff is basically advisory in nature, and usually does not possess and command authority over line managers. The staff consists of two types:

General staff: This group has a general background that is usually similar to executives and serves as assistants to top management. They are not specialists and generally have no authority or responsibility of their own. They may be known as special assistants, assistant managers or in a college setting as deputy chairpersons.

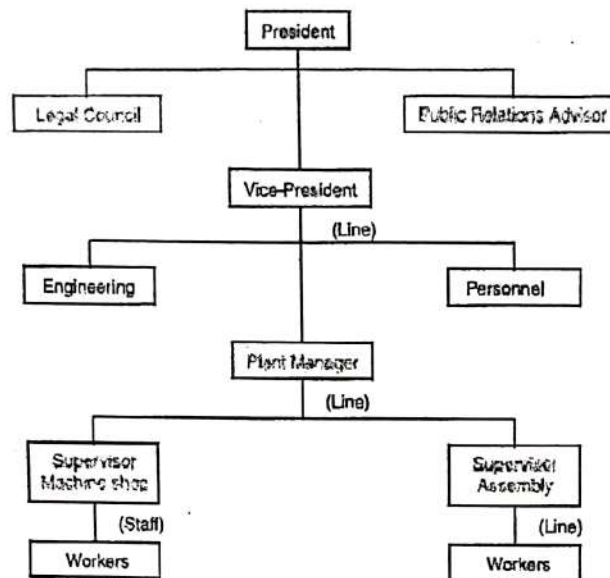
Specialized staff: Unlike the general staff, who generally assist only one line executive, the specialized staff provides expert staff advice and service to all employees on a company-wide basis. This group has a specialized background in some functional area and it could serve in any of the following capacities:

- (a) **Advisory capacity:** The primary purpose of this group is to render specialized advice and assistance to management when needed. Some typical areas covered by advisory staff are legal, public relations and economic development.
- (b) **Service capacity:** This group provides a service that is useful to the organization as a whole and not just to any specific division or function. An example would be the personnel department serving the enterprise by procuring the needed personnel for all departments. Other areas of service include research and development, purchasing, statistical analysis, insurance problems and so on.
- (c) **Control capacity:** This group includes quality control staff who may have the authority to control the quality and enforce standards.

The line and staff type of organization uses the expertise of specialists without diluting the unity of command. With the advice of these specialists, the line managers

also become more scientific and tend to develop a sense of objective analysis of business problems. According to Saltonstaff, a staff member may serve as a coach, diagnostician, policy planner, coordinator, trainer, strategist, and so on.

A simple line and staff diagram is shown as follows:



The line and staff type of organization is widely used, and is advantageous to the extent that the specialized advice improves the quality of decisions resulting in operational economics. Also, since line managers are generally occupied with their day-to-day current operations, they do not have the time or the background for future planning and policy formulation. Staff specialists are conceptually oriented towards looking ahead and have the time to do strategic planning and analyse the possible effects of expected future events.

Its main disadvantages are the confusion and conflict that arises between line and staff, the high cost that is associated with hiring specialists and the tendency of staff personnel to build their own image and worth, which is sometimes at the cost of undermining the authority and responsibility of line executives.

Line and staff

Line agencies directly work for the achievement of the organizational purposes. Staff agencies advise and assist the line agencies in their activities, while the auxiliary agencies provide common housekeeping.

Line agencies

A line is originated in the military. They are concerned with substantive functions of government and are primary and central at any large organizations. Some of the classical examples are as follows:

- Government departments
- Public corporations
- Government companies
- Independent regulatory commissions

The functions of line agencies are as follows:

- Making decision
- Taking responsibility

- Planning
- Interpreting and defending policy
- Maintaining production and seeking efficiency and economy

The salient features of line are as follows:

- Authority flows from vertical to downwards
- Direct chain of command
- Unity of command
- It takes decisions and issue commands
- Delegation sometimes called 'direct operative authority'

Staff agencies

It is a stick on which you can lean for support, but it cannot take or initiate any decision. So, it is only supportive of main line function. They advise and help the line functions for more efficient results. But staff officers do not have any command over the functions.

The functions of staff agencies are as follows:

- Budgeting and accounting
- Personnel
- Planning
- Research, reporting and public relations
- Legal services
- Other management procedures

The main characteristics of staff agencies are as follows:

- Assistance
- Information
- Advisory: Planning Commission
- Supervisory: Cabinet Secretariat
- Delegated functions: PMO Press release

There are three types of staff agencies:

- (i) General staff or filter and funnel-(PMO or White House): administrators and nontechnical
- (ii) Technical staff: economic or financial or foreign affair advisor
- (iii) Auxiliary staff: Willoughby called them the 'institutional or housekeeping' services

Auxiliary agencies

They were termed as the 'establishment services' by British writers.

Staff and auxiliary agencies have four major differences, which are as follows:

- (i) Advise-housekeeping.
- (ii) No authority, limited.
- (iii) No executive function auxiliary have operational responsibility.
- (iv) Attached to line at every levels.

Staff agencies in three countries

- India: PMO, Cabinet Secretariat, Cabinet Committees, Planning Commission, UPSC, SSC, CBI.
- Britain: Cabinet Secretariat, Cabinet Committees, Treasury, Civil Service Department, Central Police Review Staff.
- USA: White House Office, EOP, National Security Council, Office of Management and Function.

Conflict between staff and line

The following are the reasons for conflict between staff and line:

- Line dislikes staff for the fear of being taken for a ride.
- Staff controls office technology including fax and computer.
- Staff controls information.
- Line is not for change but staff act as catalyst for change.

Power of the systems under Presidential and Cabinet systems

Staff is more powerful as the Chief Executive has wider control and powers under separation of powers. Hence, OBM, White House and offices in the EOP are powerful than the staff agencies under the Cabinet system. Chief Executive does not require the approval of cabinet for supporting the staff agency. But in the cabinet system, PM has to keep his ministers together to support the staff.

3.4 THEORIES OF ORGANIZATION

3.4.1 Classical or Traditional Theory

It is not easy to classify public administration as either a science or an art. Many like Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick preferred to call it science.

The classical theorists believed public administration to be a science and projected it so. Both these academicians were of the opinion that just like experiments and studies proved engineering to be a science, public administration will also be observed to be a science through systematic studies and recordings spread over a certain time period.

The classical theorists focused on the importance of the organizational structure. According to Urwick, in the absence of structure, there could be a lot of chaos and the organization may end up as inefficient. Gulick identified some principles on the basis of which it was possible to design the structure of the organization:

- Specialization or division of labour
- Departmentalization
- Hierarchical coordination
- Deliberate coordination
- Creation of coordination committees
- Decentralization

- Unity of command
- Staff and Line
- Delegation and Span of Control

The principle of span of control required the executive to have less number of people to head. With too many people reporting to a single person, the efficiency was sure to go down.

Urwick also stated that there are some principles on which an organization can function. Some of these are as follows:

- Organizational objective(s)
- Authority and responsibility
- Span of control principle
- Coordination
- Principle of definition amongst other principles

The organization is not just a structure. It encompasses human beings also who help in its functioning and realization of preset objectives and goals. One can also describe 'organization' as the act of bringing together interdependent parts, in a systematic manner, to form a unified whole, through which it is possible to exercise authority, coordination and control in order to successfully achieve a purpose.

The interdependent components consist of people who need to be directed, guided and motivated; people whose work requires coordination so that the goals of the enterprise can be achieved. Therefore, it will not be wrong to say that the organization comprises structure as well as human beings. It would be rather unrealistic to even attempt to deal with organization simply as a framework and without taking into account the people who comprise it and for whom its services are meant.

An organization's task is to increase and widen the resources and opportunities for the people it has been set up for. It divides the work amongst its members, influencing them, standardizing practices, conveying decisions down, up and across the organizational hierarchy, providing communication systems, training them and spreading information.

The classical theory of organization or the mechanistic theory, also known as the structural theory is the most popular in the field. It has been explained very well by classical theorists, including Max Weber, Luther Gulick, L. F. Urwick, J. D. Mooney and Reilly. According to these theorists, administration remains administration irrespective of the type of work performed or the context in which it is undertaken. Then, they go on to spot the key essentials in the administration processes along with the features commonly seen in all administrative structures. This is a preparatory exercise for developing a set of principles of organization. The most distinctive characteristic of the classical theory is that it is concerned with the formulating principles of organization. The classical theorists concerned themselves with the discovery of the true bases on which the division of work in an organization could be done, coming up with effective techniques of ensuring coordination. They also focussed on the accurate definition of tasks and their interrelationship, and promoted the use of authority and a scheme of checks to check and control the personnel so that the organizational work gets done.

Max Weber's Bureaucratic Theory

The German sociologist, Max Weber, and his associates studied several organizations to find out what structural essentials existed in common. They focused on the structural elements emphasizing those basic features characteristic of an ideal organization. Weber wanted to find rules and regulations, and wanted to get rid of inconsistencies in the management that make organizations ineffective. He was of the belief that firmly adhering to rules would transform bureaucracy into an efficiently functioning organization with its foundations on principles of logic, order and lawful authority. He was extremely sure that even the slightest deviation from the formal structure will adversely affect the efficiency of management. He was of the opinion that an administrative organization, which is of a purely bureaucratic nature, technically speaking, possesses the ability to achieve a very high level of efficiency. Such an organization would be far superior, precise and stable as compared to any other organization type. Such a firm will also strictly adhere to discipline and be more reliable. This makes it easy for the organizational heads and others associated with it to be able to calculate the results. It would rate high in superiority as it would be intensively efficient and more capable of being applicable to all sorts of administrative tasks.

Weber studied how enterprises were formed and administered. His primary observations were as follows:

1. **Division of work:** Based on job specialization, there existed division of work in bureaucratic organizations. Individual workers perform the work they are good at or have specialized in, and naturally, they go about it in a predictable fashion.
2. **Rules and regulations:** The rights, duties and responsibilities of employees are written down in detail and documented. These are available in the form of guidelines to ensure that work/performance is consistent and predictable. Procedures are also laid down to ensure that tasks are performed in an orderly manner.
3. **Hierarchy of authority:** Delegation of authority down the line is characteristic of organizational hierarchy. All the superiors exercise control over their subordinates, and the authority flows from the top levels of the hierarchy to the lower levels of management.
4. **Technical competence:** Employees are selected and promoted on the basis of their level of technical competence. There are qualifications laid down for each and every job or task. In addition, the employees are trained so that they become familiar with the procedures and rules of administration.
5. **Record keeping:** There existed records, the original as well as draft forms, of all the decisions and actions.
6. **Impersonal relations:** There exists a degree of formality in the dealings of superiors with those who report to them.

Merits of bureaucracy

1. **Specialization:** A bureaucratic organization provides the advantages of specialization because every member is assigned a specialized task to perform.
2. **Structure:** A structure of form is created by specifying the duties and responsibilities and reporting relationships within a command hierarchy. Structure sets the pace and framework for the functioning of the organization.

inclusive articulation of the classical theory. Gulick had experience in civil services, military services as well as industrial management. He subscribed the administrative school of thought where thinkers and theorist like Frederick Taylor, Henri Fayol and Max Weber had already deeply influenced and altered the perception of management while the Industrial Revolution was at its peak. According to Gulick, problems always existed in the structure whenever something went wrong in the organization.

Gulick's principles of organization

Some basic principles outlined by Gulick, on the basis of which organizations functioned, are as follows:

- Division of work/specialization
- Criterion for departmentalization of organization
- Hierarchical coordination
- Deliberate coordination
- Coordination through committees
- Decentralization
- Unity of command
- Staff and line
- Delegation
- Span of control

Let us now look at some of these principles in brief.

Work division/specialization

According to Gulick's assertion, division of work is not just the foundation on which the organization stands, but also the reason for organization. This principle is considered to be the core ideology by other classical theorists as well. Gulick was of the opinion that without division of work, things would be difficult because people have different natures, skills and competencies. They benefit a lot from specialization, as it makes them more deft and dexterous.

In handing over functions to groups of people, the first principle of classical theorists is homogeneity based on the identity or simplicity of four factors, namely the purpose they serve, the process they use the persons or things they deal with and the place where they work.

Departmental organization

Specialists emerge from division of labour. These specialists need coordination, which is effected through the clubbing together of specialists into groups or departments. Gulick and Urwick, initially came up with a theory of departmentalization strategies - *departmentalization by purpose* and *departmentalization by process*. The two merits of departmentalization are:

1. It facilitates specialization and division of work because many people are brought together under one roof, indulging in huge volumes of each type of work.
2. Many economies are gained due to the optimal use of tools of mass production and machinery that helps save labour.

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Coordination

As per Gulick, if it is not possible to avoid subdividing work, then it is essential to coordinate the work. Coordination can be done in the following two ways:

- **By organization:** This is a process wherein work is assigned to people who are aptly placed in the organizational hierarchy. This ensures that there is interrelation of the subdivided work and there is coordination of work by orders handed down from the higher ups down to those placed lower down on the organizational hierarchy.
- **By the dominance of an idea:** When people work together, each of them develops a way to fit into the team and contribute in the best possible manner using his skill and enthusiasm. There is a singleness of purpose in everyone's mind.

However, Gulick feels that the two principles of coordination are not mutually exclusive, but they prove to be extremely effective when put together. The way coordination develops is highly affected by size and time. Therefore, according to him, the manner of coordinating should differ according to the size of the organization, depending on the simplicity or complexity of their structure, and their stability and transformations. Gulick believes that coordination does not take place accidentally. It requires a fair amount of intelligence, persistence and systematic effort.

Unity of command

Gulick and Urwick maintain that the government comprises adequately managed administrative departments, with an administrator heading each unit/department. They disapproved of the system of boards or commissions. They were in support of Fayol's principle of unity of command, despite being aware of the fact that strict compliance to this principle may cause something insensible or meaningless. They pointed out that one person cannot have two superiors. They believed that if a workman took orders from two supervisors, he will only end up becoming confused, and show inefficiency. However, if a worker received orders from just one superior, he will display more efficiency, a higher degree of responsible behaviour and a systematic manner of working.

Staff and line

Gulick and Urwick applied the principles of staff assistance to the executive. They borrowed the relations between the line and staff officials from their experience in military administration. It has not been possible for any management theory to convincingly explain the importance of the principle of line and staff in civilian organizations.

According to Gulick, the staff experts have to distribute their time completely to the functions of understanding, thinking and planning. No staff expert should be unnecessarily burdened with administrative authority or responsibility. They should, instead, be definitely be made aware of the results by the 'authority of ideas'. Therefore, Gulick and Urwick emphasize on how important it is for the special staff to help the executives at the top. It is not always possible for busy public officials to find time in their daily routine to read, think and interact with those reporting to them. Therefore, they feel the need for some assistance to be successful in their work of commanding, controlling and coordinating. Such support and help should be extended by the general staff. Therefore, the general staff and special staff reduce the burden of administrative

responsibilities of the top executive, to a great extent, allowing him time and energy to focus on the critical task of organization. Such help allows him a wider span of control.

Span of Control

Urwick believed that it was not possible for any supervisor to directly monitor the work of more than five subordinates. A supervisor can supervise a maximum of six subordinates who are working on interrelated tasks. The factors responsible for the limit of control are:

- (i) Limited knowledge
- (ii) Limited time and energy
- (iii) Difference/variations in the nature and type of work
- (iv) Variations in the size of organization
- (v) Differences in working habits and capacities of workers/executives
- (vi) Non-comparable character of work

Diversification of time, space and function govern the principle of span of control. As the principles does not give adequate importance to these variables, its scientific validity is limited.

Gulick feels that the chief executive of an organization can handle only a limited number of subordinates working immediately under him. The actual number he can effectively handle is dependent on the following factors:

- Type of nature of work
- Executive's capacity
- Number of subordinates immediately working under the superior
- Level of stability and geographical location of organization

Delegation

The delegation principle lay emphasis on the requirement for administrators to retain the required authority with them to act, and delegate the rest to their subordinates. In the absence of any such delegation, it will be difficult for the subordinates to fulfil their duties and responsibilities. Urwick was of the opinion that the reason behind most failures in organizations is the fact that executives do not have the courage to delegate appropriately. Also, they are not aware of the techniques of delegating. He felt that organizations failed to function effectively when the executives failed to delegate the tasks to those reporting to them. He stressed that executives should possess complete and unconditional power to delegate duties and tasks to their subordinates. His assertion was that executives should be personally accountable for the work of their subordinates.

POSDCORB

Gulick's most significant contribution was the description of the main techniques of management, which he summed up using the acronym POSDCORB, where the letters stand for:

- (i) Planning
- (ii) Organizing
- (iii) Staffing

- (iv) Directing
- (v) Coordinating
- (vi) Reporting
- (vii) Budgeting

He explained each of these elements or functions as follows:

- **Plan:** To work out a rough outline of the tasks to be accomplished and the techniques to be used to complete them, in order to achieve the goals of the organization.
- **Organize:** To create a formal structure of authority using which subdivisions of work would be created and arranged, which will then need coordination for the defined objective.
- **Staff:** To recruit people and train them to do certain tasks and maintain proper working conditions for these resources to work in.
- **Direct:** To keep making the right decisions at the right time, encompassing them in the orders and instructions passed on to the teams; shouldering the responsibility of leadership of the organization and its projects.
- **Coordinate:** To correlate and interconnect the various components of the task/work.
- **Report:** To keep all those informed about the status and progress of work, to whom the executive reports. This also implies that the executive has to himself be aware of everything that is going on and also ensure that his subordinates are well informed of the status and progress of work, through proper documentation, evaluation, research and records.
- **Budgeting:** To keep a check over the accounts, to ensure that everything goes according to plan and within the limited means.

The function of controlling consists of the following three functions, which can be separated:

- Coordinating
- Reporting
- Budgeting

Let us look at the primary functions in a little more detail:

Planning

Planning has more to do with the future. It helps establish the direction of the organization. Planning helps to arrive at decisions, rationally and systematically. These are important decisions that impact the company's future. Therefore, it requires some level of prediction as well as an attempt at controlling various events. The planner should be capable of foreseeing the long-term impacts of the present actions in the future.

Peter Drucker's definition of planning is as follows:

'Planning is the continuous process of making present entrepreneurial decisions systematically and with best possible knowledge of their futurity, organizing systematically the efforts needed to carry out these decisions and measuring the results of these decisions against the expectations through organized and systematic feedback'.

Planning will be said to be effective if it takes into account all the factors from within the organization as well as outside it. Factors from outside include:

- (i) paucity of capital and material resources

- (ii) economic trends in terms of rates of interest and inflation
- (iii) technological changes and advancements
- (iv) instability of global political environment
- (v) increasing government regulations in the interest of the community.

The factors from within the organization that have an impact on planning are:

- (i) limited growth opportunities owing to saturation, resulting in the need to diversify
- (ii) alterations in the work force
- (iii) complexities in the structure of the organization
- (iv) decentralization

Organizing

Organizing can only take place if there is a formal structure of authority. Organizing also requires the existence of a direction and flow of authority. These help define, arrange and coordinate the subdivisions of work. As a result, a relationship is established amongst the parts giving rise to coherence and unity, which, in turn leads to rapid achievement of objectives. The function of organizing helps to determine the activities that are necessary to be performed if the goals of the organization are to be attained. These activities are assigned to the relevant employees/workers, and all the required authority is delegated to ensure that these activities are performed properly. To summarize, it can be said that organizing involves the following:

1. Identification of the activities that need to be performed and their grouping into classes where necessary.
2. Allocation of jobs to the right resources while defining their authority and responsibility.
3. Delegation of authority to the workers, employees, subordinates or team members.
4. Establishment of a relationship between authority and responsibility.
5. Coordination of the activities.

Staffing

The staffing function involves the recruitment and retention of workers suited to the organization's needs. This workforce is hired to fill managerial positions as well as non-managerial ones. The staffing function comprises the following activities:

- Recruitment of suitable personnel
- Training of the personnel
- Development of workforce
- Fixing of compensation
- Evaluation of performance
- Maintenance of workforce through incentives
- Motivation of workforce

It is not easy to recruit the right people because the recruiters have to deal with varying levels of intelligence, competencies, experience, and behaviour. No wonder the staffing function is fraught with challenges. Management should try and understand the structure of the workforce, sociologically and psychologically, in addition to their skills and competencies in terms of both technology and operations.

Directing

Directing, guiding or showing the way, is what a leader does best. The 'directing' function involves the following:

- Leading
- Communicating
- Motivating
- Supervising

The leader is expected to give orders and guide those under him with regard to processes and techniques. There should be a system of open communications so that information can be easily conveyed to the subordinates. Also, their feedback should be able to travel to the relevant people conveniently. It is a known fact that workers who are motivated perform very well and can even do without being directed by their bosses or seniors all the time. The superiors should ensure that the subordinates who are supervising keep providing them regular updates and reports. They should also receive assurance that instructions are being properly followed.

Controlling

The 'controlling' function comprises tasks performed to ensure that events go on as planned without straying. Controlling also involves the following:

- Putting in place standards of work performance
- Performance evaluation
- Comparison with the established standards
- Corrective actions when required, to rectify deviations.

All five management functions are interconnected. It is difficult to distinguish one from another, but it is essential to place each function into focus individually and handle it effectively.

Work in any organization is allocated or divided according to the 4Ps of Gulick:

- (i) **Purpose** or objective(s) of the organization
- (ii) **Process** or procedures, techniques and skills used
- (iii) **Persons** or clientele
- (iv) **Place** or area of specialization

These are the bases of dividing the organization into departments. These are not mutually exclusive. They all exist at the same time.

At the end of the nineteenth century, there was mismanagement in the bureaucracy as well as in the industries. It was the same situation all over the world. It was observed that organizations had three common goals:

- (i) Efficiency
- (ii) Economy
- (iii) Productivity

By 1960s, even Gulick started discussing the human element in administration along with the element of time. He was of the opinion that the time factor should not be ignored. The strength of an organization is reflected in the manner in which it deals with the changing times. However, it is risky to undergo changes and reforms at the wrong time.

Urwick's principles of organization

Urwick also stated specific principles for organization as follows:

- According to the principle of objectives, the organization should represent a purpose.
- According to the principle of correspondence, at all levels of the organizational hierarchy, authority and responsibility must be 'coequal' and 'coterminous'.
- According to the principle of responsibility, those occupying higher positions should be unconditionally responsible for the work of their subordinates.
- According to the scalar principle, there is a pyramidal structure/hierarchy in an organization.
- According to the principle of span of control, it is not possible for a person to directly supervise the performance of more than five people, or maximum six subordinates with interrelated jobs.
- According to the principle of specialization, a person should be assigned just one function.
- According to the principle of coordination, there should be harmony between all the components of an organization.
- According to the principle of definition, all duties, responsibilities and authorities need to be clearly described, in detail, and documented for ready reference.

Mooney and Reiley: Scalar Principle

In addition to Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick, the American theorists Mooney and Reiley, in *Onward Industry*, their ground breaking work on the development of classical organization theory, talked of a universal approach. They came up with the following four principles of organization:

- (i) The coordinative principle
- (ii) The scalar (or hierarchical) principle
- (iii) The functional (division of labour) principle
- (iv) Staff-line principle

Mooney's argument was that most structures in organizations are founded on the superior-subordinate relationship concepts, and follow a hierarchy. He referred to it as the *scalar principle*. Accordingly, all organizations have a responsibility to correspond with each authority. The coordination of the primary authority (the senior most) supreme is applied down the organizational hierarchy/structure.

Principal features of the classical organization theory

The classical theory of organization has the following four characteristics:

- (i) Impersonalization
- (ii) Specialization
- (iii) Efficiency
- (iv) Hierarchy

This theory states that the organization represents a formal plan or structure, created on the basis of clear and comprehensible principles. It is believed that:

- (a) There exists a body of principles according to which the formal plan of the organization can be laid out, to suit the requirements of the selected purpose or activity.
- (b) The required personnel should be able to fulfil the needs of this preset plan.

The classical approach regards the organization as a machine, and the people running it as cogs in this machine. The most significant thing is that the classical theorists tried to discover specific universal principles of organization. This gave the administrative functions a sense of purpose and improved coordination. Roles were specified, and thus, the organization behaviour came to be more predictable and stable.

Criticism of the classical theory

The classical theory received flak as:

- (i) There was no proof that its *principles* were empirically valid in the operations of the organization, nor was it possible to apply them universally. Therefore, they were considered to be mere proverbs.
- (ii) There was no behavioural analysis and the human factor in administration was ignored. Their techniques were prescriptive and not descriptive.
- (iii) The approach was biased toward the management with extra emphasis on the formality of the structure instead of the informal facets. The theory gives too much importance to the issues of the structure in relation to roles. The emphasis is not on the people (role occupants), but on their roles in the wider context of organizational goals.

The theory does not look at individuals from an integrated angle. It overlooks the social facet of man and the impact of the social environment on his work. The classical approach looks at the organization as a closed system, disconnected with, or unaffected by the outside environment. The theory is obsessed with the standard aspect of the organization's operations. This leads to its overlooking or ignoring the informal behaviour observed in the formal structure of the organization.

3.4.2 Human Relation Theory

The theory of human relations revolves around human beings. It considers human beings as psychologically motivated individuals with dynamic and distinct group behaviour influencing performances. Elton Mayo is considered to be the pioneer of the Human Relations Movement. His studies and writings are widely referred to not just in public administration, but in the management of human resources in organizations as well.

A 1927 experiment on the workers of the Hawthorne Works of the Western Electricals, Chicago, became popularly known as the Hawthorne experiment. The findings were referred to as the Hawthorne effect. This experiment was aimed at observing the relationship between the working conditions, the general tiredness and the subsequent boredom that sets in the employees. To analyse the relationship, the impact of lighting, hours of sleep, humidity and temperature was studied.

The findings of the study were found to be shocking in several ways. The experiment on the participant workers was done on a piece rate wage system. It was observed that the workers were motivated to perform for money as long as they were sure that they would earn enough. Beyond that they chose not to work.

This finding posed a challenge to Taylor's principle of scientific management. At the next level, some women workers were isolated from the workers' group and carefully

observed. These women were found to show increased productivity with varying time, lighting, humidity and working conditions. This was found to be rather puzzling by the scientists. It was later discovered that the girls knew of the experiment and therefore, they put in their best.

This theory resulted in a shift that diverged from the once popular classical theory, which concentrated on the organizational structure and planning, which were considered the key components. The Hawthorne experiments made it quite clear that studying the organizational mechanism was as important as examining the daily organizational functions, including casual relationships and group dynamics. All said and done, it is critical for the employees to do their best and at times, their performance is sometimes nowhere close to the parameters and motivators set forth by the organization.

3.4.3 Scientific Management Theory

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Frederick Winslow Taylor studied the way industries were managed in the United States.

His studies led to the belief that management is not an art but a science. An engineer himself, Taylor had the experience of a chief engineer as well as a labourer. His opinion was that management is a pure science, with its bases in clear and fixed laws, rules and principles. It is not surprising, that he is called the father of Scientific Management for promoting the systematic adoption of scientific techniques to arrive at solutions to management problems and achieve a high level of efficiency in industry.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the factories had very poor working conditions. It was left to the workers to select the techniques and methods of completing the work. In addition, they were expected to carry their own devices and tools to achieve their tasks. Therefore, planning was quite ad hoc and efficiency levels were far from great. Taylor's scientific management ideas were basically aimed at finding ways to increase industrial productivity. He wrote about his research findings and ideas in the following papers:

- A Piece-Rate System (1895)
- Shop Management (1903)
- The Art of Cutting Metals (1906)
- The Principle of Scientific Management (1911)

As he was primarily concerned about efficiency, he concentrated on planning, standardizing and improving human effort at the level of the workers. He strived to discover the 'single best scientific way' to accomplish each and every task, and hence, improve organizational productivity.

3.4.4 Bureaucratic Theory

The Bureaucratic Theory was founded on Max Weber's *Economy and Society* (1922). Weber made the term popular and shared his research findings related to ancient and modern states for better understanding of the bureaucracies at different times.

Weber was deeply influenced by Heinrich Rickert and Kant, especially when he outlined his theory of rationalization. He advocated rationalization in politics, culture, society, religion, economy and all other spheres of life. For him, 'rationalization' lay at the base of the modern Western society.

In his work, *Economy and Society*, he discusses how bureaucracy evolved and how the relationship between the State and the bureaucracy evolved. He cites the examples of the Chinese and the African empires, whose downfall can be attributed to the inefficiency of their bureaucracy and their ineffective techniques of administration. According to him, bureaucracy originated in the ancient empires because armies had to be maintained, public finances had to be attended, and of course, there was politics and power. In modern times, the civilization is becoming more and more sophisticated. Therefore, the administration's demand are also becoming more sophisticated.

Weber considered communication to be of great significance in the operation of the bureaucracy of a state. If the bureaucracy is trained, they will prove to be more efficient and much better administrators than any others. Their training will ensure that they are efficient, accurate, precise, and unified, and their administration is cost-effective. There is lesser friction, overall in the functioning and operation of the government.

Weber listed the following characteristic behavioural and structural features of a bureaucratic state:

- Division of labour
- Hierarchy
- Rules and rationality
- Impersonality
- Rules orientation
- Neutrality

You will learn more about Weber's model of bureaucracy in the next unit.

ACTIVITY

Prepare a report on the positive effects of decentralization on the administration of public firms in India.

DID YOU KNOW

In comparison to the Mauryas, the Mughals went for greater centralization. They did not focus on social services of health and welfare as also morals which were of special concern to the Mauryan kings. The Mughals had an efficient civil service. They recognized merit and accepted Hindu intelligentsia in the higher civil service. Its only drawback was that it was 'land-based'.

3.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- A formal organization typically consists of a classical mechanistic hierarchical structure. In such a type of structure, the position, responsibility, authority, accountability and the lines of command are clearly defined and established. It is a system of well-defined jobs with a prescribed pattern of communication, coordination and delegation of authority.

- The informal organization, similar to informal groups, on the other hand, comes into existence due to social interactions and interpersonal relationships and exists outside the formal authority system without any set rigid rules.
- Every organization has certain objectives and goals to achieve and is structured on the basis of certain principles with a view to achieving these objectives.
- By span of control, we mean the number of subordinates which an officer can effectively supervise. The problem of the span of control is a natural outflow of the principle of scalar system.
- The unity of command means that each individual employee shall have only one man as his 'boss' and shall receive orders only from him. If he gets orders from more than one officer, it may become difficult for him to discharge his duties.
- Authority is defined by Fayol as, 'the rights to give orders and the power to exact obedience.
- In the view of Allen, authority is 'the sum of the powers and rights entrusted to make possible the performance of the work delegated'.
- Delegation is the devolution of authority by a superior person to his agent or subordinate subject to his supervision and control.
- The type of organizational structure would depend upon the type of organization itself and its philosophy of operations.

3.6 KEY TERMS

- **Formal organization:** A system of well-defined jobs with a prescribed pattern of communication, coordination and delegation of authority.
- **Informal organization:** Comes into existence due to social interactions and interpersonal relationships and exists outside the formal authority system without any set rigid rules.
- **Informal work groups:** Comprise a loosely structured organization of interpersonal relationships, which affect decisions within the formal organization, but are either omitted from the formal scheme or are not consistent with it.
- **Scalar principle:** Classical management rule that states that subordinates at every level should follow the chain of command, and communicate with their seniors only through the immediate or intermediate senior.
- **Hierarchy:** An arrangement of items in which the items are represented as being 'above', 'below', or 'at the same level' as one another.
- **Span of control:** Number of subordinates an officer can effectively supervise.
- **Unity of command:** It means that each individual employee shall have only one man as his 'boss' and shall receive orders only from him.
- **Authority:** The rights to give orders and the power to exact obedience.

3.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. There must be clear lines of authority running from the top to the bottom of the organization. This is known as the 'hierarchy' or the 'scalar principle'.

2. Hierarchy
3. True
4. Line organization
5. The general staff is a group has a general background that is usually similar to executives and serves as assistants to top management. They are not specialists and generally have no authority or responsibility of their own. They may be known as special assistants, assistant managers or in a college setting as deputy chairpersons.
6. Auxiliary agencies
7. The controlling function comprises tasks performed to ensure that events go on as planned without straying.
8. The directing function involves the following:
 - Leading
 - Communicating
 - Motivating
 - Supervising
9. Organizing can only take place if there is a formal structure of authority.
10. Elton Mayo is considered to be the pioneer of the Human Relations Movement.

3.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. List the merits of the scalar system.
2. What are the demerits of the scalar system
3. Define 'coordination' and state the reasons for its requirement.
4. What is the difference between formal and informal organizations
5. What are the criticisms of classical theory of organization

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the unity of command principle in theory of organizations.
2. What do you mean by delegation? Discuss its requirement, types and hindrances in the framework of organizational functioning.
3. Describe the hindrances to effective coordination.
4. Discuss the principles of integration and disintegration in the context of governmental operations.
5. Describe human relations theory and the scientific management theory.
6. What is bureaucratic theory? List the merits and demerits of bureaucracy.

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UNIT 4 DEVELOPMENT, ADMINISTRATION AND BUREAUCRACY

Structure

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4.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the theory of organization. This unit focusses on the theme of development, and handles development from two perspectives, namely, administration and development as discourse. Development is central to the functioning of public administration, and the unit seeks to enhance the knowledge of development as a paradigm.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning and concept of development of administration
- Analyse the development philosophy in India
- Describe the relationship between bureaucracy and administration
- Define the right-based approach to development

4.2 DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION — ORIGIN, MEANING AND CHALLENGES

Development administration is a concept that originated fairly recently, following the efforts of American scholars of comparative administration. One of the leaders in this field was Edward Weidner, who used the terms 'action-oriented' and 'goal-oriented' system to define development administration. The concept was born from the need of the wealthier nations to lend support to the poorer countries, and in particular, from the needs of the newer States to change their colonial bureaucracies, transforming them into tools, capable of shouldering more responsibility and bringing about changes in the society. The basis of this concept was the transfer of resources and knowledge for speeding up the process of modernization, from an agriculture-based one to an industry-based one, with the help of change agents/bodies, sponsored by the government or the public. International bodies would help transfer resources through mutual aid schemes and bilateral agreements. Those who receive the aid will try to apply it to the field of education, communication, health, research, and so on. But foreign aid, for some of the newly emerging economies, was merely a small drop in the ocean in comparison to their actual needs. Therefore, the field of development administration spread beyond just foreign aid programmes to the domestic public policy programmes of the countries who received the aid.

At that time, colonial administrators hardly displayed any interest in development or perhaps the leaders of the emerging countries lacked the experience in state craft and were incompetent. Guidelines were non-existent because no one had attempted to speed up development artificially. Initially, improvements had to be brought about before establishing a base from which formulation of sensible public policies could be made possible or the implementation of practical programmes could be brought about. Actually, the developmental network was required to be laid over on a conventional law and order framework or laid alongside the existing structure.

The main features of development administration are:

- It is rooted in normative concepts, such as:
 - (i) Development can be planned
 - (ii) Development can be directed
 - (iii) Development can be controlled
 - (iv) It is desirable to have improved quality and quantity of societal products
 - (v) Hurdles in the way of development can be overcome
- It is grounded in reality and is concerned with practically resolving human issues or problems, the routine, daily issues pertaining to public administration and the actual real world in which people reside.

- It is time consuming. The functions performed by development administration require resources-physical, social, psychological and institutional-that are hardly available in the required quantity or in the right blends.
- The hurdles in the path to attainment are at times rather intense and overwhelming, and time is a persistent and unyielding enemy to those who desire to achieve results within a period of decades instead of centuries.
- Development administration is universal-It does not believe in distinguishing between countries that seem to be generating their own changes with progress happening spontaneously without any artificial stimulus and countries that seem to lack the requisite components of self-development and where change has to occur through the actions of governments. Development is taking place in all countries, only the speed of development and the issues faced by them differ. The issue which is most serious, however, is the constant divide that exists between wealthy and poor countries; between countries where development is fast paced and those where it is slow; and the possibility that this divide is increasing.
- Development administration is oriented towards change. The feature that distinguishes it is its primary focus on swift socio-economic change. This feature also sets it apart from general administration, which is mainly concerned with maintaining the status quo. It is the change influenced by the government, in the direction of progressive political, economic and social goals. Development administration involves the organization of new agencies, like planning organizations and development corporations, the reorientation of already established agencies, such as departments of agriculture, the allocations of administrative powers to development agencies and the setting up of a group of administrators capable of leading, motivating, and supporting programmes of social and economic improvement.
- It aims to make change possible and attractive. It comprises the task of managing public development programmes efficiently and spur private development programmes. The definition of 'national building and socioeconomic development' as a task is given in M.J. Esman's book, *The Politics of Development of Administration*, in terms of politics instead of administration.

Esman defines it as follows:

- Ensuring order (internally), and securing against any type of violence or hostility (externally)
- Creating a consensus and ensuring that the management/rule remains lawful.
- Integrating dissimilar and varied elements -ethnic, religious, communal and regional- into a countrywide political community
- Organizing and assigning formal powers and functions to organs of the central, regional and local governments, and distributing them between public authority and the private sector
- Displacing traditional social and economic interests
- Developing new skills to modernize institutions
- Promoting and cultivating psychological and material security
- Mobilizing savings and current monetary resources

- Programming investment rationally
- Managing facilities and services efficiently
- Participating in modernizing activities, particularly in making decisions
- Obtaining a position of security in the international community

Esman considered the developing while writing down the functions of *Development of Administration*. However, in his opinion, the development work can be applied universally. According to Howard Wriggins, development administration involves the following:

- Providing the basic minimum in terms of vital or crucial services
- Ensuring that wealth and income are distributed in a fair and unbiased manner
- Utilizing material resources as well as manpower to the maximum extent
- Protecting the weaker sections of the community
- Devising means and methods to incorporate/include varying elements- communal, religious, tribal, and so on- into one national political community
- Developing educational infrastructure along with institutions and centres providing vocational and professional training/guidance
- Ensuring that development administration meets its expectation of being result oriented; by seeing to it that changes are introduced fast and within the set time limits
- Relating the performance 'development of administration' with productivity, in terms of rise in per capita income, provision for making health and welfare facilities available
- Fulfilling the organizational role expectations of development administration by ensuring commitment to work, transformation and accomplishment of time-bound programmes. It is expected that administrators show a high degree of involvement and emotional attachment to the work or tasks allocated to them. The fast-paced socioeconomic development needs to break away from the past. The modern decision-making strategy guarantees to fulfil the expectations of the people
- Positively orienting 'development of administration' towards the client(s) by fulfilling the desires/needs of the target group(s). Therefore, their contentment acts as one of the criteria for evaluating performance. People are perceived as active participants in public programmes. This close connection between the administration and the public is a crucial trait of 'development of administration'.

Most developmental plans in a society need to be oriented towards citizens, because finally, they are the ones who will enjoy the advantages of development. The officers designated to work on these plans are expected to have their hands on the pulse of the citizens, and thus, are responsible for notifying the senior officers about the issues/ challenges at their levels, so that policy actions can be initiated to assess the requirements of the people. However, when it comes to development, it is impossible to do without regular interactions between the officials at the lower levels and the seniors.

The administration is able to take participative decisions wherever the officials at the lower level have the chance to make the senior officials familiar with

the needs of the commoners. The payoff derived from participative decisions may often result in better performance of activities aimed at ensuring maximum benefit for maximum people. This ensures that the citizens interact directly with the administrators, which is what drives decentralization in the developing countries. Thus, the long-established concept of people benefitting passively has to give way to the more recent concept of people participating actively.

- Ensuring that 'development of administration' is change oriented. Therefore, it should be more flexible and adaptable to be capable of fulfilling the demands of changing circumstances. In situations lacking structure, decision-making has to be based on situations, and has to involve innovativeness and creativity. Development situations demand the ability to take risks and be oriented towards achievement. It is not possible to allow organizational rules and procedures to be given more priority over attainment of targets. This function is more to do with the behaviour and working style of the individual administrator.

At the heart of the bureaucratic chain of order is 'status', which, in development of administration, gets replaced by service stimulus/motivation. The role of bureaucracy keeps changing in development of administration. This is evident in the use of 'development bureaucracy', and non-Weberian model of bureaucracy, and other such phrases.

Development administration demands changes in the bureaucratic policies, in terms of quality and quantity. It seeks changes in the procedures and techniques of programmes procedures, patterns of staffing, structure of the organization, number of workers, quality of manpower and different types of relationships with clients of administration. Changes are required to align bureaucracy with developmental work, both at the structural and behavioural fronts. In terms of structure, it is suggested that emphasis on hierarchy should be lessened so that the long-established and traditional organizational pyramid, which leads to centralization, tension, and interpersonal conflicts give way to a newer model that promotes on to enable joint decision making and problem-solving.

A lion's share of the development activities occur in the field, nowhere close to the administration headquarters or the capital city. It is important to decentralize authority so that the field units are able to take on-the-spot decisions, without any need for permission from the centre. The creation of separate self-sufficient and self-governing independent units at the field level is important. Simultaneously, decentralization is encouraged. For any organization to survive, communication or proper information flow is essential. Information has to flow freely without being hindered at any level by any status, in the organization. Only then can the organization hope for socio-economic development. The speed of decision-making can be increased manifold if relevant and reliable information is allowed to be conveyed freely within the organization. In other words, free communication flow is of the essence.

Development is dependent on political management because the desire for change often originates from political leadership. Development administration demands that the political leadership's power and superiority is accepted and he is seen as a partner in the development. In addition, behavioural changes are also indispensable in making the bureaucracy oriented towards change, people and results.

4.2.1 Development Ideology

Development ideology refers to the use of modern ways, methods or techniques, both technical and social to pursue the objectives of the society. It refers to the achievement of results. This can only happen if there is an ideology of development. According to

Weidner, it is a mental state, which encourages unbiased progress. Esman describes it as a principle relying on ideology for decision-making criteria, and giving priority to elementary social reforms, political and social mobilization, liberty for aggressive political action, ethnic, religious and regional integration, governmental regulation of economic and social policy and commitment to the future. Political development is dependent on governmental action, and is implemented by the living constitution.

It is influenced by modifications or alterations in the political regime, the composition of the government in terms of parties and the overall persona of the political leaders.

4.3 DEVELOPMENT PHILOSOPHY IN INDIA

India's development philosophy, which grew under the impact of the freedom movement, laid great emphasis on the approach of participation. This approach was followed by almost all the notable leaders of the freedom movement, for its inherent worth and for its influential role. The main principle of this participatory philosophy is enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi which is as follows — *supporting a man is the most wonderful machine in creation, and technology must serve man and not lord over him.*

According to Gandhi, people should be considered the roots while the state is the fruit. Those belonging to the top rungs of the society should refrain from crushing the common masses on the lower rungs. Moreover, he was convinced that democracy cannot be achieved if there are a handful of powerful men occupying the central position. Democracy can only be made to work from the level of the masses, by the people of the villages.

In the spectrum of centralization and decentralization, India inherited from the colonialists a decentralized system of government. When the government was finally elected in a democratic manner, at the centre and state levels, the system became more centralized. But then, after so many years, it has become quite clear that centralized planning is not as successful. In the intervening time period, mass politicization began demanding participation making it essential to adopt a more decentralized form of planning.

Many critical issues have come up owing to the participation of citizens in the country's development and nation-building efforts, like adopting new institutions at various levels between the citizens and the administration. When citizens are participating in development, there arises need for better facilities of mass communication. Only then can the government agency, shouldering the responsibility of development, be able to reach out to the masses and understand their needs in various fields of urban/rural development.

The Indian government introduced the Urban Community Development Programme in 1959, which aimed at bringing about socio-economic changes by transforming the lives of villagers and people living in the urban slums. It was referred to as the people's programme, and called for people to actively participate along with the local authorities. Certain studies pertaining to urban development in the country have proved that it is possible for citizens to participate even in government programmes, if the involved people exhibit a sense of commitment and the potential to organize themselves for action, in the required manner, socially and politically. These programmes recognized the poor citizens as the primary resource, social and economic, in urban development. Urban community development is capable of creating structured and systematic connections between physical improvements, social services and people's participation.

However, with India being an agrarian society at the time of Independence, the term 'development' implied development of the society in rural India, even though there was also the affiliated need for improving the urban and industrial infrastructure for better growth, and also the need to resolve the issue of linking urban and rural development. The issue of citizens participating in developmental work in the country is linked more to rural areas than urban areas. In fact, ever since Independence, several experiences in participatory development in the country have occurred through community development programmes. These have helped lay the foundation for the panchayati raj institutions. Additionally, there exists an infrastructure of cooperative bodies and government-sponsored development agencies to lend support to the development programmes with voluntary organizations backing them up.

Prior to Independence, Gandhi had begun his practical and beneficial programme of rural development through the hard work and efforts of volunteers from among the masses. He wanted to experiment with making the village economy a self-sufficient one. He wanted to create a society where the individual enjoyed maximum freedom and yet was an integral part of the immediate community. The society he foresaw was one that believed in non-violence and took initiatives. Each small community would be connected to the immediate larger community, and so on till each one became a part of the larger world community. For him, rural development meant decentralizing social and political power. He was convinced that Panchayati Raj had the potential to eliminate the power imbalance that existed between rural and urban India. He wanted to make Panchayati Raj the fundamental and effective unit of the government, so that it could allow rural India to enjoy its share of political power. Gandhi looked upon volunteers to help him reconstruct rural society and make his ideal a reality. His approach to decentralizing political power was later adopted by the Panchayati Raj institutions set up during the Second Five-Year Plan (1956-61).

4.3.1 Community Development Programme

In an effort to strategize for socio-economic and cultural changes in rural India, a large-scale community development programme was introduced in 1952, throughout the country. This programme was inspired by the Etawah Project in Uttar Pradesh (1948) and the Nilokheri project in Punjab (now in Haryana) in 1950, by Alber Mayer and S.K. Dey respectively.

The programme began with 55 projects covering 27,388 villages and 6.4 million villagers. Soon, the need for extending the programme was felt so that the entire country could be covered. As a result, the National Extension Service, was born, which was came into effect on 2 October 1953. These community development programmes were aimed at all round development of rural areas, so that material development could be brought about. Villagers were encouraged to improve their own living conditions by employing the infrastructure provided by the State.

With the programme catching on, and being welcomed by the rural folk, it was a case of a major shift from self-help motivated by the government to self-motivated self-help. The community development programme pursued the following goals:

- To create more employment and increase production by applying scientific techniques in agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, fisheries, and so on, and by setting up subsidiary and cottage industries
- To encourage self-help and promote self-reliance and drive home the principle of cooperation

- To devote a part of the unutilized time and energy of the rural folk and the countryside to bring benefit to the community

The assumption was made that the much needed changes could be brought about in the villages through the administrative machinery, which had the potential to provide the required infrastructural facilities and technical skills. This would result in the evolution of the rural society and set it on the path of economic prosperity. This would, eventually start reducing, if not totally eliminating poverty, as well as social and economic inequalities. Unfortunately, since the caste issue and the feudal nature of the hierarchy of rural society was not taken into account, the programmes fell short of expectations. It was realized that it is not easy to build a new secular, democratic and social society, when it was already bound by the caste system and feudalism. It was difficult to reorganize the socio-economic structure of the society without getting the people to first discard their centuries old values and beliefs.

The Indian polity was pulled in opposite directions because of the combination of centralized planning and the parliamentary form of government. Centralized planning went against the logic of people's participation. If centralized planning decided the aims of development, it was up to the bureaucracy to mobilize the people without support from the political cadres, while the essence of participation was all about a 'total' force and effort.

The main disadvantage of the community development programme was that its conception was done in terms of administration. Therefore, it ended up being a mainly bureaucratic activity with officials being oriented towards targets, and being insensitive to the social process, resulting from economic programmes. The participation of citizens was replaced by bureaucratic mobilization that was aimed at attaining established development goals. The conception of the programme did not respond to the actual needs felt by the people. Also, there was paucity of resources, both human and material, given the scope, scale and enormity of the work to be completed. As far as community development was concerned, the government had to be relied on greatly for material resources, and these failed to be supplemented by popular contributions. However, in spite of all these drawbacks, the community development programme managed to wake the rural society from its slumber and passive state, giving it the required push. It united the people like never before, bringing them closer to the government through its bureaucratic system, and spreading political awareness. It made the people familiar with several new concepts and methods of agricultural development. People were made aware of the fact that the facilities and infrastructure provided by the State could be put to good use for the benefit of everyone, in general, provided the influential lot or the government itself did not restrict its access to the people.

4.3.2 Panchayati Raj Institutions

During the second five year plan (1956-61), the National Development Council appointed the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee on plan projects, to analyse the accomplishments of the community development and national extension service. The recommendations made by the Committee led to a new stage of experiments in people's participation in development, through democratic decentralization.

The main recommendation made by the Committee was to establish a three-level system of rural local self-government endowed with complete power to take on the responsibility of local development. In October 1959, Rajasthan became the first Indian state to launch the Panchayati Raj system, followed by Andhra Pradesh, UP, Maharashtra,

Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh. The two main alternatives in panchayati raj model, depended on whether more authority was allocated to the Samitis (groups of villages) or to the zila parishads (the districts). By the 1970s, almost all parts of India were following the panchayati raj system. The new institutional set-up was aimed at experimenting with the poorest of the poor in rural India, in the process of self-consciously channelizing their energies to giving a new shape to community life and, thus, contributing to the reconstruction of the nation.

It has been more than four decades since the panchayati raj institutions began operating in almost all the states of the country. Of course, they vary in terms of structure and manner of decision-making. They also differ in the way they allocate resources, recruit and train staff, and in the level of autonomy they allow to the various units. Many scholars have researched and studied the functioning of the system, only to find that people at the grass roots level have been involved to a very limited extent in the process of decision-making. There were resistances in terms of interaction, between the officially appointed functionaries and the non-official ones, there were conflicts and tensions in the operating system, there was caste-related dominance, and also non-achievement of developmental objectives.

Yet, another committee was set up to look into the operations of the panchayati raj system. In 1977, the Ashoka Mehta Committee was put together by the Janata government which came into power following 19 months of emergency rule enforced by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. This Committee re-examined the working of the Panchayati Raj institutions and found that the system had travelled through different levels and at least the following three clear phases:

- (i) Ascendancy phase 1959-64
- (ii) Stagnation phase 1965-69
- (iii) Decline phase 1969-77

Certain changes in the structure and organization of the system were suggested by the Committee, in order to strengthen and re-energize the concept of panchayati raj. However, when the Janata government fell in 1980, the Committee's recommendations were shelved. It is not certain whether the recommendation made by the Ashoka Mehta Committee would have influenced the state-civil society relations without realizing that decentralizing power faced stronger cultural issues rather than challenges related to efficiency of organization and management of the panchayati raj institutions. From 1980 to 1989, the panchayati raj institutions remained kind of inactive, till a new proposal was moved to bring them back to life by bestowing on them a constitutional status during the Rajiv Gandhi government.

In May 1989, the Congress government under Rajiv Gandhi, came forward with the 64th Constitutional Amendment Bill in Parliament, demanding a constitutional status of elected local bodies at all levels, village, intermediate and district. Though the Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha, it did not get the required 2/3rd majority in the Rajya Sabha. The predominance of the centre in dealings with the panchayats was opposed to.

The lack of flexibility of the state government in designing a system suited to their situations and needs became a matter of concern.

The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts were enacted in April 1993 by the Narasimha Rao government, to bring about increased participation of the panchayati raj institutions in the development of decentralized decision-making.

These Acts gave constitutional status to the panchayati raj institutions and urban local bodies, making it mandatory for all the States to set up a three-tier system of panchayats at all levels-village, intermediate and district. It was expected that the State legislatures would plan and delegate the required powers to ensure economic development and social justice. Most states have already put in place laws to set up new panchayat raj institutions, including provision for reserving seats for the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and women in the elected bodies. They have ensured that the panchayats ran for a fixed five-year term. The responsibility of managing the elections rests with the state Election Commission, there is provision for auditing accounts under the patronage of the CAG or Comptroller and Auditor General. These rules and laws provide for the constitution of a state Finance Commission after every five years to examine the financial situation of the panchayats and suggest ways to distribute the allocation of taxes to the Panchayats.

The Panchayati Raj Act led to a rise in the number of local self-government institutions headed by directly elected representatives, to approximately 500 units at the district level, 5000 at the block level and 2,25,000 at the village level. A panchayat at the district level caters to a population of about 1-2 million. An intermediate level panchayat covers about 80-200,000 people while a gram panchayat consisting of one whole village or a group of villages, covers a population of about 1500-8000. The numbers vary from one state to another.

The Act calls for a compulsory three-level system of local self-government institutions for States with population exceeding 20 million. The smaller states have the option to skip the intermediate level panchayat, if they wish. The Act also makes provisions for direct elections of panchayat members at all levels. The chairpersons are appointed through indirect election, at the intermediate and district levels, from amongst the elected members thereof.

Due to the 73rd Amendment Act, almost all Indian states have begun following the new pattern of panchayati raj institutions as a main institutional structure for the participation of citizens in the development administration in rural India. The participation of citizens, especially women at the grass roots level has risen following the enactment of such statues by the various states. People have become a lot more aware and conscious regarding the developmental efforts of the state owing to the reformed and reshaped panchayati raj system.

4.3.3 Growth of Development Bureaucracy

From the early 1970s onwards, in addition to the ongoing panchayati raj institutions, several unusual rural development programmes were introduced by the government to fulfil the needs of various target groups in the rural areas, through the programmes for integrated rural development and strategies for poverty alleviation. These programmes could be classified as:

- Sectorial programmes
- Employment-oriented programmes
- Area programmes
- Target group-oriented programmes

The sectorial programmes were oriented towards farmers, and aimed to develop agriculture intensively by adapting the latest technology. Employment-oriented programmes could be further categorized into two subcategories:

- (i) Target group oriented schemes (Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA); Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers (MFAL); Tribal Area Development Programme (TADP); Hill Area Development Programme (HADP); Desert Development Programme (DDP); Women Development Programme (WOP)
- (ii) Continuous employment/income providing schemes (Rural Work Programme, Crash Schemes, Pilot Intensive Rural Employment Programme, Employment Guarantee Scheme, Food for Work Programme and National Rural Employment Programme)

The Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) and the Self-employment to Educated Unemployed Youth (SLEEU) schemes were launched later to offer employment for at least one person in each family in the rural areas and provide opportunities for self-employment in urban areas.

Training of Rural Youth for Self-employment (TRYSEM) programme is aimed at annually preparing 200,000 youths for self-employment. Most rural employment programmes function as short-term measures instead of as permanent solutions to employment or poverty issues. Also, they offer low wages. Being based on grants, the schemes are of an ad hoc nature.

The area programmes include the following programmes:

- Backward Area Development Programme
- Command Area Development Programme
- Area Development Programme
- Desert Development Programme
- Tribal Area Development Programme

The target group oriented programmes include the SFDA, MFAL and ERRP (Economic Rehabilitation of the Rural Poor). Under SFDA and MFAL, the target groups have received loans in cash. The Minimum Needs Programme and ERRP were aimed at serving the poor by estimating their fundamental needs in quantifiable terms, for example, food, clothing, shelter, health, education, water and sanitation. Resource problems have minimized the effectiveness of the Minimum Needs Programmes. Antyodaya/ERRP is involved in the identification of the poorest of the poor families in each block, helping them under the banking schemes, with special discounted rates of interest. But all the schemes are fraught with the issue of wrong identification of beneficiaries.

4.3.4 Cooperatives — Institutional Innovation for Economic Participation

Even though the cooperative movement in India began at the start of the 20th century, the first five-year plan (1951-56) foresaw all agricultural families becoming members of multipurpose village cooperatives.

Following the third five-year plan (1961-66), the idea of cooperatives caught on and was widely adopted all over the country. To lend support to the cooperatives, the National Cooperative Development Corporation and the Agricultural Refinance Corporations were launched in 1962 and 1963, respectively. By 1965, the cooperatives accounted for one third of short and medium-term loans and long-term credits for land development, irrigation wells and pump sets.

In 1972, several multipurpose farmers' service societies sprung up to support the weaker sections of the rural areas, and were backed up by the National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development. In practice, none of these societies brought any gain for either the weaker sections or the small and marginal farmers or the agricultural labourers. In certain areas of Maharashtra and Gujarat, the cooperative movement met with success; managing to involve people in the development process. While panchayats were visualized as representative of political participation, cooperatives were visualized as companion institutions for economic participation by the people. However, now cooperatives are being replaced by corporations (another administrative body) in all spheres, such as, hand looms, milk, credit marketing, scheduled caste development and even women's development.

4.3.5 Participatory Development

As the significance of participatory development dawned, the sixth five-year plan (1980-85), identified the new areas where awareness and conscious participation of the people was essential for success:

- Maximum utilization and development of renewable sources of energy, including forestry by forming renewable energy associations at the block level
- Community programmes in the field of family welfare, health and nutrition, and education
- Management of water and soil conservation
- Social welfare programmes for weaker sections
- Implementation of minimum needs programme
- Disaster preparedness and management (floods, cyclones, etc.)
- Promotion of ecology and tribal development
- Environment protection and education

The new actors who sought to be associated with these tasks were:

- Youth and women's organizations, at various levels, came forward to promote eco development and environmental protection
- Voluntary organizations of particular beneficiary or interest groups, like self-employed women, or farmers, or people with common economic interests, such as marketing
- Voluntary organizations involved in general developmental work in a particular area or a specific activity
- Farmers' organizations involved in improving land and water management through irrigation projects, catchments of areas in the hills and watershed areas in non-irrigated regions
- Religious, social or cultural organizations or clubs (Rotary, Jaycees, Lions, etc.) involved in developmental activities in selected areas
- Professional organizations or educational institutions, studying researching and conducting social action programmes as part of their professional or social commitments

In the field of rural development in India, several national-level voluntary organizations have cropped up the past twenty years or so. These organizations can be categorized as follows:

- The techno-managerial voluntary agencies, working on the principle that the process of rural development can be speeded up using modern methods of management and technology
- Reformist voluntary agencies, attempting to alter the social and economic relationships within the current political framework
- Radical voluntary agencies, seeking to face the current production relations. They tried to organize those exploited against those exploiting via economic, health or educational programmes, so as to mobilize the masses for political action. This category included voluntary organizations and movements launched to protect the environment protection, for example, the Chipko Andolan under the leadership of Sunderlal Bahuguna, the Narmada Bachao Andolan for protecting the Narmada valley, under the leadership of Medha Patkar or the Sulabh Shauchalya movement led by Bindeswar Pathak. These nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) get a more practical, people-based view of environmental issues than the State with its unimaginative, inflexible structure. Therefore, the perspective of the NGOs as the eyes of the State in terms of supervision of environmental quality at the grassroots level, needs proper recognition.

The Seventh Plan (1985-90) visualized the voluntary organizations participating more actively in making communities self-reliant to the maximum extent possible. These were expected to show how village, local and human resources, along with rural skills and native knowledge could be employed for their own development. In addition, these resources were to be employed in throwing light on technology and introducing its simpler versions to the rural poor, to provide training to the workers at the grass-roots, to mobilize and organize them, to create a demand for quality services and impose a community system of accountability on the performance of functionaries at the village level.

Recently, India has witnessed a significant shift in the attitude of the government towards the NGO/voluntary sector. Earlier, the relationship was inclined to be one of patron and supplicant, where the State was the one giving grants and stating criteria for performance requirements and for expenditure and structural patterns to accomplish these ends. Now, these are often seen as imposed conditions, which were unrealistic and checked people or groups from looking for government help. However, these alterations did not succeed in percolating down the line to the field level where daily cooperation between the governmental and non-governmental sectors has to actually happen in order to realize the development objectives.

The manner in which donor agencies view the part played by NGOs in the development process, and the nature of their support to NGOs, is rapidly changing in the context of the civil society debate. For instance, the emphasis of the European Commission shifted from a micro-level model to the budget line decentralized cooperation, introduced in 1989. The NGOs, which were mainly considered agents for delivering goods and services to the poorest, were now inclined towards a more programmatic and sectorial model aimed at adding strength to the many power players in the society, within the State sector and also outside it.

While donor agencies assign more resources to NGOs in India, they also give more importance to the assessment of the activities of NGOs. On behalf of the Overseas Development Institute, Mark A. Robinson conducted four elaborate assessments of NGO projects with international funding. According to his summary of the role and effects of NGOs in helping eliminate poverty amongst the rural poor, NGOs do act as catalysts to enable communities to identify their development priorities. They also help

communities innovate with regard to their ability to try out new ideas. However, he felt that their activities continue to be just additional or ancillary to what the government does. Therefore, they often end up duplicating services and programmes already existing. They have been inconsistent in their attempts to lessen poverty, if records are to be believed. However, there is evidence that suggests that they perform much better than the government. A demerit is that NGOs are wanting in continuity. At times, they work as isolated entities, away from, and often in the direction opposite to each other, leading to a waste of effort and heavy dependence on external resources, such as funds from agencies abroad. Very often, there is lack of strong technical expertise, and management skills are also lacking. This reduces their potential impact. However, evidence suggests that NGOs remain significant contributors to the efforts to remove poverty in India.

Considering the huge number of NGOs and the wide range of developmental work being carried out by them in our country, it is rather difficult to assess in a general manner. However, it is very important to realize that, in India, private initiatives in the field of social work and development have a crucial role to play. Such initiatives went on to get a lot of publicity. The magazine *India Today* dedicated the front page title of its 15 January 1996 edition to 'Helping Hands', lower case profiles of relatively unknown men and women across the country who have ushered in an extraordinary change in our lives. The article highlighted the names of the agents of change and the manner in which their work has made a difference and the types of development initiatives they have inspired across India.

The panchayati raj reform of 1993 had two main repercussions for the Indian NGO sector:

- (i) The reform presented NGOs with a chance to pick training projects for the newly elected representatives, especially for females. The NGOs were keen to help implement Panchayati Raj reforms successfully.
- (ii) It aroused the discussion as to whether NGOs should be more active in politics or remain inactive and apolitical, just like most NGOs have chosen to be in the past.

The preceding analysis of our country's experiments with participatory democracy emphasizes the significance of several social actors and institutions, which can help mobilize people for development. Often, such actors and institutions seem to be identical. The changes that occur gradually in the socio-political culture and processes also lead to such a conflict. Indian citizens have been participating in development, as an integral process of socio-economic and political change since Independence. The following changes have influenced the rural and urban social structure in terms of social mobility, occupational diversification, minimization of income disparities and alterations in social values and relationships:

- Institutional changes
- Managerial changes
- Technological changes
- Infrastructural changes
- Participative changes
- Human development service-oriented changes

Many other factors have also influenced the participation process:

- Leadership
- Social consciousness

- Organization
- Political awareness

This has made it necessary to form a new relationship between the state and the civil society. Past experiences in the country have proved that, the state, on its own, is not capable of initiating technology or societal development or mobilizing people to welcome its change processes.

Of late, east European countries have made the role played by new social actors in mobilizing people. These new actors have managed to make people allow and acknowledge the affiliated socio-political changes effected by a state through the bureaucratic machinery, and its technological and material resources. Even if the state is unable to physically fulfil the basic needs through its efforts of centralized planning and bureaucratic implementation, people are not likely to obtain the required capabilities and quality. Though technology helps in the activities of individuals, groups or collectives, it cannot be substituted for the people's conscious activities.

The basic goals or objectives of development are as follows:

- Changing people's viewpoint
- Inculcating the spirit of self-reliance
- Generating the habit of cooperative action through popular bodies resulting in enlightenment, strength and hope

These goals can only be realized if the power of the State is reorganized right from the level of the village onwards, which institutionalizes the participation of the masses, in political affairs, policy formulation, decision-making process and economic bargaining and management; and which includes the powerful elite also in its community discipline framework.

Simply put, participation means restoring interaction, communication and conversation between the progressive elites on the top rungs (those who hold authority and power) and the people on the lower rungs, who are looking forward to a new socioeconomic order. The clash between the state and the newly emerging social actors and institutions should be eliminated paving the way for more collective attempts at developing a long lasting balance between state and society. This balance is crucial for democracy to survive and also to ensure dignity for humans and equality in the society.

4.3.6 Sustainable Development

Sustainable development deals with the enhancement of the wellbeing of human beings through time. The answer to the question, 'what does good life consist of?' can be very subjective. Different people lay different levels of emphasis on different aspects of wellbeing. The importance given to each aspect varies from one person to another, one society to another and one generation to another.

According to the United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP), the crucial components of sustainable development as per the 21st Century World Development Report are:

- Elimination of poverty
- Creation of jobs
- Sustenance of livelihoods
- Protection of the environment

- Regeneration of environment
- Promotion of women's advancement

To ensure sustainable development over a period of 20-50 years, attention must be paid to issues related to the environment and the society, along with economic growth. The report takes an inclusive, dynamic and longer-term view of sustainability, clearly focusing on the backward areas.

However, for sustainable and equitable development, it is essential to have stable institutions possessing the potential to change and adapt and also emerging new institutions. The proper functioning of these institutions enables people to work as a team to create proper plans for their future, for the wellbeing of their families and the larger community, in general. However, if they lack strength or are not just, there is mistrust and uncertainty. Thus, development in any country is dependent on the nature and functioning of governance of public institutions at the macro level as well as the micro level. Governance for development should have the following features in order to be able to advocate the law, protect the interests of its citizens, and move towards overall development:

- Accountability
- Participatory nature
- Responsiveness
- Effectiveness
- Efficiency

The nature of governance of public institutions is influenced by several factors.

Some of the important ones are:

- Changing concept of development
- Globalization
- Technological advancement
- Changing perceptions of role of the State/Government

The World Bank document in 1997, visualized a more effective State, by putting limitations on its activities to match its capabilities. It also promoted the improvement of the State's capabilities by revitalizing public institutions. As far as globalization is concerned, good governance is expected to integrate the roles of the following in the process of development:

- State
- Market
- Civil society

Good governance requires purposeful and conscious management of also considered as the deliberate and conscious management of established organizational structures, so as to enhance the public dominion. This can only happen using different sets of tools, such as:

- Code of ethical behaviour
- Assessment of outcome-based performance
- Management based on result
- Measurement of outcome

- Balanced scorecard
- Social audit
- Sharing of best practice
- Retrieval of information
- Profiling of competencies
- Discovery of knowledge
- Learning from action review
- Learning logs
- Decision diaries
- Intellectual capital measurement systems
- Interrogatory knowledge management studies

The World Bank gave a definition of 'governance' in 1992:

'The manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development and good governance as the one epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policy making, a bureaucracy imbued with professional ethos acting in furtherance of the public good, the rule of law, transparent processes, and a strong civil society participating in public affairs.'

The six classes of governance perspectives as per R.A.W. Rhodes (1996) are as follows:

- Minimal State
- Corporate Governance
- New public management
- Good Governance
- Socio-cybernetic System
- Self-Organizing Network

In the words of John Healey and Mark Robinson, Good Governance is:

'A high level of organizational effectiveness in relation to policies actually pursued, especially in the conduct of economic policy and its contribution to growth, stability and popular welfare.'

India's experience in the field of development in the last 50-60 years has highlighted many issues related to the development debate as well as to governance. Development was earlier directed at achieving fast-paced growth, interspersed with distributive justice. This raised the levels of expectations of the classes and masses of society. The classes expected a better and larger share of the wealth earned from the fast growth, while the masses expected an improved standard of living through distributive justice. Therefore, they formed the foundation for the government, political stability and legality of the system within the first twenty years following Independence. From the 1960s onwards, symptoms of restlessness began to show, making governance rather challenging. In trying to react to these signals, the State, responded in a responsive and repressive manner.

Responsive measures comprised land reforms and anti-poverty programmes. The repressive measures comprised arbitrary laws, limitations and regulations, increased powers to the police and paramilitary forces.

In the 1990s, this approach of development changed in several ways and became a techno-managerial model with emphasis on growth.

Justice ended up being ignored in the structural adjustment programme. The LPG (Liberalization Privatization and Globalization) model of development began with the de-recognition of the role of the State. This resulted in the closure of many public undertakings, which were earlier managed by the State, withdrawal from the welfare realm, including the public distribution system, discarding of agrarian reforms and the relaxation of rules put in place for the protection of industrial labour. All this was done because it was thought that the State could not produce wealth or play the role of distributive agent to allocate values efficiently. The focus on privatization led to the bureaucracy being downsized, which reduced the government's role to merely that of maintaining law and order through rules, laws and regulations.

The second phase of economic reforms focus on participatory development through NGOs and semi-public and private institutions. This phase also applies information technology to stimulate economic growth in the country. In the past couple of years, privatization has been promoted significantly in all the sectors. This model is based on the theory that effective governance with accountability will emerge when the scope of governmental activities is narrowed down. What emerges then is governance that is not only efficient, but also transparent and effective. The underlying principle seems to be that with lesser number of bureaucratic structures, the number of bureaucratic issues or problems will also be less. This approach is also aimed at minimizing the role of welfare state by reduction of expenditure in several crucial areas and permitting market forces to take over. However, markets are merciless and the market approach to making the people powerful will lead to the weak being even more exploited and oppressed. It will lead to manipulation of democracy, curtailing of local initiatives and involvement of people and the simultaneous advocating of individualism.

An analysis of governance in India will show that factors have posed a challenge to governance, such as:

- Too many governing agencies with different operating frameworks
- Centralized power structures
- Rising public expenditure
- Imperfections in the market
- Wastage
- Corrupt management
- Lawlessness
- Delegitimization of process
- Political interventions

Studies also show that people's institutions and their role in formulating policies and implementing them have been confined to being receivers and not creators. The development model called for mobilizing strategies by making the existing institutions stronger, through the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1993. However, these measures contribute more to the accommodation of the rural elite in the governance structure without giving them power. In a society fraught with conflicts, participation should involve the increase of the capability of collective bodies to come up with solutions. In practice, however, since people's institutions have ended up becoming passive participants, conflicts

only increase as resources are distributed on the basis of the given power structure. Such factors lead to unrest across the country, throwing up new issues and challenges to governance.

4.3.7 Perspective of Sustainable Development

Author Gerald Caiden was right when he stated that development is the new catchphrase of the post-war period, although the description of the word has been varied in the developed and developing societies. This is because the developing and developed nations face different types of socio-economic problems. Thus, the levels of expectation from public administration also vary. Efficiency and productivity occupy the topmost position in the priority list of administrators in the developed world. However, in the developing countries, the administrative mechanism has to play the role of agent of social change and get actively involved in the process of building the nation. The administrative system in the developing nations is also responsible for the maintenance of the system's efficiency and productivity. Development is primary to socio-economic change. It is judged by power, capacity, mental equilibrium, independent decision-making and other characteristics. It is the power of independence. Decision-making was described by Riggs as a process by which greater autonomy of decision-making can be attained. States solve issues such as illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, ill treatment of women, children and senior citizens through this modernization process. Through this process states resolve minority issues and expand the capital structure so that it is possible to absorb the labour force.

In this context, a trait of development was non-alignment. At the same time, a military alignment looking for physical advantages indicated insecurity and underdevelopment. It indicated that the state relied on physical growth in terms of dollars and weapons. Finally, it would break down. Thus, development holds together progress. The usage of the new term sustainable development adds meaning to development and makes it complete.

According to public administration scholar Ira Sharkansky, the characteristics of developing societies are:

- There is a shared commitment to the goal of development amongst those belonging to the political elite class. As a result, there is support for the administrative programmes and development practices.
- The public sector is considered highly reliable. Therefore, favours centralization of the development process.
- Political instability keeps on influencing the socio-economic process.
- As a gap exists between the traditional elites and those on the path to modernization, this gap is reflected in the developmental process.
- The developmental process favours the urban elites or the rural group that dominates. Therefore, it is far from balanced.

In quite a few of the developing countries, such as India, new socio-political forces have sprung up, to demand better leadership, improved standards of living and to exercise their right to voice their opinions in matters pertaining to the economy society and politics. The magnitude of the issue of national development in India has been duly recognized, owing to the fact that national planning has been accepted and institutionalized. The demand for growth models has increased and improvement in the framework of operations has also been sought. Better tools for planning and programming of all

objectives has been called for to ensure better management of national development and also its practicability.

Although there has been enunciation of the need for not just planning, but also a planning framework, and the same have been considered and developed too, sufficient attention has not been paid to the elementary operational features or the nature of the organizational system, using which the goals being pursued will be attained.

Advancement and innovation in the theoretical and practical aspects of administration will only be possible if there is a conceptual framework comprising a basic operational characteristics of the system of organization. This is not an unknown approach. But, it is essential to articulate the concept of developmental administration and provide it with an operational framework. This would be akin to the development of the concept of national planning in the field of economic policy. In spite of the various industrial and other programmes undertaken till 1950-51, an integrated structure of economic planning was missing. This was ultimately provided by the five year plans. Similarly, even though the current administrative machinery does basic developmental work, no integrated structure or framework is there, neither conceptual nor operational.

In his paper, *Development Administration: A New Focus for Research*, Edward Weidner re-examined the ways in which the term 'development administration' was used. He discovered that it was commonly used to illustrate a system of administration which was oriented towards actions and goals. According to him, it was a way of 'selecting and accomplishing progressive political, economic and social objectives that are authoritatively determined in one manner or another'. But Weidner never went on to give an operational framework, which would imply the type and nature of administrative level changes that will be required to convert a non-developmental structure or scheme into a developmental scheme or organization.

The essence of the goals of the national scheme/project can be expressed as 'developmental'. The term developmental is aimed at pointing out the bodies of thought that revolve around progress and directional change. The structure, therefore, essentially revolves around a pre-planned change stemming from a meaningful decision or objective to improve a social system.

A process cannot be called 'developmental' unless and until calculated and purposeful effort is put in to bring about improvement in the system. The decision involves the establishment of specific goals, in one or the other area of national activity. It is assumed that differences exist between the conditions of a system at different points of time. The developmental models are based on this assumption. There exist structurally and systematic processes that explain the manner in which the system reaches from its current state to wherever it is headed. It is possible to express the direction as preset goals or objectives or the ways of attaining these objectives or the degree of attainment towards these end objectives.

In the context of India, the emphasis on planned change is plainly enunciated in the five year plans. These plans are designed in such a way that they are capable of significantly transforming the economy, the political system as well as the social life. Better facilities for education, elimination of caste restrictions and better opportunities to ensure improvement in the standard of economic life through fast-paced industrialization, all reflect these programmes of planned change.

The term 'developmental administration' is naturally interconnected with the process of change. The term, here, also accurately signifies the type of planned transformation

intended for the country. In combination with the concept of administration, the phrase 'developmental administration' chiefly implies 'administration of planned change'. In essence, in India, 'developmental administration' refers to the arrangement, organization and organizational behaviour required to implement schemes and programmes of socioeconomic and political change undertaken by the governments in the country.

This definition of 'development administration' is based on the assumption that wherever the functions of a government change from the type associated with implementing law and order, collecting revenue and imposing regulations, to the type that is associated with socioeconomic and political development, the role of administration transforms from the 'executive' type to a 'managerial' type. These two types or models may not always point out to patterns that are mutually exclusive. They mainly represent the two types of models, the traditional and the modern philosophy of administration. The 'executive' type of administration designed in way as to be able to follow/implement the issued by the government off and on. These directions could be in the form of legislative or executive orders. When administrative officials are busy formulating policies, the focus of the executive-oriented administration is to mainly put them into practice.

This approach emphasizes on maintaining law and order and collecting revenues. As per the general outline of the executive model, the basic focus is on preventing any major crisis in the society-the administration is responsible for guaranteeing that the government does not stray or deviate from this goal or responsibility at any point. Similarly, this model can be applied to the task of collecting revenue.

Yet another example is financial administration of the Indian government. The main focus in fiscal matters is on appropriation of finances for specific areas of governmental functions along with control over public expenses during the budgetary period. The whole system stresses on the wrong or unhelpful type of expenditure restrictions instead of achieving specific goals by fiscal means. As a rule, the design of the 'executive type' or traditional administration is aimed to meet all the legal needs of governmental functions and to help ensure that the society remains stable. This type of administration is concerned mainly with maintaining law and order, collecting revenues, and regulating public life in harmony or agreement with constitutional requirements.

In contrast, the development type of administration is oriented towards management. Its inclination is towards programmes. Its emphasis is on simply implementing the orders and directions from the government or related system. It also focuses on obtaining programmatic values. Importance is given to the achievement of targets, objectives and goals set by the governmental programmes instead of on authority to appropriate or on prevention of forces causing disequilibrium. Since this type is managerially oriented, it is more concerned with assessing the total capital resources, not merely in terms of financial means, but also in terms of the general institutional resources, and of the vital society-related and administration-related behaviour.

It is actually this totality of programme inputs, in financial as well as non-financial terms, which results in more similarity between targets and real output. Traditionally, it is considered to be far from easy to measure these inputs. Recently, it has been found that advancement in the area of budgeting, cost accounting, and measurement of work has made enough internal information and data available to allow the creation of measures of productivity. After this basic measuring is done, focus is shifted to how appropriate the goals and objectives of the programme are, with reference to national resources, on adjustment of these financial resources within the set of priorities, and achieving targets.

In the case of developmental administration, importance is given to implementing law and order and collecting revenue only as long as they facilitate the developmental programmes. The shift is on the importance given between the primary and secondary objectives. The former being the developmental objectives of administration and the latter being the compliance with governmental directives and needs. Here, the critical elements are the clear-cut programmatic values shown in terms of the operations, which need to be achieved by the system of administration.

The values of developmental administration are encompassed in a recent set of socio-economic and political programmes. As planning is required to secure these programmatic values, it is up to the state to play the role of change agent and give the relevant have to be secured in a planned fashion, the state has to act as the change-agent and stimulator providing the motivation that is needed. As the change-agent, the questions are concerned more with the ability of the instruments of the state to shoulder its responsibilities rather than with the goals themselves. Most importantly, the state's model should be diagnostically oriented with the aim of identifying or precisely indicating the change areas, manner and techniques of change, and the capability of both the public and the governmental system to understand, accept and carry on change. Of course, in the translation of the diagnostic interpretations into change goals and plans, it is essential for the administrative system of the state to be aware of the ultimate goals of the change process, and also understand the feasibility of the change in terms of its application and techniques.

The essential focus on the need for change should be supported by the various devices of applied social sciences. This will help in the assessment of social system's competence for change, and the capability of the governmental /administrative machinery for effecting change.

The developmental administrative system is likely to see more fusion of administrative roles. This is inevitable because the content of change is not only decided centrally, but also directed and administered centrally. Each administrative agency and unit may require to perform certain tasks, and are likely to be plainly distinguished and divided among many similar agencies and units in a non-developmental unit. In India, a similar fusion of roles in the administrative system, is clear at all levels starting from the planning commission down to the district and sub-divisional offices.

The focus of developmental administration on attaining programmatic values, that is, specific targets and goals, gives rise to the need to introduce institutionalization. The programmatic values need to be encompassed in administrative values and institutional machinery. Essentially, this indicates that the pattern of structure and behaviour may need to be altered in order to align them with the functions of developmental administration.

A reorganization of the administrative system in an attempt to rearrange the hierarchy, may involve the following:

- (i) Increase in programme and field units
- (ii) Shift in the line of reporting and communicating
- (iii) Development of control systems
- (iv) Improvement in the techniques of getting feedback across to those at the top of the hierarchy

Developments of this type indicate an increase in the difficulty level of coordination and control at the top rungs of the management. A chief concern is the personnel. It may become inevitable to put in place new ways of personnel planning to take care of the

structural changes in the service and alterations in the orientation. Most importantly, there is a need to reconsider the inputs of the civil service, in total, in terms of behaviour, and account for it in the organizational plan for developmental administration.

There has to be a major shift in the organizational structure as per the present hierarchy. The offices of the central government belong to three categories:

- (i) Secretariat (the headquarter, a type of staff organization aimed at helping the top management in issues related to formulation of policies, coordination and supervision)
- (ii) Subordinate (executive offices playing a role in the daily application of the prescribed policies. They are field agencies interacting directly with the citizens/ clients)
- (iii) Attached offices (special advisory units who regulate, examine and advise the ministry on specific issues. Of late, the line between the secretariat and subordinate offices seemed to have thinned)

The secretariat's responsibility of formulating policies has given way to more involvement in applying the policies.

With such an administrative scenario, hierarchies have been disturbed giving rise to delayed decision-making, which, in turn, has resulted in conditions and environments that are not suited to the developmental model or approach.

One very important shift required in the aspects of structural organization may be in terms of the institutions, for attaining specific goals and targets, which could stretch beyond the general scope of existing field offices.

In terms of operations, this indicates the creation of 'programme agencies', around a particular main goal/objective in the forms of physical or service outputs. To form such programme units, it is necessary to break down the national plans and targets into smaller and more specific outputs, so that they can be easily managed.

The programme units would indicate that the administrative machinery should be related to the achievement targets and that a chain of activities and tasks required for this purpose will have to be incorporated into the single programme agency. Therefore, in agriculture, this may mean a district-wise integration of essential inputs such as irrigation facilities, transport networks and fertilizer supply. Such an integrated programme may stand a better chance of promoting, directing and securing the kind of output or targets allocated to it.

An administrative system's design in terms of programmatic schemes may encompass an increase in the field units functioning directly. It is required of such field units to illustrate the objectives and goals of the organizational programme objectives in terms of manpower, material and other types of resources needed, and incorporate them into a framework, which will directly help fulfil certain goals. In exchange, programmatically designed field offices of this kind may call for altering lines of reporting and communication, from departmental levels to programme organization or encompass dual reporting with the main focus on reporting to the programme office.

Therefore, a district irrigation team may not desire to report only to the irrigation ministry or department, but may also want to report to the district agricultural production programme organization, if there is one. In such a scenario, communication may flow directly between the programme agency and the concerned office with one aim and the secondary services relevant or critical to that one aim or goal. Then it is just enough to

have the remedial action at the critical point eliminating the need for passing through long winding and tardy double hierarchies.

Further organizational shifts may take place in the control mechanism.

The traditional check on expenses and the highly diffused system of decisional authority may need to give way to a more active and complete decisional authority where the controlling is inclined towards programme values. Such a manner of controlling could imply production or service targets and objectives in phases, with their level of achievement and drawbacks demanding prompt action. These controls have more meaning as managerial elements and they are suitable for directing and sustaining the essential programme values.

The control mechanisms themselves will be closely interconnected with the types of data fed to those on the top rungs of the managerial hierarchy. This will require the data encompassed in the reports to be more selective and naturally relevant to the direct programme goals, which point to the scheme of output schedules and the developing cost structure in relation to the proposed costs and the reasons for discrepancy or inconsistency, if any. Such data has the merit of being specific and equipped to attain the goals of the programme.

With the constant development of the programme and field units, more problems may crop up in terms of coordination. Systems will have to be put in place at the headquarters so that the programmes can be executed properly according to the set patterns, policies and practices and be at par with the standards followed centrally.

Most importantly, it may be essential to make sure that each functional unit progresses while maintaining the required balance to ensure programmes in other units. Therefore, more coordination may be required by the concerned office to remain updated with the progress of each individual unit, and remain compatible with the growth of other supporting units. The headquarter needs to constantly check, supervise and direct so that the line of balance is maintained; and the minimal rate of performance required is always achieved.

The financial system of administration may require extra attention. In the traditional approach, the focus was on controlling the treasury. Also, the design was intended to offer protection to the public funds and not really focus on securing organizational objectives. In case of developmental administration, financial administration is significant in its contribution of various tools not only demand performance, but also to establish accountability and responsibility centres.

The financial system offers excellent tools for directing programmes and objectives, in the form of the following:

- budgeting system
- internal auditing
- management accounting system

These tools help to control the rate of movement of programmes and identify the responsibility for performance. Owing to the nature of the financial data, the analysis between phased programme objectives and their attainment is brought down to certain specific targets, and the drawback in individual areas are identified. In other words, in developmental administration, it is significant that the system of financial administration may require to be better matched with the managerial requirements of programme administration.

Yet another essential concern of developmental administration is the personnel manning the administrative system. In the ultimate analysis, developmental programmes are made effective by the due to the competence and skills of these personnel. The target-oriented administrative system requires systematic personnel planning as well as a functional service structure.

Career staffing forms the foundation of the traditional service structure in the Government of India. Civil servants are mainly recruited to career services wherein members of these services enjoy reservation to a certain number of posts. Such a staffing system assures a specific level of administrative stability and permanence. Members of these services are not committed to the success of specific programmes. This approach results in an 'executive attitude', which is more into handling work as and when it comes one's way instead of designing the content of the work in a way that will help achieve programme goals and objectives. A civil service system, which is organized in a different way, at times referred to as 'programme' staffing is aptly designed to draw the attention of the contents of the programme, and their achievement. Personnel associate with such programmes can be in sync with an organization without constant shifts, transfers or deputations. Primary advantages of such personnel (programmed staffing) are:

- (i) They are committed to the goals and objectives of an organization
- (ii) They create a pressure for maintaining work standards on the job
- (iii) They make it compulsory to orient personnel towards general functions and responsibilities of managers

It may be significant to shift a degree of focus from 'career' to 'programme'.

Improved personnel planning is interconnected with the process of functional service structure. Once suggestions pertaining to the needs of the programmatic personnel have been specified, the process of recruiting and selecting may become more agreeable to the needs of the programme. With period or forward manpower planning, it is possible to work out proper and appropriate recruitment plans. The examinations may have to be designed and structured in such a manner that there is a high level of selectivity.

The most vital of all the points discussed would be organizational behaviour. Scholars of social science and administrative sciences have increasingly realized that organizations are guided more by the dynamic and behavioural aspects than by formalized systems. Organizational effectiveness is dependent on the behaviours of its personnel. The key components of bureaucratic behaviour are the values exhibited by the many personnel in their routine and daily operations, which affect the organization's operations directly, such as the following:

- Level of professionalism
- Attitude towards work
- Attitude towards seniors and juniors
- Response to delegation of authority
- Attitude towards shouldering of responsibility

These behavioural inputs of the bureaucracy are critical to the shaping the organization's efficiency, effectiveness and character. Therefore, these behavioural inputs will have to be factored in while planning the programme, and taken into account in projects where patterns are reoriented and realigned with attitudes to fit in better with programmatic needs.

In reality, the effect of such a programme will be extensive and a lot more detailed than is implied here. However, the effort made here is to simply make one understand the kind of major alterations that may take place under developmental administration.

Participatory and sustainable development

Participation is often described as a means and an end. It is as important within agencies as it is outside, in the field. It is an educational and empowering process needed to rectify the imbalance of power existing between the haves and the have nots. It originates from the idea that all stakeholders should be involved in the process of decision-making. Its narrow description is that it is the process of extracting local knowledge in order to design programmes off site. The end-result is an unusual mix of formal techniques, pedagogies and media, which are all content-specific and ad hoc models to enhance participation in humanitarian support and development. This required a 'people first' approach to change, rather than just tactics. This called for a paradigm shift. The new theory believed that:

- Big may not necessarily be better
- Centralized hierarchies were not always reliable
- Small inputs can give big results
- More heads are better than one philosophy

Despite differing definitions and techniques, there is some commonality regarding the constitution of genuine participation. Participation is concerned with the local population's involvement in the following:

- (i) creation of a programme/policy
- (ii) content of the programme/policy
- (iii) organization and conduct of the programme or policy designed to transform their lives

It is important to recognize and employ local competencies and skills and avoid imposing priorities from outside, for participation to be successful; for the programme to be successful and the results to be sustainable. Eventually, participatory development drives the belief that citizens should be entrusted with the duty and responsibility to give shape to their own future.

The nature of development is such that the community has to get involved in the process of development. Several developing nations had opted for the centrist approach to development in the 1950s and 1960s. However, these centrist policies failed, particularly when it came to implementing development plans and delivering benefits to a huge part of the poorer community. This led to a re-evaluation of the practicality and feasibility of the centrist policies and strategies of development. In the 1970s, many politico-administrative decentralization programmes in combination with the evolution of several institutional tools to influence people's participation in development, were introduced and promoted by many developing nations.

Following Independence, the makers of the Indian Constitution came up with a federal political strategy that strongly favoured centralization. This was considered to be important to check the withdrawal tendencies at the time and to ensure a homogenous pattern of economic development. However, recognizing that the standardized or same policies would not suffice for the complete development of the country, the makers of the Constitution, came up with the Directive Principles of State Policy. Through these

Directive Principles, they chose to create a system of village panchayats (village councils) to ensure the involvement of the people at the grassroots level in the process of decision-making.

4.4 BUREAUCRACY AND ADMINISTRATION

The factors that led to the creation of the 'big government' were also responsible for establishing the 'administrative state' in almost all developed and developing countries of the world. The government is responsible for formulating public policies and is dependent on the public administration for helping implement these policies. In the modern States, the bureaucracy fulfils several functions. In addition to performing the conventional tasks of regulating (including preventing and coercing for maintaining law and order, collecting revenue/defending the State against aggression), they have the additional task of rendering various services to the people. Providing modern amenities of life, education, health, employment and better transportation are just a few of the important tasks of socio-economic change undertaken by government departments everywhere, particularly in developing countries.

In developing countries, for certain historical reasons, the bureaucracy is better developed than other structures and in a much better position to shoulder major responsibilities aimed at bringing about socio-economic change. Therefore, in spite of several options offered at regular intervals, the public bureaucracy holds on to the central place in the politico-administrative system because of its homogeneous nature, strength (in terms of numbers) and professional competence.

Most of the developing and underdeveloped countries face a challenge in approaching the twin goals of nation-building and swift socio-economic progress. They get entangled in the web of fast-paced change and an increase in expectations. This puts the governments under immense pressure to effect overall development and upgradation of all sectors of administration, polity and society. Although various developing countries have opted for different development strategies, there are some common principles in their developmental politics, some of which are as follows:

- Developmental goals that are commonly agreed to
- Heavy reliance on the government for attaining the developmental objectives
- Prevalence of primeval loyalties instead of national loyalties
- Instability due to regular political conflicts and unrest
- Presence of a class of modern political elite
- Inconsistent growth of political structure and the bureaucracy among those in the more developed category

Developmental objectives goals and the speed at which they are wished to be attained demand dynamic and forceful action on the part of the State, which is the main instrument of social change. There is no time for experimenting using a slow and gradual pattern of progress as seen in the West, with private enterprises being the change agents. An important position is occupied by the political authority, given its power and resources, in the process of development in developing countries.

Bureaucracy should be able to direct the speed of change and also guide it in order to become a change agent. Bureaucracy should be capable of adapting itself to changes warranted or planned by the political authority besides initiating its own changes,

whenever or wherever required. Simply put, public administration should change the structure and attitude to come up with correct form of vision, change orientation and administrative skills to ensure that developmental programmes are successful.

How competent and capable are the developing, post-Independence and post-colonial societies to perform as per expectations? To what degree have they been able to perform and meet the challenges? The answer lies in analyzing the issues and challenges of the bureaucracy in developing in relation to the issues of interaction between the existing administrative structure and its colonial or past heritage in the operations of administration and politics.

The author Ferrel Heady discussed certain common historical legacies of the developing countries as is evident from their current administrative systems:

- All countries, including the ones that were not colonized by the West have consciously attempted to launch and implement certain version(s) of modern western bureaucratic administration. The administration in a country, which was once colonized, will definitely resemble the colonizer's system.
- There is a dearth of skilled human resources required for developmental programmes, in these bureaucracies. This shortfall is of skilled, competent and trained administrators possessing managerial skills, developmental skills and technical knowhow.
- These bureaucracies are not oriented towards production. These bureaucracies are other than production oriented. The importance attached to rank on the basis of attribution rather than achievement explains most of this behaviour. Consideration for merit may impact human resource practices, such as promotions, terminations and assignments. Corruption is prevalent everywhere.
- 'Formalism' is explained by Riggs as the gap or difference that separates 'form' from 'freality'. It is reflective of the desire to make things appear the way they should be instead of the way they actually are. The discrepancy between government proposals and their being brought into effect is rather wide, and even several laws are silently overlooked or not exercised at all.
- Ultimately, a developing country's bureaucracy is sure to be quite autonomous or self-governing, at least in terms of its operations. After all, colonialism was more about ruling through bureaucracy with policy-related guidance being provided from afar, a pattern that was followed long after independence too. There are very few groups who can compete for political power/clout or impose checks on the bureaucracy. Therefore; it very often falls into a kind of power vacuum. The role played by the bureaucracy in politics differs from one country to another. This role is closely related to the specific type of political system in a developing country.

In colonial times, the societies in transition focussed on establishing legal and administrative structures of modern government. The work of building interconnected or unified processes did not interest the colonialists. As a result, there was an imbalance between administrative and political development in these nations. When they gained independence from colonial rule, they had well developed administrative systems, while the political systems remained ineffective, lacking the skills and equipment to even determine proper goals, leave alone pursuing and achieving them.

Lucian Pye, F.W. Riggs and La Palombara concluded their studies of bureaucratic and political developments in the new states. Lucian Pye's studies of bureaucratic and political developments in the new states revealed that these countries lacked the ability to run an administrative system effectively. Their political systems were unstable and public administration could not really be improved without making the democratic, representative and political processes stronger. In the same way, F.W Riggs' analysis revealed that these countries had extra bureaucratic political institutions which lacked strength as compared to the rapidly growing bureaucracies. He concluded that when the bureaucracy expands prematurely or too fast, while the political system is still struggling, effective politics is unable to develop properly. Both Lucian Pye and F.W Riggs lay emphasis on the significance of making the political system stronger. Without a strong political system, administration cannot be really effective. A feeble and ineffective political system will also make the administration weak and ineffective. Too much focus on making the administrative system strong without paying attention simultaneously to making the political processes strong as well, will only increase the imbalance between politics and administration. Those engaged in planning and building new societies can learn valuable lessons through the emphasis on the issue of the feasibility and relative significance of the political and administrative structures in the modernization process of politics.

A modern state can only be established if a unified and stable polity is created and the authoritative governmental structures are made strong and stable. In our country, for instance, both the political and administrative sectors have lost their capability to function properly. The Indian political system lacks the ability to deal with the rising demands, including that of basic services, law and order as well as formulation and implementation of policies.

The Indian administration, however, continues to reflect the features of the colonial bureaucratic system, with its impersonal nature, focus on formalism, fascination for security and paucity of bureaucratic initiative. One main weakness of the Indian administrative system is its casual and insensitive response to the goals and demands of nation-building and modernization. A primary issue in India is, therefore, the training, socializing and directing a force of sensitive administrators possessing the ability to adapt to the demands of the society and react or take action when faced with societal issues. Another problem being faced by the administrative system pertains to its need for modernization. This need is linked to the following:

- Level of specificity of functions
- Norms of conduct and their extent
- Existing achievement standard

Such an alteration in the administrative system indicates the following:

- Minimum professional autonomy
- Minimum functional autonomy
- Isolation from politics
- Modern administrative practices
- Adoption of universal norms in administration (as in the field of political development)

However, these points do not indicate the replacement of traditional norms and institutions, but the fact that these are utilized to attain new goals.

4.4.1 Concept of Development Administration

Following the Second World War, the newly independent countries began a process of nation-building and social reconstruction. The challenges posed in the development of the governments of these countries were many, in the form of:

- Poverty
- Illiteracy
- Disease
- Low agricultural productivity
- Low industrial productivity

'Development of administration' has been used exclusively with reference to the developing nations of Asia, Africa and South America. The concept of development administration as a direct effort engineered by the state as an intervention in the processes of socioeconomic change, thus originated in the aftermath of decolonization.

Western scholars, especially Americans, were the ones who elaborated on the concept of 'development of administration'. In the 1950s, social scientists in America paid heed to development in developing countries. It was viewed as tactic against rebellion and the growth of 'communism' in developing countries. Two interconnected points of view had sprung up regarding the contribution of public administration in this situation. The Comparative Politics Group of the Social Science Research Council in the US, considered administration to be in possession of the ability to maintain the system and ensure its stability. They saw bureaucratization as a functional prerequisite for the maintenance of the stability and legitimacy of the political order. The Comparative Public Administration Group considered modern administration as a device for attaining developmental objectives. Therefore, the bureaucracy was looked at as an instrument for planning and an infrastructure aimed at conversion of inputs, such as goals, finances, and knowledge into developmental outputs. The key elements of 'development of administration' are:

- (i) The developmental goal of nation-building
- (ii) The developmental goal of socio-economic development

Let us look at the two schools of thought that define and outline the scope of 'development of administration':

- (i) The first school of thought believed that 'development of administration' simply means a programme-oriented model of administration, dealing with the mobilization of existing as well as new resources in order to develop the skills required to attain the developmental objectives of administration. Montgomery and Fainsod belong to this very school of thought, which gives a narrow definition of the 'development of administration'.

Montgomery says that development of administration

'.. connotes carrying planned change in the economy or capital infrastructure and to a lesser extent in the social services, especially health and education'.

Fainsod feels that development of administration

'.. embraces the array of new functions assumed by developing countries embarking on the path of modernization and functional specialization. Development administration ordinarily involved the establishment of machinery for planning economic growth and mobilizing and allocating resources to expand national income.'

- (ii) The second school of thought uses development of administration in a much broader manner, referring to it as the process of providing guidance to an organization so that it progress towards the attainment of its objectives, be it political, economic or social. Therefore, as per this school, development of administration would encompass nation-building, especially in the case of the developing countries. Therefore, it is very significant in the study of public administration. Simply put, development administration is an administrative concept, oriented towards action and not structure. Although it encompasses the study of a conventional and routine type of administrative system, it deals with the dynamics of an administrative system with the aim of judging its capacities as an instrument of programme planning and execution. Lucian Pye, Fred W. Riggs and Weidner belonged to this school of thought.

It is agreed popularly that development administration is merely public administration with a difference. In terms of structure, development administration deals with the organization of new agencies for developing or reshaping established agencies. The internal authority structure and hierarchy within organizations involved in development tasks need to be conceived in different ways. When the countries emerged from a colonial administrative framework, there arose an immediate need for speedy socioeconomic reconstruction. This demanded a transformation in the organization of the government, and the procedures it followed. A new administrative model called development administration took birth. It was realized that the routine administration of law handed down from the colonial times was not suited to the attainment of the task of nation building, nor was it facilitating the work of fulfilling programmatic, such as, development of agriculture and industry and elimination of socioeconomic inequalities.

The colonial administration was mainly focused on:

- Collecting revenue
- Exporting raw material
- Providing basic public services
- Ensuring law and order

Development administration focused mainly on the management of development. It implies planning the institutional capacity in such a way that specific objectives of development are achieved. This is facilitated by formulating the right policies, launching the right programmes and projects and implementing them all successfully.

The essence of development administration is the participation, response and accountability of management.

According to George Cant, the purposes, loyalties and attitudes are the chief characteristics of development administration. The 'purposes involve change, progress and innovation contrary to the purpose of maintaining the status quo'. As far as loyalty is concerned, Development administration needs to be goal-oriented, be revolving around the client, accountable to the wishes of the public and responsive to the demands instead of individual's personal interests. As for 'attitudes', development administrators should possess flexibility, adaptability and orientation towards results.

Pai Panandikar and Kshirsagar studied administrative behaviour in development and proposed the following the four behavioural prerequisites:

- Orientation to change
- Orientation to results

- Orientation to citizen participation
- Commitment to work

Development administration encompasses production of planned results in association with the target/clientele. It demands a restructuring of administration so that people are involved and participating in all phases of development. Decentralization is an idea native to development of administration. Development administration has to be evaluated based on the results actually attained. Merely seeking efficiency will not do. Effectiveness has to be ensured.

Development is differentiated from non-development administration in a formal manner rather than a real way. Normal/daily land revenue or law and order administration generates development conditions. If the State is unable to bring about law and order, developmental effort will not be successful. In the same way, if developmental efforts fail, public frustration may rise leading to uncontrollable disturbances and total disruption of law and order. Another area that is interdependent is that of capital assets, such as roads, buildings, dams and institutional places, which are part of the development process and need to properly maintained. Therefore, development management is incomplete without management of routine maintenance work.

Academic interest is closely associated with development administration and political processes. The managerial facet of development administration stresses that development administration is basically change-oriented and goes against status quo. Spreading the advantages of development to as many social groups as possible will lead to disagreements between the rich and the poor sections of the society. Development also implies creating institutional opportunities to facilitate the distribution of power. Formulating policies for development and implementing them is crucial for the political processes of a society. Therefore, it would not be appropriate to isolate the examination or study of development administration from that of politics.

In a developing country, development of administration basically pertains to the following two facets of development:

- (i) Political
- (ii) Economic

A country's economic development is dependent on its political development. There are some features of political development that are of relevance to administrative development.

According to S. P. Huntington, there are frequently observed characteristics:

- (i) Rationalization
- (ii) National integration
- (iii) Democratization
- (iv) Participation

According to Friedrich, there are six features as follows:

- (i) Ability to take efficient action to deal with technological requirements of survival
- (ii) Restrictions that can be enforced on the government
- (iii) Participation in the rule-making process
- (iv) Presence of general rules to replace the shared values and beliefs of the community

- (v) Interpretation of these rules and definition of the terms of settlement by a judiciary

Development administration encompasses both qualitative as well as quantitative changes in bureaucratic politics, programmes procedures and techniques of work, structure of organization, patterns of staffing, number development personnel, quality of personnel and the patterns of relations with clients of administration. Public administration, in general, and development of administration, in particular, have close connections with increasing the State's capacity to produce goods and services in order to fulfil changing and increasing demands.

There are several factors that prove that development administration is not the same as routine administration. For example, if the rigid and well-defined lines of authority operating in the case of the revenue and police departments are applied to development of administration, the capacities of individuals would be killed, in terms of their skills, know-how and creativity. It is important for a student of development administration to first examine the differences in people's values and social attitudes in the developing societies, before making any recommendations, in terms of rules relating to either the merit system, span of control or any particular structure. In this respect, development administration calls for more insights, social, economic and political. As there will be many commonalities between the issues confronting the developing societies than between those of the developed and underdeveloped countries, the character of development administration is bound to be proportional.

Donald C. Stone brings to our notice a notable fact of development of administration. He feels that compared to routine administration, a lot more coordination and cooperation is required amongst various ministries and departments in development of administration. He also gives two instances where absence of coordination among departments influenced specific geographical areas, for instance, major-highways vs feeder highways and the interrelationship of agricultural development and industrial development, when it occurs in a specific geographic area.

Development administration can only succeed if the head of the department is aware of the benefits from the development plan, and offer their full support. In addition, the regional and local governments should be factored in while formulating and implementing the plan.

As is clear, development administration points out that it is possible to bring about stability and systematic and structured change through a management revolution under the guidance of the state bureaucracy. The priorities of development administration are as follows:

- Continue to expand the role of administration in the area of development along with the continually growing functions of the state
- Ensure that the government takes on the role of chief planner, organizer, promoter and director of all development-related schemes, projects and efforts in all developing countries
- Handle the complexities and technical advancements that will enter administrative activities as the governmental functions begin to diversify
- Understand and stress on the need for planning, coordinating and controlling all governmental activities pertaining to development

- Emphasize on the administrative reforms and improvements in management
- Gear the human resources structure and training towards development-oriented work. This will ensure that goal achievement is not compromised in trying to strictly adhere to rules and regulations and respecting the hierarchical order.
- Bring about innovativeness and flexibility in the decision-making process and also ensure that status-consciousness in bureaucracies is replaced by increasing service motivation
- Redesign public bodies so that it is possible to make decisions in a collective manner and solve problems in a collaborative way
- Increase decentralization so that agencies of development at the field level are able to follow autonomous operation
- Allow free flow of information and smooth communication at all levels of the organizational hierarchy
- Promote appropriate and adequate working partnership between the administrative wings, both political and executive
- Ensure that all those involved are committed and dedicated
- Invite people's active participation and cooperation so that developmental programmes are a success

The development administration theory of the 1950s and 1960s, says Rondineli, was reflected in two different, yet mutually exclusive, models.

- (i) The first group of development theorists were of the opinion that implementing policies in the developed countries could be made better by transferring administration-related processes and techniques from the industrial nations. They suggested following the Weberian model and tried to set up rational and politically neutral administrative practices in the developing nations, in order to achieve their developmental goals by implementing national plans and policies. They believed in the decentralization of the bureaucracy's role to ensure development.
- (ii) The second group opined that, political procedures and structures of administration required to be changed completely and modernized approaches adopted before the developing could even think of progressing economically and socially. They felt that it was not enough to merely transfer administration-related processes and methods from the democracies of the West. Development was actually social engineering and the government as the main mover of change. They looked at development administration as the device for modernizing traditional societies. Some scholars were able to identify some basic discrepancies in the western formulation of development. For instance, they felt that this formulation was ethnocentrically biased. It overlooked or distorted native culture and related traditions. Once transformed into the administrative field, it strengthens the belief in a universally valid set of functional administrative principles without establishing any noteworthy link with any socio-cultural and political circumstance in particular.

As the distance between the 'developed' centre and the 'developing' periphery widened through the second decade of development, the institution of the development of administration model was shaken. It became clear that the concept of an impersonal

bureaucracy with efficiency in implementation of public policies being the main motivational force, needed to be examined once again.

If bureaucracy, which was the supplier of power, is institutionalized, it tries to chase its class interests in agreement with the ruling classes. It can even attempt to challenge or question the implementation of development programmes that appear to go against the interest of the class.

Several studies have gone on to prove that partnership of the ruling class and the bureaucracy is mainly to be blamed for the land reform schemes in India failing to succeed. Michael Crozier's research on the subject questioned the rationality of bureaucracy. According to him, the main features of bureaucracies were goal displacement and self-reinforcing vicious cycles. Bureaucracy attempting to make their actions legitimate by imposing rules and regulations is an idea that does not favour development of administration. The laws and rules established in the colonial era are not fair as they were aimed at only maintaining the system.

The state did not undergo fundamental changes in the post-colonial period because the state itself was caught in the upcoming conservative middle class. Such laws and regulations cannot hope to bring about change as wished for by the development theories. In fact, they provide an escape route to bureaucracy as well as a structure to enable exploitation. Some scholars believe that development has grown to be most effective tactic against rebellions and socialist modes of socio economic organization. Development administration is an integral part of Western ideological and intellectual offensive to keep developing countries within the Western orbit.

There are many who criticize development administration for various reasons. Let us look at some of them.

It is assumed that bureaucracy is not only the most efficient, but also the most rational form of human organization. It was felt that the experience of the colonial era (in terms of management and organization) could be applied to fulfil the developmental needs of developing countries. Development administration was considered a mutant of colonial administration with the developmental objectives and structures being fitted into the old group or force of civil servants. It was thought that by transferring technology and assistance, the desired results could be obtained in the developed countries. However, by the late 1960s, it was clear that modernization, which was induced from outside could not provide a solution for the issue of underdevelopment.

The gap between the haves and the have nots widened as reforms did not succeed in removing poverty, socio-economic class discrepancies and regional imbalances. The very model of social transformation through administrative manipulation has been challenged. Attention has been drawn to the fact that radical socio-economic transformation of developing countries is more a problem of a political nature than administrative.

The development administrative paradigm was criticized by the radicals as well as the conservatives. The latter overlooked or ignored the public sector's contribution in the development efforts saying that the State's function comprised creation of adequate conditions for the healthy evolution of a competitive private sector. Therefore, they looked at development administration as a false alteration of objective market forces.

On the other hand, the radicals, the dependency theorists in particular, felt that underdevelopment was rooted in the developed first world, which had been the cause of underdevelopment in the first place. Therefore, it was a matter of upholding vested

interests. According to them, the processes of underdevelopment is dialectically interconnected. From the point of view of dependency, there is no need for modernization to be viewed as a carrier of development. Instead, it should be seen as a chief contributor to underdevelopment. In any case, simply economic growth may not contribute to fair and unbiased economic development of classes and regions, not to speak of political and social development.

The development of administration paradigm has also been criticized by the West where the concept became popular first. Crisis after crisis emerged in the West during the latter half of the 1960s, such as the urban crises, social disturbances, protest and challenging of institutions. The rationality of the bureaucracy was being questioned more and more and the argument was that the bureaucracy was characterized by a natural and innate incapability of a far from simple, impersonal, hierarchical and specialized organization to learn from experience. Bureaucracies were more about replacing goals than about rationality and goal-oriented social action.

4.4.2 Contemporary Approaches

In the 1970s and 1980s, the issue of development was re-examined in many ways. Instead of viewing growth (statistically) as a tool of measurement of development, fulfilment of basic human needs, fair distribution of socioeconomic benefits, and empowerment of people were being viewed as development goals. Development scholars stopped treating developing countries as a unified set of countries. Instead, they recognized the significance of cultural, context-based models of development. There is no single complete and all-inclusive theory of development.

The modern theoretical models of development are:

- Pluralistic and recognize several paths to development
- Unlike the West in their cultural assumptions

The key elements in the modern development models, as evident in the thoughts of Rogers, Korten and Klaus, Bjur Bryant White, include the following:

- Fairer distribution of benefits accruing from development
- Sharing of knowledge, popular participation, and empowerment of individuals, groups and communities to aid them in their self-development efforts.
- Self-reliant and independent development with emphasis on the potential of local resources
- Checking of population growth
- Integration of appropriate technology with the latest technologies to bring about development

4.4.3 Contemporary Theorizing in Development Administration

There has been a shift in the focus of development administration with time, keeping abreast with new development theories. Restricted to the arrangement of foreign support, today administration concentrates on planned change in order to fulfil a country's broad political, economic, social and cultural goals. Religious, community and cultural organizations, and those which are non-governmental, non-bureaucratic and voluntary are now more involved in development projects. Encouragement is given to development that is local, participative and decentralized. One modern movement in development administration theory is the change from a blueprint model to a learning process model.

The blueprint model encompasses the designing of a specific plan of action in advance for administrative development programmes. Given its benefits, this model is characterized by inflexibility, and its inability to react the demands of a dynamic environment.

The learning process approach, on the other hand, is a tactic for planned social change. This model is a cybernetic process using which development administration adapts to changing environments and incorporates alterations and rectifications midway, on the basis of mid-course corrections, based on current local situations and conditions. The approach was all about diagnosis of issues and implementation of solutions by people and administrators collaboratively through a mutual learning process. The blueprint model focused on advanced planning for the people. The learning process model focused on planning with the people, and that too, while the development programme was being administered. Yet another drift in modern development administration theory is a movement from a production-centred approach to a people-centred approach. The production-centred development model stressed on production of goods and services in order to get maximum returns on investment. This approach:

- Gave importance to industry over agriculture
- Prioritized urban development over rural development
- Emphasized the utilizing capital resources more than human resources
- Exploited the environment for short-term benefits rather than engaging in sustained harnessing of natural resources
- Established large-scale industries rather than small scale industries

Therefore, such a development model ignored the basic needs of the poor in the rural areas of developing countries and advocates socioeconomic inequality.

In the people-centred development model, the needs of the people are prioritized over the needs of the production system. According to this model, an individual is not a subject, but an actor who is engaged in defining objectives and goals, controlling the resources, and directing the processes that impact his/her life.

The objectives of people-centred development include:

- To empower people
- To develop an administrative procedure, which is responsive to the demands and needs of the people
- To ensure growth and wellbeing of humans
- To ensure equality
- To propagate self-reliance
- To encourage participation
- To ensure sustainability

Sustainability is an important element of a development programme. A development programme can be sustained by:

- Making the beneficiaries aware the effectiveness of the programme and creating in them a need for the same
- Setting up institutions which keep encouraging and adopting such programmes
- Providing resources or self-generating them
- Building support among political elites and community groups

Today, the notable features of development administration comprise context-based theories that integrate the native social, cultural, political, and economic realities of developing countries.

4.4.4 Weberian Model of Bureaucracy and Development Administration

The present century is witness to many changes in all aspects of human life, under the influence of science and technology. However, no significant changes have happened in the style of operation of the bureaucracy in responding to these changes.

The bureaucracy continues to reflect a traditional image based on Max Weber's bureaucratic theory of organization. As an organizational model, the bureaucracy has been extraordinarily resilient to change in accordance with the changes in the environment where it functions. The issue has now become important in the context of the changes, in structure and attitude, needed in the bureaucracy in keeping with the alterations happening in the environment — socio-political and economic — of societies in transition. In such societies, the State has been responsible for the all-round development, while the bureaucracy takes on the responsibility of the chief partner in the initiation and implementation programmes of nation building and socioeconomic progress.

In Weber's idyllic theory, when it comes to a bureaucratic organization, authority is inherent in the office and does not occur naturally in the concerned individual who happens to be occupying that office at given point of time. The emphasis on depersonalization of office is evident in the impersonal attitude that the bureaucrat is taught or trained to exhibit, as those holding positions are expected to keep personal relations to a minimum and remain detached. In such a model the peculiar characteristics of the cases tend to get overlooked, which results in disagreements in the bureaucratic interactions with the public or the clientele. Therefore, it does not fit in with the newer concept of human relations-oriented administration and may go against the welfare of a developing county.

Impersonality may cause a model to be too rigid and rule-oriented, which is the exact opposite of commitment, considered not crucial for development of administration.

In this model, the organization of official functions is rule-bound. Rules make the organization stable. However, Merton rightly points out that when rules are strictly adhered to, then they transform from being the means (as they were initially conceived to be) to the end in themselves.

In other words, goals are displaced and the instrumental value changes into a terminal value. In an attempt to attain or fulfil developmental tasks, it is often required to frame new rules or alter the old ones according to the altered societal situations or conditions. Rules that are outdated will eventually end up being stagnant or dysfunctional to development. If old rules are strictly applied, the bureaucracy will become a conservative one. Therefore, in changing societies, rules should be applied rationally and dynamically. This can only happen if the bureaucrats are specially trained.

Weber felt that bureaucracy operates on the basis of rigid division of labour, according to the specific skills, competencies or authority, as clearly distinguished in all organizations. If a specific branch's or department's area of competence is clearly outlined, unnecessary overlapping can be ruled out and confusion can be avoided. As far as development administration is concerned, if this principle is strictly applied, things may get delayed. The administrative field faces several challenges as a result of development

of administration. It is expected that each administrator will function in the manner most suitable to a situation that develops in his field of authority. By strictly sticking to this standard, the following repercussions will be seen:

- (i) Red-tapism
- (ii) Dodging of responsibility
- (iii) Delayed implementation of programme

At all levels, there should be a certain degree of flexibility in the division of work, considering the requirement of meeting emergencies when they come up. As per Weber's approach, the various offices or positions in an organization fit into a hierarchy. Each position below is controlled and supervised by an immediately higher office. The principle of hierarchy is more suited to a centralized administrative system than to a system that follows democratic decentralization. In developing countries, the government acts as a multipurpose agency, using several technocrats and specialists in its different units, departments, bodies, branches and divisions. If all these agencies are arranged in a hierarchical sequence, problems pertaining to generalist-specialist connections, resulting in discontentment to both will be inevitable. In addition, strictly adhering to the principle of hierarchy will not help to bring about a feeling of mutual faith in relations within the organization or within the administration. In a developing country, all those associated with government agencies or occupying government positions, should actively participate or be partners in the process of development instead of being part of a hierarchy, which they have to climb.

Weber's ideal model promotes that the administrative staff be separated from the ownership of the means of production or administration. It clearly distinguishes between the office and person holding the office. They emphasize the fact that personal and public ends have clearly different fields. This perspective was needed to control corruption and explain the major difference between private and public administration. However, merely creating a code of conduct for bureaucrats is not enough to control corruption. It is more important to study the reason behind the problem, which has grown alarmingly in developing countries, and eliminate it altogether, from the roots. Weber's approach also suggests that the rules, actions and decisions of the administration should be documented or put down in writing, so that the administration is accountable to the public and administrative dealing are scientific and professional. Unfortunately, as far as developing countries are concerned, this has led to more orientation towards rules and a formalization of the official work, greatly hampering organizational efficiency. Excessive documentation causes delays in processes and also makes it extremely tough to distinguish one important issue from another. The emphasis should be more the performance and not the processes, filing and administration of development projects and programmes.

Ghildyal commented on the special characteristics of a development bureaucracy saying:

'Bureaucracy for development tends to be characterized flexibility (even expediency) in place of excessive emphasis on rationality. It reflects a sense of commitment in terms of convictions and enthusiasm instead of impersonality a chilling neutrality conveying lack of interest. It represents: sense of social equality instead of ascribed respected positions in hierarchy and rank-consciousness which generates sycophancy and flattery. It places premium on professionalism, and authority of competence in place at authority and legitimacy of position-in the hierarchy. It acknowledges authority of the situation and it may even tend to develop a sense of ad-hocism in place of predictability of patterns of behaviour. It fosters a sense of permissiveness and accessibility of the top brass of

administration and tears, off the executive mask of aloofness of; those in the higher echelons of the pyramid. It also encourages and fosters communicability and openness of communication and consultation in interpersonal relationships in place of secrecy because developmental processes thrive on democratic traditions. Democracy distributes power by changing the loci of power rather than by concentrating it at some focal points. Delegation, therefore, becomes the hallmark of developmental bureaucracy, just as coordination and teamwork are its essence in implementation.'

4.4.5 Riggsian Model and Development Administration

F. W. Riggs' interest has mainly been in the conceptualization of the dealings between administrative systems and their environment. As has been stated previously, for Riggs, an administrative system functions in the context of its sociocultural, political and economic environment. Moreover, the environment and the administrative system keep interacting continuously, and in the process of doing so, they influence each other as well.

This ecological approach is the heart of Riggs' analysis. It is considered as one of the most creative approaches for analysis of the administration of developing countries. He presents his concepts with the aid of structural functional systems, and ecological models. The structural functional model considers structures to be behavioural patterns, which have ended up as regular characteristics of a social system. Functions are representative of the interrelationships among various structures or the results of one structure over others. In Riggs' words, the lesser the number of functions performed by a structure, the more diffracted it will be, and conversely, the more functions a structure performs, the more fused it is. Combining both leads to the formation of prismatic structures.

A social system comprises a wide net of interconnected components. Each of these components needs to be understood in relation to other components as well as to the system as a whole. As suggested by Riggs, the administrative system and behaviour are an essential part of the society, and they interact too. This can be understood properly only in the context of the social system wherein it is implanted. The impact of the environment on the system is in the form of inputs changed into outputs by the system. Through a feedback process, outputs lead to the emergence of new inputs. When a system interacts with its environment, it is termed as ecological interaction.

Making use of the ecological model, Riggs views public bureaucracies as merely one of many basic institutions of a society cooperation with other subsystems of the society, such as:

- Political
- Economic
- Social
- Cultural

Riggs analysed the discrepancies that existed in social, cultural, historical or political environments and how they impacted administration. He also examined the manner in which the administrative system influences the society to which it belongs. This interaction between the environment and the administration is called the ecology of administration.

Riggs was of the opinion that development is a process of making social systems increasingly autonomous, by increasing levels of diffraction. A society's level of development is evident in its capability to make decisions so as to exercise control over

its environment. This ability to make decisions is determined by the degree of diffraction in a society. High level of differentiation combined with high integration creates a diffracted society. On the other hand, a fused system is created by a low level of differentiation combined with a corresponding level of integration. A prismatic society is created by a high level of differentiation combined with a low level of integration.

Riggs perceives development administration as an administration that is goal-oriented, and involved in attaining progressive goals-political, economic and social. In this context Riggs presented the concept of administrative development, wherein the abilities of the administrative system are increased to attain the prescribed goals. Riggs has been mainly interested in social change and in trying to comprehend procedure of transition of developing societies.

Let us now look at the two typologies that Riggs referred to:

- (i) **Agrarian-industrial typology:** Here, Riggs distinguished between two types of societies: Those dominated by agricultural institutions and those dominated by industrial institutions.
- (ii) **Fused prismatic diffracted typology:** This model constructs two ideal polar types:
 - (a) A refracted society wherein for each function there is a corresponding structure, which specializes in its performance, just like in developed societies, where certain social functions are performed by the family, some economic functions are performed by the market and certain political functions are performed by the political parties and legislature.
 - (b) A fused society wherein all functions are performed by one structure, for instance, a traditional society where the family or one leader performs many functions, such as making rules, passing judgements, taking care of the finances and evening healthcare.

With the growth in society, there are increasing numbers of specialized structures, with each one of them engaged in particular functions. Differentiation structures are often said to be the essence of development.

The structural features of agrarian societies as recognized by Riggs are:

- Domination of specific and diffuse patterns
- Stability of local groups and limited spatial mobility
- Simple and stable occupational differences
- Differential stratification system of diffuse impact

The main characteristics of an industrial society are as follows:

- Dominance of universal, specific and achievement norms
- Higher degree of social mobility
- Well developed occupational system separated from other social structures
- Egalitarian class system founded on generalized patterns of occupational achievement
- Functionally specific and non-descriptive associations
- Transitional society representing a stage between the agrarian and the industrial

Riggs considered the prismatic society as a midpoint between the two ideal types, blending the characteristics of both fused and refracted. These are heterogeneous

(systems, practices and viewpoints are simultaneously present); they follow formalism (level of discrepancy between formal structures and actual modalities, the prescriptive and the descriptive, and impressions and real practices); they overlap (the level to which administrative behaviour is determined by non-administrative criteria).

In a prismatic society, pressure for change comes from the outside and the inside. External pressure is called exogenous and internal pressures called endogenous. Riggs believes that the extent to which formalism, heterogeneity and overlapping exist in a society will be more in an exo-prismatic society as compared to an endo-prismatic one. Such issues confront prismatic or transitional societies trying to incorporate social change in a short period of time.

Riggs' model attempts to come up with an integrated view on public administration maintaining that an administrative system functions in the context of its socio-cultural, political and economic environment. He believed that there was continuous interaction between the environment and the administrative system. They not only interact, but also affect each other. He clarifies that, administration differs in its social settings. His focus is on the nexus between the administrative system and the society within which it is implanted. Riggs then changed his initial view of the prismatic society. Later, he published *Prismatic Society Revisited* (1975), where he mentions that what he had conceived earlier was an incorrect and single-dimensional approach. He redefined prismatic society on the basis of a two-dimensional model. Originally, the classification was based on the degree of differentiation, resulting the fused, prismatic and diffracted types.

The new dimension that emerged was based on the degree of integration among structures in differentiated society.

Along with the process of differentiation arises the possibility of mal-integration, that is, the paucity of coordination among social structures. Riggs felt that it is possible to rank differentiated social systems on a mal-integrated scale. The two fundamental societal approaches, that is diffracted and prismatic, can be divided yet again into subtypes based on the level of integration. Diffracted societies are subdivided into as the following:

- Eco-diffracted
- Ortho-diffracted
- Neodiffracted

In the same way, prismatic societies are subdivided as follows:

- Eco-prismatic
- Ortho-prismatic
- Neo-prismatic

Therefore, the prismatic model would cover any differentiated society but one which is mal-integrated. Also, a diffracted approach refers to any differentiated society, which is also integrated.

'Eco', 'ortho' and 'neo' are attached to the prismatic as well as diffracted types, suggesting phases in the level or degree of differentiation. The merit of the two-dimensional approach, according to Riggs is that prismatic conditions do not have to be necessarily restricted to the less developed countries alone. They may be found in societies at any level of differentiation, even in the developed countries.

The bureaucracies in the three chief models, are unique.

- **Fused model:** In this model, traditional bureaucracies are functionally diffused. Each individual official performs a vast range of functions, which have an impact on the administrative functions, both political and economic.
- **Differentiated societies:** These societies, especially the ones which are well-integrated and reconceptualized as neo-diffracted, possess functionally-specific bureaucracies, that may be the main but not necessarily the only agents responsible for performing administrative work.
- **Transitional prismatic societies:** In this ortho-prismatic model, the bureaucracies are not narrowly specific. They are not diffused either. They are intermediate as far as the level of functional specialization is concerned. They fail to mix well with the other institutions which exist in the political system, and therefore, are likely to activate mal-integration. Therefore, prismatic societies need to achieve a balance between the political rate of growth and the bureaucratic rate of growth. As a result of bureaucratic supremacy or domination, the bureaucrats often intrude upon the authority of the politicians and attempt to influence the political process on purpose.

Although Riggs' concepts were pioneering in the field, the prismatic-sala approach failed in terms of specificity. Later, Riggs admitted that the model could not be exclusively applied only to developing countries. It was an over-generalized model because the developing countries are not really a homogeneous class. To add meaning to the conceptualization, the delicate oddities of the new countries had to be factored in, including their culture, history, administrative tradition, economy and geography.

4.5 RIGHTS-BASED APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

A rights-based model of development is based on international human rights standards and aimed at advocating and safeguarding human rights. A rights-based model integrates the standards, rules and principles of the international human rights system into all development-related plans, policies and processes. The standards, rules and principles are contained in international treaties and declarations. The principles cover equality, equity, accountability, empowerment and participation.

Some of the characteristics of a rights-based model of development are:

- It establishes express links with rights
- It ensures accountability
- It encompasses the issue of empowerment
- It ensures participation
- It does not discriminate and pays attention to weaker groups

4.5.1 Express Linkage to Rights

The definition of the goals of development in terms of particular rights are legally enforceable entitlements connected to international, regional and national human rights instruments, for example, the Convention of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Rights-based approaches take into consideration all rights whether indivisible,

interdependent, or interrelated civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights. This demands a development framework comprising sectors reflecting internationally guaranteed rights, such as, health, education, housing, justice administration, personal security and political participation.

4.5.2 Accountability

Rights-based models concentrate on increasing of the degree of accountability in the development process by identifying claim-holders (and their entitlements) and corresponding duty-holders (and their obligations). They take into account both the positive and negative obligations of duty-holders.

The positive obligations include protection, promotion and provision, while the negative obligations include abstinence from violations. They consider the duties of all the relevant actors, such as the following:

- Individuals
- States
- Local organizations and authorities
- Private companies
- Aid donors
- International institutions

They provide relevant rules, regulations, legislations, policies, institutions, administrative processes and practices, and mechanisms of redress and accountability capable of delivering entitlements, responding to violations, and ensuring accountability. They demand the translation of universal standards into locally determined benchmarks that measure progress and enhancing accountability. For all human rights, States should possess the political will as well as the means to see to it that they are realized. They must establish the required laws, administrative policies, and institutional mechanisms that will help attain that aim.

4.5.3 Empowerment

Rights-based models prioritize tactics aimed at empowering over charitable responses. They prefer to concentrate on beneficiaries, considering them the rightful owners of rights and the directors of development, and stress on the individual or human being as the heart of the development process. The objective is to hand people the power, capability and access required to transform their own lives, bring improvements to their own communities and shape their own future.

4.5.4 Participation

Rights-based models need a high level of participation, on the part of the communities, civil society, minorities, indigenous people, women, and so on. Such free, active and meaningful participation should go beyond mere formal interactions with beneficiaries. These approaches/models pay attention to issues related to accessibility (to the development processes, institutions, information and redress or complaints systems). These models also use process-based development techniques instead of externally conceiving rapid actions/solutions and imported technical models.

4.5.5 Non-discrimination and Attention to Vulnerable Groups

Particular attention is given to discrimination, equality, equity and vulnerable/weak groups, including women, minorities, indigenous people and prisoners. However, no checklist is available that can help determine who is most vulnerable in a given context. It is to be determined locally, at that time and place. To the maximum extent possible, disaggregation of development data by race, religion, ethnicity, language, sex and other categories of human rights, is required.

Express protection must be integrated in development instruments to safeguard against threats to the well-being of prisoners, minorities, migrants and other frequently domestically marginalized groups. All development-related decisions, policies and initiatives, not only attempt to empower local participants, but also simultaneously to protect against merely reinforcing existing power imbalances between, say, men and women, landowners and peasants and workers and employers.

A human rights-based approach (HRBA) to development is a model that recognizes and uses the international standards and principles for human rights as a normative floor for development. The key elements of an HRBA to development are the specific principles derived from, international human rights law, covering non-discrimination, participation, transparency, accountability and rule of law. A human rights-based approach to development views the individual as a central actor, who does not merely receive support but possesses the right to get involved in relevant processes for his/her development. Therefore, HRBA focuses not only on the result sought but also on the path that will take it to the result. Here, the individual is considered the bearer of rights with justified claims against the State. The State bears the duty and shoulders the responsibility of respecting, safeguarding and fulfilling all its human rights obligations, without discriminating.

In a lecture on 'A Human Rights Based-Approach to Development', Urban Jonsson, Director of the OWLS and the former Regional Director of UNICEF east and South Africa, pointed out that, the right to development cannot be interpreted as a right to the result of development but a right to be a part of the developmental process. Therefore, the discussion on the right to development should not concentrate exclusively on ultimate result but also on the process. In addition, successful development is possible only if the individual is viewed as an active participant and not just as a passive receiver of support or aid.

Johnson also believed that human development and human rights are interconnected. They reinforce each other. Human rights inseparable from the development agenda, and development also is an integral part of human rights. The conventional human rights dialogue has mainly been concerned with the process and not the result whereas the development discourse has focussed on the result and not much on the process. A human rights-based approach to development considers the process as well as the outcome, bringing together the traditional perspective of human rights and the modern human development perspective. As per the HRBA, the outcome shall be linked to human rights norms and standards and the process shall strictly comply with human rights principles.

Simply put, a human rights approach to development advocates human-centred development, as it focuses on people. It recognizes each individual's innate dignity and

worth without discriminating. It advocates fair and equal opportunities and choices. Each individual is given the chance to develop his or her own unique potential. Then, they are capable of contributing to the economic and social progress of a society. The content of rights, and thus, the tactics for realization can be observed from the international, regional and national levels.

In 1981, Africa recognized the right to development as a basic human right in the *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*. These regional efforts gave rise to the 1986 international United Nations declaration on the Right to Development. These initiatives gave a boost to current thinking about a rights-based approach to development capable of contributing to the satiation of universal human rights and dignity. At the international level, the United Nations declaration on the Right to Development defines the right to development as 'the right by which everyone is entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development.' This right includes:

- Permanent sovereignty over natural resources
- Self-determination
- Popular participation
- Equality of opportunity
- The advancement of adequate conditions for the enjoyment of other civil, political, economic, cultural and social rights

The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights confirmed that the human rights were indivisible and interdependent. Individuals as well as people, collectively possessed the right to development. The international community as well as individual states are obligated to promote fair development policies.

A rights-based model of development is a framework based on the standards contained in a number of international treaties and declarations. The gain from a human rights-based approach is that it has as its basis, moral consensus along with legal obligation. The duty holders and beneficiaries are identified and policy makers are enabled to assess an initiative's effect in terms of the enhanced dignity of the people. Being a domestic and people-centred type of development, there is no way to reverse it by withdrawing external charity. The challenges to the human rights-based approach are:

- (i) It is process-oriented.
- (ii) It focuses more on the result /outcome.

4.6 CONCEPT OF NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

The arena of public administration has been actively debating new public management, which resembled a reform agenda welcomed across the globe in past twenty years, and has resulted from the many changes implanted in the social and political context in Western democracies. While those who champion the movement interpret new public management as a new model that breaks away from traditional thoughts and practices, the sceptics feel that it has incrementally grown from the tradition administrative practices of the past.

It is possible to trace back the existing reform agenda in public administration to various worldwide trends. The most important one was the social, political and economic discourse in industrialized countries, which moved rightward in the late 1970s and early

1980s as political leaders woke up to the unsustainability of complete, centralized systems of public service delivery. European, Asian and North American leaders began examining more cost-effective ways of providing public services including public welfare, transportation and health care. The fiscal problems that sprang up as a result of the changing nature of the global economy led scholars to look for new ways of thinking about public administration.

The overburdened welfare state and the costs that arose as a result forced the taxpayers to challenge rationale of the public sector. The discontentment that ensued gave rise to the new right economics, which was the ideological foundation for change. Thus, by the early 1990s, several public managers across the globe, raised slogans, such as 'reinvention' and 'new public management' and began a mission of restructuring bureaucratic agencies, streamlining agency processes and decentralizing policy decision-making. The pro-market ideology, which ruled supreme in the 1980s, presented the argument that the government is not as efficient as the markets when it came to provision of services to people.

The new political economy (NPE) of development is based on the market emphasis on the following:

- Downsizing of the state
- Deregulation and withdrawal
- Privatization of commercial entities as well as institutions providing public goods and merit goods
- Progressive taxation
- Involvement of other non-profit organization in social welfare

The first generation reforms aimed to introduce management in the public sector. Those who advocated new public management argued that, it not only brought benefits of cost efficiency and service effectiveness to public and non-profit management, but also helped to address the basic weakness in the management and in the system of accountability and control in public services.

Both management and public administration are applied sciences. It is a known fact that most principles, guidelines and mottos of efficiency, economy and efficacy have been born out of the studies and findings of the management thinkers. These are then adopted and adapted by the scholars of public administration. Presently, there appears to be just a single model in the discipline of public administration, which is new public management.

David Osborne and Ted Gaebler were the scholars who conceptualized the idea of new public management. Both of them were not essentially prescriptive, but mainly descriptive while emphasizing the existence of entrepreneurial governments in their work *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector* (1992). Truly, the task of bringing management to the government had begun even before this seminal work was published. Writings of these and other scholars emphasized the need to adopt appropriate and stable management practices in government mechanisms, in an effective way.

Bureaucracies across the globe have hardly ever responded on their own to environmental challenges. They have usually been observed as lagging behind the times. In 1968 itself, when Dwight Waldo was organizing the first Minnowbrook Conference, Peter Drucker had come out with *The Age of Discontinuity* which analysed the

incompetence of bureaucratic government. Similar thoughts are reflected in the works of Harold Laski, Warren Bennis, Robert Reich, Tom Peters and Alvin Toffler. Solutions to bureaucracy-related problems have usually come from scholars of Management and not by the wise men associated with public administration. Scholars of public administration are competent enough to absorb and integrate the relevant and the valuable from other disciplines and shape it in a way that suits their field. New public management is just a manifestation of this resilience of public administration.

The OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) is of the opinion that new public management is rendering the public sector more managerial; that most nations are opting for two broad avenues for improving production and delivery of goods and services in public organizations. These two avenues are discussed as follows:

1. Raising the production performance of public organization with an aim to make human resource management better. This includes development of staff, recruitment of qualified people, and pay-for-performance, involvement of staff in decision-making and management; relaxation of administrative controls, but at the same time, imposing strict performance targets; adoption of information technology; improvement of feedback from clients and stress on service quality; bring together supply and demand decisions
2. Making better and greater use of the private sector for the promotion of a reliable, dependable, efficient, competitive and open system of public procurement

To summarize, the OECD take on new public management involves the following aspects of administrative management:

- Improvement of human resource (including performance pay)
- Participation of staff in the many phases of decision-making, relaxation of control and regulations, while simultaneously prescribing and ensuring the achievement of performance targets
- Use of information technology to ensure effective MIS and enriched policy and decisional systems
- Provision of efficient services to clients and their treatment as customers and as members of the organization
- User charges for services to make the customers a more vital part of the public sector management
- Contracting out of services as a part of the privatization plan
- Deregulation of monopolies and de-concentration of economic power among various organizations

Briefly, the most common attributes of new public management include:

- Focus on results instead of procedures
- Strengthening of professional management
- High standards and measures of performance
- Greater stress on output controls
- Increase in decentralization of business decisional power
- Adoption of private sector style of management practices and discipline

- Ensuring of accountability, progressive leadership and greater understanding between political leadership and the public
- Added responsibility of managers for results
- Gradual decrease in the government size

With time, there has been a significant shift in the thinking of new public management. In the initial stage of entrepreneurial government, the emphasis was on de-governmentalization and privatization which was often referred to downsizing or right sizing. It has been recognized that the government's crucial role in national life cannot be undermined. In developing countries, in particular, the role of the government in engineering socio-economic change and bringing about goal-directed progressive multidimensional development is most significant. Therefore, in simple words, the focus is not on less government, but on better government. This is how sound managerial practices have entered the sphere of public administration.

Scholar of public administration realize that no matter how novel new public management may seem to be, it still has strong links with old public administration. However, new public management is not as much concerned with the goals of public administration, as with the tactics of attaining them. While the chief concerns of new public administration have been goals, values and the spirit of public administration, new public management, on the other hand, is mainly concerned with the structure and style of public administration.

There are certain elements of new public management that are perceivable in new public administration and vice-versa. Essentially, both are complementary to each other.

ACTIVITY

Prepare a report on the efficacy of the concept of new public administration in Indian public sector organizations.

DID YOU KNOW

In public services in India, the model of land revenue collection designed by Sher Shah Suri in the 1540s is acknowledged as a major milestone in systematic governance. The Sher Shah model was then adopted by the Mughals and later by their successors, the East India Company.

4.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Development administration is a concept that originated fairly recently, following the efforts of American scholars of comparative administration.
- Most developmental plans in a society need to be oriented towards citizens, because finally, they are the ones who will enjoy the advantages of development.
- Development administration demands changes in the bureaucratic policies, in terms of quality and quantity. It seeks changes in the procedures and techniques of

programmes procedures, patterns of staffing, structure of the organization, number of workers, quality of manpower and different types relationships with clients of administration.

- Development ideology refers to the use of modern ways, methods or techniques, both technical and social to pursue the objectives of the society.
- India's development philosophy, which grew under the impact of the freedom movement, laid great emphasis on the approach of participation. This approach was followed by almost all the notable leaders of the freedom movement, for its inherent worth and for its influential role.
- In 1959, the Government of India launched the Urban Community Development Programme which was designed to transform the socio-economy.
- The Community Development programmes were described as all round rural development programmes.
- Rajasthan was the first State in India to introduce the Panchayati Raj system. It was followed by a number of other States, including Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh.
- The goal of realizing a modern State and a modern society is greatly dependent upon the establishment of both a stable and cohesive polity and the strengthening of the authoritative structures of government.
- The failure of developmental effort may lead to rising public frustration and unrest that might become a serious law and order problem.
- The focus of development administration has changed over the years, keeping pace with new development theorizing; confined to the deployment of foreign aid earlier, development administration today focuses on planned change to meet a nation's broad political, economic, social and cultural objectives.
- The bureaucracy as an organizational model has shown remarkable resilience to change in keeping with the changes in the environment in which it functions.
- Development, according to Riggs, is a process of increasing autonomy (discretion) of social systems, made possible by rising levels of diffraction. The development level of a society is reflected in its ability to make decisions in order to control its environment. This decision-making capability is based on the level of diffraction in a society.
- The rights-based approaches to development give preference to strategies for empowerment over charitable responses.
- The field of public administration has been rife with debate about the new public management. This has been like a reform agenda that ushered in globally during the last two decades, and is the outcome of several changes embedded in the social as well as political context in the Western democracies.

4.8 KEY TERMS

- **Participatory development:** It is the approach driven by a belief in the importance of entrusting citizens with the responsibility to shape their own future.
- **Sustainable development:** It is concerned with enhancing human well-being through time; the relative importance accorded to different aspects of well-being varies with individuals, societies and generations

- **Rights-based approach:** It is a conceptual framework that is based on international human rights standards and directed to promoting and protecting human rights.
- **New public management:** A management philosophy used by governments since the 1980s to modernize the public sector; a broad and very complex term used to describe the wave of public sector reforms throughout the world since the 1980s.

4.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Edward Weidner, who used the terms 'action-oriented' and 'goal-oriented' system to define development administration.
2. Development ideology refers to the use of modern ways, methods or techniques, both technical and social to pursue the objectives of the society.
3. (b)
4. (c)
5. (c)
6. (a)
7. (b)
8. The development administrative model had both radical and conservative critics.
9. Today, development administration is characterized by context-based theories which incorporate the indigenous social, cultural, political, and economic realities of developing countries.
10. Development, according to Riggs, is a process of increasing autonomy (discretion) of social systems, made possible by rising levels of diffraction.
11. Rights-based approaches to development focus on raising levels of accountability in the development process by identifying claim-holders (and their entitlements) and corresponding duty-holders (and their obligations).
12. The new political economy (NPE) of development is based on the market emphasis on the following:
 - Downsizing of the State
 - Deregulation and withdrawal
 - Privatization of commercial entities as well as institutions providing public goods and merit goods
 - Progressive taxation
 - Involvement of other non-profit organization in social welfare

4.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Signify the importance of development administration as an approach.
2. Discuss the importance of community development programmes.

3. Write an essay on Panchayati Raj Institutions.
4. Write a short note on some contemporary approaches to development administration.
5. Discuss the importance of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1993.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Critically examine the various rural development programmes that have been initiated by the Indian government.
2. How is sustainable development indispensable to development?
3. Critically examine the role and importance of development of administration.
4. The rights-based approach to development occupies a place of significance today. Discuss.
5. What is meant by new public management? Discuss its salient features.

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UNIT 5 NATURE AND SCOPE OF PUBLIC POLICY

Structure

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- 5.2 Policy Formulation and Decision Making
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5.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about development administration and bureaucracy. In this unit, you will learn about the concept of public policy.

The science of public policy is the management of policy planning, formation and its implementation by the government in the common interest of the people. It is a branch of the wider field of public administration that deals with the machinery and procedure of policy formation in the public domain. Public policy formation is a determined action taken in pursuit of a conscious purpose that facilitates systematic management of available resources to achieve a desired goal. Operating within a specific political setup, public policy envisages policy decisions of the political decision-makers. The use of the word 'public' in public policy restricts the area of its scope, which refers to the study of policy formulation of the government (legislature, executive and judiciary). Thus, public policy is the study of the government's quest to formulate and implement various policies with special focus on welfare of the people.

The unit will introduce you to the process of policy making and decision-making. It will elucidate the public policy as an academic discipline and will introduce you to the complexity of the public policy. The unit will discuss the approaches to public administration, policy and administration and finally conclude with a discussion on policy sciences.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain policy formulation and decision-making
- Evaluate the basic elements of public policy
- Discuss the meaning, nature and scope of public policy
- Describe the relationship between policy and administration
- Discuss the basic features of policy sciences

5.2 POLICY FORMULATION AND DECISION MAKING

The term 'policy' is a comprehensive concept that signifies the way of doing things. Thus, public policy may refer to substantive programmes and policies of the government. The study of public policy is not only meant to examine the policy and programmes of the government, but also to examine how the content of the programmes or the policy is implemented. Though the field of public policy is a recent phenomenon, its emergence can be traced to the early 1950s.

William Dunn defines public policy as, 'a long series of more or less related choices including decisions not to act, made by the governmental bodies and officials.' Peter Self defines public policy as, 'changing directives as to how tasks should be interpreted and performed.' Nicholas Henry says, 'public policy is what public administrators execute.' Therefore, the term public policy is comprehensive and it tries to understand the need of the people and takes steps towards fulfilling those needs. Public policy in general is concerned with the development and welfare of the people. In a welfare state like India, public policy remains with the administrators, taking into account the needs and requirements of the people. Public policy is studied not only to understand what our government is doing, but how it is doing along with how the substance of the policy is administered. Public policy is an unstructured but a developing area. Policy making consists of a large number of persons and institutions, such as politicians, administrators, lawmakers, political parties, pressure and interest groups, professionals and experts. Policy makers draft the framework of the policy within the boundaries of the constitutional framework keeping in mind the public opinion, needs and aspiration of the people and ongoing political and economic situation within the country. In policy making, power is exercised by different individuals and groups, such as members of the council of ministers, members of the parliament, bureaucrats, leaders of organized interest and individual citizens. Each set of forces exercises certain influences which, taken together, makes up the policy making process. This is to say that there is a process through which public policy is made. The process consists of the complex interrelationships of the decision made under the influence of powerful individuals and groups.

The sources of power that effect change in other people's behaviour are many. It is easier to identify the source of an individual's power than to determine which individuals have power in the sense of bringing about a crucial change at a significant moment. The problem becomes complicated by the fact that in politics, groups rather than individuals affect the way a policy is made. Thus, policy making is a very complicated political and analytical process.

There are activities as well in which non-official groups seek to influence the decisions taken by occupants of formal offices. This dimension examines the influence of those who are away from the centres of policy-making but who, in a particular situation, may perform one or more specialized roles which according to Charles Edward Lindblom, constitute influential behaviour initiating vetoing, planning, adjudicating, controlling, moralizing, theorizing, cooperating and agitating.

Thus, public policy is the manifestation of the conduct of a government towards the citizens and also reflects the nature of the state. In India, where there is a parliamentary form of democracy, the Government always tries to follow the welfare approach aiming at the betterment of the country in general and its citizen in particular. Government always tries to fulfil the needs, aspirations and requirements of the people within the limits of national resources. Political parties, being popular entities, promise to provide a better and wide range of development programmes to the people, but administrators and civil servants always try to maintain a balance between financial and budgetary constraints and implementation of policies. Sometimes the government fails to fulfil its promises and the public opinion changes the government using their right to vote.

Policy-making depends on two major factors, called the wish list and the budgeting list. They are elaborated upon as follows:

- (i) **Wish list:** Politicians through their manifesto try to please people to get their votes, so that they can work for the country and lead the nation. They always promise to work and fulfil the wish of the people, ignoring facts and reality. This is called a wish list that may or may not be fulfilled.
- (ii) **Budgeting list:** Budgeting list is the actual status of the policy implementation. It lies in the hands of civil servants. Administrators follow the financial status of the system while implementing the policies, which sometimes go opposite to the wish list.

5.2.1 Freedom in Policy Making

People assume that policy makers have their own choice in making public policies. They are free to frame or draft any kind of policies. This is not true. Policy makers are under pressure from different groups and such groups always try to control the policy makers in making public policies. In a developing country like India, political parties promise to do better things, but many a times they are unable to fulfil what they promise to the local people. Colonial countries like India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and other African countries are poor, agriculture based and are not free to draft their own choices for the betterment of the country and the people. Developing countries have gained political independence, but they have failed to gain economic independence. They are dominated by the super powers or the developed countries and the donor groups. Donor groups are the groups which provide financial assistance, aid or credit to developing countries, by imposing their wishes and this can be seen in the public policies.

The elite class or civil society of developing countries always engage in a plantation type economy and in manipulating the domestic policies for their own interest. Thus, the policy makers are in the hand of their own elite group, those who are actually dominating the policy makers. Other constraints are encountered by national policy makers. One such is the factor of sunk cost. The assurance effectively restricts policy substitutes and thus, options. Governmental fragmentation too denies the policy makers the capacity to attack problems expansively. For instance, as we know cigarette smoking is banned in public places and the Indian government is trying to reduce smoking habits of the people,

but cigarette companies are not banned at all. So we can say that contentious policies and overlapping of needs affect the framework of national policies. For instance, on the one hand, the government is importing seeds from foreign countries, and discouraging the farmers to buy seeds, and on the other hand, the government is providing low rate facilities to the farmers so they can buy seeds on low rate. This is called overlapping of needs and demands. No policy-makers can flout the public opinion.

Public opinion also acts as a constraint on public policy making. Policy making itself involves dealing with conflicting demand. This means that the demand and needs are creating pressure on the policy makers. The various governmental organizations put dissimilar demands and policy makers are called upon to settle them. In the global liberalization period, the conflicts between the economists and environmentalist are also affecting policies. Economists want rapid growth through industrialization, but environmentalists want to save the natural resources; so the debate on such issues will continue, but policy makers find a middle path and opt for eco-friendly terms and try to maintain the ecological balance. As Peter Woll says, 'The policy making process is a complex process, involving a wide range of institutions, interests and mechanism involving all levels of government and a wide range of political institutions that shape the demands and supports of the government.'

5.2.2 Criteria for Public Policy

Let us now look at the criteria for public policy. These are as follows:

(i) Public opinion

One very powerful criterion of policy making is public opinion. It is widely believed that politics reflects public opinion, for it is in complete harmony with the democratic theory and thus carries an instinctive appeal. Democratic constitutions provide freedom of expression to the people. Elections are held on adult franchise and the majority party forms the government. This implies that elections confer on the elected officials the role of determining national policies. Political devices like initiatives and referendum also confirm the people's role in policy-making (and policy-unmaking). Yet gauging public opinion is not an easy matter. It is also very difficult indeed to find out what the public policy people really want on a particular issue. There are always divergent views. Political parties claim to represent public opinion. The mass media, including newspapers and television, claim the same. However, their views in reality represent sectional and therefore, one-sided interests.

Electorate power

The act of voting forms the basis of political participation. Voting is an important act resulting in the formation of legislative majorities with programmes. Generally, the political parties fight the campaign in terms of public policies, programmes and legislatives purpose. The voter sees his or her role in influencing the selections of policies and programmes.

Elections are the means which enable the electorate to choose between programmes and alternative policies offered by contestants for governmental office. In a democratic country, people are the masters of all the operations of the government. This theory of citizen power, including the selection of public policies, must be qualified in many respects. Thus, we can say that election is a democratic means of solving the problems of political succession. They ensure the legitimacy of government rule.

Political parties attach importance to the demands of the voters, on the basis of which they aim at influencing the government to take action. The parties represent these political ends in the mind of the voters. Further, the voters believe that the electorate is not concerned with the means by which the desired actions are produced in relation areas like poverty alleviation, employment or enhancing social welfare.

Electoral power assumes that different sets of policies offered by the parties and candidates at election time will be put into parallel decisions once they are elected to the office. Election is thus, a means that enables the electorate to punish or reward the party in power for its past presentation. Election pledges may be discarded due to administrative constraints.

(ii) Rationality

The second criterion of policy making is a balanced analysis of the matter under assessment. This involves the following steps:

- Recognizing a problem which requires policy-making.
- Setting descriptive and status goals.
- Assembling all possible and similar options to understand the purpose and then collecting all the available information on it.
- Expecting all the consequences of each option and assessing them on cost-profit basis.
- Choosing the options that come closest to achieving the target.

In practice, it is not possible to complete this drill in all its elaborateness. A rational exercise in this formula is confronted with several problems or constraints, which are as follows:

- (a) First, there is the constraint imposed by 'sunk cost'.
- (b) Second, the fact that administrative man is a 'satisfying' one, not a maximizing one, itself restricts the choice behaviour.
- (c) Third, a policy needs to be made within a rigid time schedule, which affects the level of rationality demanded.

Besides, in policy making, technical questions are always mixed with what may be called political ones and even experts are seen holding conflicting views. Economists and environmentalists are found to be locked in battle on issues. The former, for instance, support the construction of a power dam, which environmentalists oppose on the ground of its adverse effect on eco-balance. Rationality is thus a broad criterion of policy-making, but it does not provide cues of either its directions or its contents.

(iii) Economic and political situation

The third important factor of policy making is the political and economic situation of a country. Efforts to formulate policies flow from the political and economic atmosphere of a country. Policy makers are forced not only by the difficulties of using public opinions or rationality as guides to the policy-making, but also by the actions of politicians, the legacy of the past, the nature of government organization and economic contemplations. Policy makers need each other to make policies and can rarely act unilaterally, because they must bargain and discuss to reach decisions.

(iv) Influence of media

A prerequisite of a democratic society is a free and fair media. The media acts as a channel of information between the citizen and the government since they communicate to citizens the decisions the government has taken. It is important to determine whether the media is politically biased in its representation of information. If it is biased in the way it represents the decisions and actions of the government to the public and public opinion to the government, it may alter the very fabric of democracy. If the citizens are to make rational decisions about public policy, it is critical that the media be reliable. There is considerable concern as to the quality of media in its role of providing the public with government information. It is found that the ability of the press in particular to deal with political issues is counteracted not so much by the scope and complexity of the government alone, but by legal and political rules, parliamentary privilege, ministerial responsibility and laws related to defamation. In recent times, it has been observed that press coverage of the government is declining in standard and no strong pressure is being applied from either the elected persons or the electorate to reverse the trend.

5.2.3 Policy Agenda

In a political system, the demands and claims are made on public officials by the citizens or interest groups. These demands constitute what is known as policy agenda. Policy agenda is not to be interpreted as political demands. According to Roger W. Cobb and Charles D. Elder, there are two types of agenda. These are as follows:

- (i) **Systematic agenda:** The systematic agenda consists of the 'community of all issues that are commonly professed by members of the political community as meriting public attention and as an involving matter within the legitimate jurisdiction of the existing governmental authority'. The discussion agenda may figure in newspapers or in academic studies, highlighting the concerns of the people.
- (ii) **Governmental agenda:** A governmental agenda consists of the issues to which public officials give serious attention. This sort of agenda may arise from policy decisions, parliamentary debate and executive decisions. In comparison to a systematic agenda, an institutional agenda is an action agenda that is more specific. For example, the withdrawing of Article 370 from Jammu and Kashmir or 33 per cent reservation of seats for women in the parliament, and so on.

These are some of the ways in which policy problems achieve agenda status. It is important to mention here that all public problems do not reach the policy agenda. Thousands of policies are made by the government and only a small portion of them are implemented in the form of public policy.

5.2.4 Role of Political Parties

Just as pressure and interest groups, political parties are means of enhancing the effect of public opinion and they serve as intermediaries between citizens and policy-makers. Elections are fought on party proposals, which form the basis for party leadership. These party proposals are made into public policies when the party forms the government.

Edmund Burke defines a political party as, 'a body of men united for promoting the national interest on some particular principles on which they are all agree.' Thus, political parties are seen as an important agent to establish popular control over the public policies and the government. They reflect the issues at stake and play an important role in setting the value of goods for the society. Political parties have an important role

to play in the formulation of the public policies. These parties must meet the following conditions:

- Parties must have programmes and agendas.
- Each political party's candidates must be committed to these programmes and the opposition must come up with options for those programmes.
- The people must vote on the basis of the programmes any party is offering and not for the individual.
- The party that wins must implement its programmes and must accept the responsibility of the government.
- The opposition should be ready to take control of the government.

Pressure groups

Pressure groups are organizations with formal structures whose members share a common interest. They endeavour to influence the decisions of the government without attempting to occupy political offices. They serve as a link between the government and the public. Pressure groups are the most important means of communication and power. The pressure or interest groups are able to create areas of influence on citizens as well as policy makers.

5.2.5 Decision-Making

Decision-making is defined as a selection of an act from amongst choices and substitutes and it covers matters relating to planning, organizing, directing, staffing and controlling. A decision is an act of choice wherein an executive forms a conclusion about what must be done in a given situation. According to G. R. Terry, 'a decision is usually made within the guidelines established by policy. A policy is relatively extensive, affects many problems and is used again and again. In contrast, a decision applies to a particular problem and has a non-continuous type of usage.'

Policy itself is an outcome of a conclusion. Decision is a means; it is not an end in itself. We must make and remake decisions keeping in mind the results that have to be attained.

A mental decision cannot be considered to be permanent if it changes with the changing circumstances. Decisions have to be responsive to different situations. A decision represents a course of behaviour chosen from a number of possible alternatives.

The following three aspects of human behaviour are involved in decision making:

- (i) **Cognition:** Activities of the mind associated with knowledge
- (ii) **Control:** Action of the mind implied by words such as willing, desire and aversion
- (iii) **Affection:** Aspects of the mind identified with emotion, feeling, mood and temperaments

Based on these three facts, decision-making has been defined as a conscious and human process, involving both individual and social phenomena, which is further founded on factual and value premises. These premises conclude with a choice of one behavioural activity from among one or more alternatives, with the intention of moving towards some state of affairs.

Characteristics

Decision-making is a process of selection aimed at selecting the best alternative. Decisions are aimed at achieving the objectives of the organization if they are made in the organizational context. It also involves the evaluation of available alternatives because only through this evaluation can one know the alternatives.

Decision-making is a mental process because the final decision is made only after a thorough study of the issue under consideration. Decisions involve rationality because they are supposed to lead one to happiness. Decision-making involves a certain commitment. This commitment may be for a short-term or long-term, depending on the time of decision.

5.2.6 Types of Decisions and Factors Determining Decision-Making

The following are the various types of decisions:

- **Organizational and personal decisions:** In an organization, any decision taken by its executive for the organization is known as an organizational decision. On the other hand, an executive can take decisions about himself. Such decisions are his personal decisions. In case of personal decisions, the decision-making power cannot be delegated to anyone.
- **Regular and planned decisions:** Routine or regular decisions are taken in the context of day-to-day operations of the organization. Strategic decisions are taken to settle a burning issue, but their effects are felt in the future as well.
- **Policy and functioning decisions:** Policy decisions are taken by the top management of an organization. It also determines the basic policies to be followed in taking a decision. The policies are very important and have a long-term impact on the organization.
- **Programmed and non-programmed decisions:** A programmed decision is applied to a planned or regular problem. It is normally monotonous in nature and is taken within the broad policy structure. Non-programmed decisions are used for unstructured, narrative and ill-defined situations of a non-recurring nature. The need for such decisions arises because of some specific circumstances.
- **Individual and group decisions:** Individual decisions are taken by a single individual. These are taken in the context of routine or programmed decisions where the analysis of various variables is simple or for which broad policies are already provided.

Group decisions are taken by a group constituted for this specific purpose with either some positive values, such as greater participation of individuals and quality in decisions, or certain negative values, such as delay in decision-making process and difficulty in fixing the responsibility of decisions.

Factors determining decision-making

The following are some of the factors which determine decision-making:

- **Personal dissimilarity:** Personal difference is the main feature of decision-making. Opinions of people vary from one to another and thus the policy can change with one's approach. In every state, the policy differs from one government to the other.

- **Role of data:** Decision-making depends upon the availability of necessary data and facts. Carefully gathering of facts in detail, analysing them and interpreting the use of the broad concept of human and physical behaviour predicting future developments - all these elements require the use of knowledge to enter the various degrees of decision-making.
- **Institutional and personal factors:** Institutional limitations define decision-making. On the one hand, decision-making must consider the aspirations, traditions and attitudes of the agency administering government work. In addition, there are personal predictions among administrators limiting decision-making.

5.2.7 Decision-Making Process and Effective Decision-Making

Decision-making requires a process through which a decision-maker has to go, either clearly or completely. The following are the various steps in the decision-making process:

- (i) Decisive problems:** The first step is to find out the actual and authentic problems and then to find out a satisfactory solution. Then required input data is required.
- (ii) Search for alternatives:** It is necessary for the policy makers to have an option for alternatives. A good policy maker must try to find out the alternatives for the emergency period. It also avoids tensions and best alternatives could be taken for replacing the problems.
- (iii) Assessment of alternatives:** Once suitable alternatives or options are found, it is necessary to select the best ones to achieve the goal. This the final point of decision-making. Besides this, it is necessary to maintain both qualitative and quantitative matters in the policy-making.
- (iv) Selection of alternatives:** Selection of alternatives depends on knowledge, training and research and study.

Thus, policy making and decision-making is interrelated and depends upon each other. Policy making is decisions taken by the authority for implementing the policies.

Effective decision-making

The decision-making process undergoes various stages and basic objectives of all these stage are to solve a problem through the decisions. Decisions are action oriented and goal oriented and influence public policies. A decision maker can go for efficient decision when he feels a real choice opportunity exists.

So we can conclude that in terms of the public policy, power may be defined as the capacity of an individual or group, or groups or holders of public offices to determine policy decisions.

5.3 MEANING, NATURE AND SCOPE OF PUBLIC POLICY

Understanding the concept of the 'public' is important before discussing public policy. We often use such terms as 'public interest', 'public policy', 'public opinion', 'public health', 'public sector', and so on. The concept of public policy presupposes that there is an area or domain of life which is not private or purely individual, but held in common. Public dimension is generally referred to as public ownership or the control for public purpose.

Earlier, the study of public policy was dominated by the students and researchers of political science and there was hardly any focus on the policies themselves. However, now, the study of public policy has evolved into what is virtually a new branch of social sciences called the policy sciences.

Today, public policy is very important. It deals with the definition of a policy problem. The definition of a problem may generate more conflict than consensus. In policy making, the political power tends to impose upon the definitions of a problem. However, the present study of public policy is based on problem solving behaviour, realizing that the definition of the alternatives is the supreme instrument of power. In 1978, Thomas Dye noticed that the focus of political science was the shifting to public policy to description analysis and the explanation of the causes and consequences of government activities.

According to Thomas Dye, 'Public policy involves a description of the content of public policy, an assessment of the impact of the environmental forces on the content of public policy, along with the analysis of the effect of various institutional arrangements and political processes on public policy, an inquiry into the consequences of various public policies for the political system, and an assessment of the impact of the public policies on the society in terms of both expected and unexpected consequences.'

5.3.1 Reasons for the Study of Public Policy

Most people assumed that once the legislature passed a law, the purposes of the law would be achieved. They believed that governments could achieve such goals as the elimination of poverty and the prevention of crime through the adoption of right policies. However, today, there is growing apprehension among social scientists on the efficiency of governments. The result has been the sudden awakening of interest in the study of public policy. Thus, public policy may be studied for two reasons, for developing policy science and for political and administrative reasons.

Developing policy science study

Policy can be studied with a view to gain greater knowledge and understanding of the causes and consequences of policy decisions. Public policies may be regarded as either a dependent or an independent variable. When it is viewed as a dependent variable, the focus of attention is on the environmental factors that help shape the content of policy. For instance, how do environmental protection and industrialization help shape the content of the policy? On the other hand, if the public policies are viewed as an independent variable, our focus of attention shifts to the impact of the policy on the environment. We can improve our understanding of the linkage between the environment and public policy.

Thus, we can say that such understanding and reasons are required for the growth of policy science. Besides this, an understanding of the causes and effects of public policy help us in applying scientific knowledge to the solution of practical social problem. The professionals, if they understand and know something about public policy, are in a position to say something useful for achieving the developmental goals for the government. However, fact-based knowledge is required in solving the problems of the society.

Political and administrative reasons behind the study of public policy

Public policy can also be studied for political and administrative reasons in order to ensure that governments select and approve the right policies. The study of public policy

widened the developmental processes in the society and thus the experience can be used in achieving developmental goals. It also helped the administration to connect with issues that are of public importance and are concerned with the conversion of values into public policy making and demanding meaningful actions of public servants. Social scientists, especially political scientists, manifest concern with what government should do with suitable public policy. They challenge that political science cannot be unvoiced on current social and political problems, and that political scientists and academics in public administration have a moral obligation to put forward a particular policy on a particular problem. They should advance the level of knowledge and improve the quality of public policy in whatever ways they think best, notwithstanding the fact that substantial disagreement exists in society over what constitutes appropriate policies.

Indeed, the study of public policy helps in understanding the social problems of the subject under study. Public policy is an important method for changing a social or economic system from the past to the future.

A significant part of the study of public policy consists of the development of scenarios and extrapolations of contemporary trends. The scope and sheer size of public sector has grown extremely in all the developing countries in response to the increasing complexity of technology, social organization, industrialization and urbanization. In developing countries there is great pressure on governments to accelerate national development and make use of up-to-date and relevant technological innovations, adopt and facilitate modernization, adopt and facilitate necessary institutional changes, increase national production, make full use of human and other resources, and improve the living standard of the people.

Scope

Some social scientists have compared public policies on the growing issues in the society and have divided them into the following types:

- **Distributive policy issues:** Policy issues concerned with the distribution of new resources are distributive policies.
- **Redistributive policy issues:** Redistributive policy issues are those which are concerned with regulation and control of activities.
- **Constituent policy issues:** Constituent policy issues are those issues that are concerned with the rules regulation and control of the activities.
- **Component policy issues:** Component policy issues are those that are concerned with the setting up or reorganization of institutions.
- **Conflict policy issues:** Conflict policy issues are those issues on which conflicts may arise between two or more groups over issues relating to the distribution of power and resources.
- **Bargaining policy issues:** Bargaining policy issues are issue which may concentrate benefits to a small section of the society, but whose costs are widely dispersed.

Policies are distinct from goals and can be distinguished from the latter as means from ends. Objectives and goals refer to the ends towards which actions are directed. Policies, as well as the objectives of the policies, are chosen under the influence of the values of the society. Decision-maker often acts on the basis of their beliefs or perceptions of the public interest concerning what a proper or morally correct public policy is.

Nature

A policy may be general or specific, broad or short, simple or complex, public or private, written and unwritten, explicit or implicit, discretionary or detailed, or and qualitative or quantitative in nature.

Public policy may cover a large portion of its activities that are consistent with the development policy, socio-economic development, equality, liberty, self-reliance, similar broad principles of guidance. The study of public policy in the modern political system is goal-oriented. A public policy may either be positive or negative. When it is positive, it may have some forms of government measures for dealing with a particular problem; when negative, it may involve a decision by public servants not to take action on matters where governmental order is required.

5.4 BASICS OF PUBLIC POLICY FORMULATION

The field of public policy has assumed considerable importance in response to the increasing complexity of the society. It is not only concerned with the explanation and description of the causes and effects of governmental activity, but also with the development of scientific knowledge about the forces shaping public policy. Public policy is conditioned by the past. How the present dimensions of public policy in the developing countries emerged, how they now appear and how the present sustains them are important questions in the study of public policy.

Present policy making can be thought of as problem-solving behaviour, realizing that the definition of the alternatives is the supreme instrument of power. As the future is always uncertain, it is questionable whether policy making can find the solution to the problems regarding the future of the society. Poverty, unemployment, inequality, and environmental pollution are some of the major problems in Indian society. Of course, this does not work as an excuse for the failure to strive for a better society. It must be realized that solutions to these problems may be difficult to find.

It has been observed that policy analysis is gathering dust because they are either too long or too hard to understand. Often, policy analysis deals with the subjective topics and must rely upon the interpretation of results. Professional researchers often interpret the results of their analysis differently. Obviously, quite different policy recommendations can come out from these alternatives interpretations of the results of research. The field of public policy has assumed considerable importance in response to the increasing complexity of technology, social organization, industrialization and urbanization. It is not only concerned with the description of explanation of the causes and penalties for the government activities, but also with the developing methods which are required for policy making.

Problems in policy structuring

It is very difficult to draft the policy process because our society deals with various sustainable social problems of various groups. Moreover, it is very complicated to draft policies for every particular group for their development. Thus, the social concept of community development may or may not satisfy each group or fulfil the demands and needs of developmental achievement. On the other hand, the tussle between the political parties and administrative bureaucrats remain as they were in the past.

The differences and demands of these two separate groups cannot go together for the development of the people. A leader of a political party wants to make policies for the people or to remain in power. Sometime they neglect the actual needs of the people for appeasing donor group demands or any other country's policies. Public offices and the bureaucracy always follow the rules and regulations in making or implementing public policies. Thus, the clashes between the administrative officers and political leaders are key complexity in making the public policy.

Complexity of technology

The lack of modern technologies and developmental approaches are the main difficulties in implementing the public policies. Lack of knowledge for the remedy of the problems is also a main difficulty in implementing the policy. Policy analysis cannot provide solutions to problems when there is no general consensus on what the problems are. It is unable to resolve societal value conflicts. It is very difficult for the government to cure all the problems of the society. The government is constrained by many forces, both from the outside and within such forces since population growth patterns of the family life, class structure, religious beliefs, diversity of cultures and languages, financial resources and so on, cannot be easily managed by the government. Some social ills are very complex and also a major complexity in making polices.

Lack of social organization

There is a lack of social organizations that organize social surveys or uses the analysing tools to analyse the achievement of the policies. Also, there are some difficulties in the policy design research because it is not possible to conduct some kind of experiments that are long-term in nature. It has been also shown that individuals doing policy researches are too often programme administrators who might be interested in proving the positive result of their programmes. It is desirable to separate research from policy implementation, but this seems to be a difficult thing to do.

As already mentioned, the society's ills are complex, which makes the analyst incapable of predicting the impact of proposed policies. Social scientists largely fail to give proper advice to the policy makers owing to lack of knowledge about individual and group behaviour. The fact that social scientists offer many contradictory recommendations indicates the absence of reliable scientific knowledge of social problems. Most of society's ills are shaped by so many forces that a simple explanation of them is hardly possible.

Impact of globalization

Public policy, the political process and the policy making process is extremely methodical and depends upon a complex set of forces. Global politics has an added role to play in the determination of national policies, especially in developing nations. Global issues interact with national issues, which in turn, interact with the local level.

Globalization posits that these layers are becoming ever more interactive and permeable and that a new policy is emerging. Developing countries face increasingly serious population growth and poverty problems. Population growth and poverty have now become a global issue. National governments that sign international documents of principles make a commitment to act on this issue. The extent of government attention to such commitments and the amount of the money allocated to implementing them, however, vary considerably around the world.

The use of drugs has become an equally global concern and it was regarded as a social problem and the focus was on seeking a national policy. Along with that, tobacco is also a global concern, but in India, the tobacco sector is a major revenue generator, so the policy to ban tobacco is opposite in nature. Thus, policies in developing countries are full of complexities. Problems arise in a context in which economic and social conditions play a major role in shaping opinions and political strategies. Related to the problems and determination and achievements of goals, is the problem of target population. Data is necessary to evaluate the problems of the target population; for example, though the integrated rural development programmes was planned to help the rural people as a whole, yet the condition of the poor people in the rural area has not improved yet.

There are other dimensions to the complexity of public policy. It has been observed that initiated or proposed rural development programmes, directed to the poor, frequently face difficulties in the sense that it is difficult in making the availability of the programmes widely known among the target population. Again, administrative procedures and the real difficulties in utilizing the benefits produced may make the programmes less effective than desired. Programmes may select clients who actually need little help, rather than those who have greater need. Such programmes are successful for a limited duration.

5.5 APPROACHES TO PUBLIC POLICY

As has been stated, the intellectual roots of public administration are traced to the pioneering contribution made by the father of public administration Woodrow Wilson. His book, the *Study of Administration* underscored the need of administration as separate subjects from politics and political science. Wilson wrote, 'Administration is the most obvious part of government, as it is government in action, it is the executive, the operative and the most visible side of the government.' Wilson strongly believed that administration is eminently a science. This is clear when he said that science of administration is the latest fruit of that study of the science of politics. Wilson argues that administration and politics are separate. He felt that administration lies outside the sphere of the politics. Administrative questions are not political questions. Thus, he tries to establish a distinction between administration and politics.

Woodrow Wilson strongly pleaded for the dichotomy of administration and policy. Although the dichotomy appeared to be real and caught the thoughts of some of the administrative thinkers, it did not last long. The administrative system cannot be isolated from the larger political system as the latter influences the quality and the meaning of the administration. Therefore, public administration, both as a profession and discipline, cannot and should not be treated independent of its political context. It is in this light the students of public administration are required to be introduced to the concept of policy science, which not only widens the intellectual prospect, but also facilitates in assimilating the fragmented knowledge.

In public administration, various approaches and models have been introduced to the study the policy science, policy making and the policy process. A model is a simplified representation of some aspects of the real world. The models used in studying the public policy are conceptual models. It serves many purposes. These are as follows:

- Models simplify and explain one's thinking about public policy and politics.
- They direct one's efforts to a better understanding of public policy by suggesting what is important and what is not.

- They help one to communicate with others by focussing on the essential features of political life.
- They classify important characteristics of policy problems.

There are various models or approaches to help understand public policy. The important approaches are as follows:

(i) System model for policy analysis

The process of policy making has been regarded as a black box that helps in converting the society's demands into policies. David Easton in his book, *Analysis of Political Systems* stated that, 'The political system was that part of the society engaged in the allocation of values by authorities.' According to the system approach to political analysis, inputs are seen as the environment's physical, economic, social and political products. They are received into the political systems in the form of both supports and demands. The claims made on the political system by the groups and individuals to alter some aspect of the environment are called demands. They occur when groups or individuals act to effect public policy in response to environmental conditions. Any event or condition that is external to the boundaries of the political system is referred to as the environment. The political system support comprises the laws, rules and customs that provide a basis for the existence of the authorities and political community. The support is delivered once the groups or individuals consent to the laws or decisions. Supports are material inputs or are symbolic to the system comprising the system's material and psychological resources. The political system is comprised of institution personnel for policy making and these include legislators, chief executives, bureaucrats and judges. Then, the outputs are the authoritative value allocations of the political system, and these allocations constitute public policies. Thus, we can say that the output of a political system is public policy.

The concept of feedback indicates that public policies may have a modifying effect on the environment and the demands produced therein, and may also have an effect on the quality of the political system. Policy outputs may generate new demands and new supports, or withdrawal of the old supports for the system. Feedback plays an important role in generating suitable environment for future policy.

(ii) Game theory of policy-making

The game theory is a conceptual and deductive theory or model of policy making. It is a form of rationalism (balanced) applied in competitive situations where the outcome depends on what two or more participants do. A disagreement situation is called a game. The game theory is the study of rational decisions in situations in which two or more participants have choices to make and the outcome depends on the choice each of them makes. The theory is put into application in policy making situations where there is no independently best choice which one can make and where the best outcome depends on what the other person does. In the conflict situation, all participants try to maximize their gains and minimize their losses.

The game theory is applicable to a competitive problem, which is a conflict situation. It can be applied to decisions about international diplomacy, war and peace, United Nations, bargaining or coalitions in parliament. The fact underlying the game is that policy makers are involved in choices that are independent. Each player in the conflict situation must adjust his conduct to reflect not only his own desires and potential, but also

his assessments about what others will do. The games considered are games of strategy, not games of chance. The game strategy of a participant includes all possible options for contingencies arising from a strategy of other participants. Strategies are assessed in terms of payoffs. Numerical values are assigned to the outcomes of the particular moves. The motivation underlying game theory was to provide information on strategies that should be adopted. The employment of an optimal strategy is called rational behaviour in game theory.

(iii) The 'garbage can' model of policy-making

Most approaches to policy making concentrate on the policy community as well as on how issues become the live concern of the society, and thus get in its policy agenda. In every society, there are certain pet solutions that are on the lookout for problems. Problems are even deliberately manufactured in a bid to invoke and justify such solutions. Complex problems are presented to suit the fanciful ideas of the policy makers and search for the solutions. In other words, a society at a particular time has, within itself, certain groups or lobbies that look for ready-made solution for their constituency. This theory is called the garbage can theory of policy-making.

March and Olsen describe the theory thus, 'Suppose we view a choice activity as a garbage can into which various problems and solutions are dumped by participants. The mix of garbage in a single can depends partly on the labels attached to the alternative cans, but also depends on what garbage is being produced at the moment, on the mix of cans available, and the speed with which garbage is collected and removed from the scene.'

Wayne Parsons observes, 'the garbage can model argues that there is essentially a condition in which some issues will have solutions attached to them, other will not, other solutions may be roaming around looking for an issue to which to attach themselves. Decision-makers may dump a problem or solution into whatever can they have on hand, or whatever can is empty enough to contain the problems or solutions.' Parson continues and says what the garbage can graphically suggests is that issues, troubles and explanation are disorganized and jumbled, whose mode of identification by policy makers will depend on the time it was picked and the availability of cans to put them in.

In public administration, the relationship between goals and particular policies is not always clear. Some public organizations are like organized anarchies. We have already put some light on the garbage can model. According to it, decision-making is the result of the unexpected convergence of four systems—participants, solutions, problems and choice opportunities. It is said that certain individuals within certain tentative solutions and problems happen to come together at a particular time when appropriate occasion for the decision presents itself. In other words, chance and luck play a major role in policy making. In public administration, there is not much time to decide according to the rational model. The agenda for policy making is set by unpredictable events. Is it not said that policy emerges from action, rather it is the reverse.

By using different approaches we can measure policy making and policy implementation in the public administration. There are other models, such as institutional, process, group, elite, rational, incremental, system optional and market exchange model.

(iv) The elite theory of policy-making

The classic accent of the elite theory is to be found in Gaetano Mosca's, *The Ruling Class*. According to it, in all societies or in any country, two classes of people appeared—

a class that rules and a class that ruled. The ruling class is always less in number and they have the qualities of leadership, to monopolize and manipulate the present things in favour of their interest to enjoy advantages. On the other hand, the other class is directed and controlled by the ruling class. The few rule a large number of people. The elite theory of policy making in public administration is closely related to civil servants and political leaders. They are by nature elite or in work they perform, they act like the elite class. Every nation has two groups in the society, not only in the developed countries, but also in the developing countries. C. Wright Mills writes that the ruled class is passive and the elite class makes the policies which reflect the ruler's values.

The ruling class implements the policies for the masses, but it reflects and satisfies their needs and desire. However, on the other hand, the ruled class has no moral power to protest against the policies. They have legal power to protest and to compel the government to step down through mass agitation across the country. Electoral rights of the people can choose better option for their rights. Somehow, however, as Mills stated, the elite class will always exist in the society to rule the masses and poor people.

(v) Institutional approach to policy analysis

Institutional approach of policy analysis states that public policy is prepared, implemented and enforced by government institutions. A policy does not take place without their help. Government institutions give public policy different characteristics, such as legal authority. Public policy is the outcome of certain decisions and is characterized by the use of legal sanctions. It is regarded as a legal duty which commands the obedience of the people. The application of public policy is universal in nature. Only public policy extends for the people of its country. It can be said that public policies are a compulsion. It is applied to the acts of government in backing up its decisions. A policy conveys the idea of a capability for imposing punishment, through coercion of a kind, usually kept to the government itself. Only the government can legally impose sanctions on violations of its policies. Since the policy making power is exercised by the different individuals and groups such as the Prime Minister, Members of the Parliament, the bureaucracy or leaders of interested groups, the government has the capability to command people. Each exercise of power constitutes one of the influences which, in totality, go make up the policy making process. This is to say, there is a process through which public policy is enacted. The process generally comprises a sequence of related decisions made under the influence of powerful individuals and groups, which together form what is known as state institutions.

The institutional approach focusses on the legal and structural features of the institutions, which can be applied in policy analysis. The structure and institutions and their arrangements and interactions can have an imperative impact on public policy. Governmental institutions are structured patterns of the behaviour of individuals and groups which persists over a period of time. The value of the institutional approach to policy analysis lies in asking what relationships exist between the institutional planning and the content of public policy.

Thomas Dye says that both structure and policy are largely determined by environmental forces and that tinkering with institutional arrangements will have a little independent impact on the public policy if underlying environmental forces, social, economic and political remain constant.

(vi) Political public policy approach

A major exit from the rationality model is the political policy process approach adopted in policy making. This approach has been described by writers such as Lynn and de Leon. The public policy approach is viewed as a political process instead of a technical process. This approach emphasizes the political interaction from which policy derives.

Lynn defines public policy as the output of the government. He says public policy can be characterized as the outputs of diffuse process made up of individuals who interact with each other in small groups in a framework dominated by formal organizations. Those formal organizations function in a system of political institution's rules and practices, all subject to societal and cultural influences. Individuals in organizations function under a variety of influences and to understand policy making, it is necessary to understand the behaviour of and interactions among these structures: individuals holding particular positions, groups, organizations, the political system, and the wider society of which they are all a part. Therefore, instead of involving particular methodologies, policy making in this approach is a matter of adapting to and learning to influence political and organizational environments. Policy making is forced by such factors as institutions, interest groups and even societal and cultural influences.

Lynn argues that policy making includes not only goal setting, decision-making and formulation of political strategies, but also supervision of policy planning, resource allocation, operations management, programme evaluation and efforts at communication, argument and persuasion. Public executives pursue their goals within three kinds of limits, which are as follows:

- Those imposed by their external political environments
- Those imposed by their organizations
- Those imposed by their own personalities and cognitive styles

Rather than being technical experts, Lynn argues that it is more important to be effective managers of the public policy. The establishment of the understandable premises for their organizations' objectives and to attain an intellectual grip on strategically important issues, identify and focus attention on those activities that give meaning to the organizations' employees is more important. It also means being alert to and exploit all opportunities whether deliberately created or fortuitous to meet their purposes. In the political public policy approach, managers use any means to achieve their goals, they work in this way because their own position are on the line.

Public policy is an important area of public administration, public management and politics. Public policy can be considered a distinct paradigm, competing with public management. As a separate approach, it is useful in studying the interaction between the government, which produces policies, and its people, for whom the policies are intended. There are now two public policy approaches each with its own methods and emphasis. The first is labelled as 'policy analysis' and the second as 'political public policy'.

From a policy analysis perspective, Putt and Springer argue, 'The functions of policy research are to facilitate public policy processes through providing accurate and useful decision-related information. The skills required to produce information that is technically sound and useful lie at the rear of the policy research process, regardless of the specific methodology employed.' Attempting to bring modern science and technology to bear on societal problems, policy analysis searches for good methods and techniques that help the policy maker choose the most advantageous action.

Public policy is, therefore, more political than public administration. It is an effort to apply the methods of political science to policy areas (health, education, environment, for example), but has concerns with processes inside the bureaucracy, so it is more related to public administration. As Henry argues, 'Public policy has been an effort to apply political science to public affairs; its inherent sympathies with practical field are real and many scholars who identify with the public policy sub-field find themselves in a twilight-zone between political science and public administration, pirouetting in the shadows of both disciplines.'

While the policy analysts use statistical methods with the mathematical focus on policy making, the political public policy theorists, on the other hand, are more interested in the outcomes of public policy. In any case, both public policy and applying empirical methods to aid in policy making. Public policy making, as distinct from its study, now seems to be a mixture of these perspectives, and managerialism or public management combines them. 'Net benefit maximisation' now seems to be the aim of government, but the methodology of public management is political interactions rather than policy analysis.

5.6 POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION: IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

The concept of policy and administration is interrelated since policy is primarily a goal-oriented action, and without action, it is merely a statement, while administration is an apparatus for the implementation of the policies. In a government, the first step is making and pursuit of the policies. Administration works like an operational agency for implementing the policies.

Policy making and the administrative apparatus contain a large number of problem areas. However, we cannot separate policy and administration. It is also important to underline the theory of political administrative relationships. According to the democratic norms, a government should be political, not bureaucratic. Civil servants are employed in theory to serve political leaders by carrying out their decisions. Ministers decide on policies and their civil servants take the necessary executive actions to implement them.

In reality, administrators exercise much more power in the formulation of the public policies than the formal description of their responsibility suggests. Administrators are committed to the system as long as they serve, whereas political leaders can be elected or cannot be elected for the next term. Political leaders are committed to their political parties, but administrators are committed to the governmental administrative system. It is very difficult to distinguish their powers or duties from each other. Political leaders are elected by the local people, but administrators come directly. Administrators choose to get into the policy administration.

Both administrator and political leaders are aware of their roles and their duties. The secretariat is an administrative organization to assist the government in performing its parliamentary duties. It is a complex of departments and ministries whose administrative heads are known as the secretaries and whose political heads are the ministers. The secretary acts as the chief advisor to the minister and assists the ministers in the formulation for the public policy. As policies can be framed only on the basis of availability and adequacy of the facts and the data, the secretariat makes relevant information available to the minister, thus helping him formulate policies. It frames the legislation,

rules and regulations. It exercises supervision and control over the execution of policies and programmes by the executive departments.

Administration functions as the channel of communication between the state and other agencies, such as the Planning Commission, the Finance Ministry, and so on. Regarding arrangement of the policy making, the secretary to the government of India is the highest official in the field of which he is in charge. He is assisted by the additional secretaries, the joint deputy and other civil servants. Policy planning units are the key departments in making and implementing public policies.

The policy unit is generally planned to encourage policy operational assessment by the various programme units of a department and a ministry, and it also attempts to provide the department head with staff that can provide independent evaluations on a selective basis. The department head and his deputy have to provide an effective leadership to maintain proper balance between the budget and policy analysis units, and between the staff units and programme units. All have important roles to play in enabling the departments or ministries carry out their policy responsibilities. Most of these units have become more of research units with little effect of policy planning in the central government.

For the policy making procedure, advisory committees are provided to the concerned departments for advising the machinery in implementing the policies. These standing committees, formed for a specific reason, are composed of members who are experts in the concerned field. Other representatives reflect the democratic principles in policy making. Some of these committees also represent the national character of the polity and allow for representation of the states. So, we can say that advisory committees play a significant role in policy making. Most of the decisions in various matters, involving policy issues of less importance, are taken by the administrative secretaries or committee of secretaries, some of which service the cabinet committee.

According to David Easton, the policy making process is a black box, which converts demands into policies, but whose structure is seen to be unknown and unattainable for observation. So a complex set of forces engage in policy making, with demands producing effects, called policies.

The public administration emerged as an instrument of the state for securing public interest rather than private interests. Whereas, for the political economist, only the markets could balance private and public interests, new liberalism was based upon a belief that public administration was a more rational means of promoting the public interest. The civil servant was the rational functionary whose main task was to carry out the will of those elected by the people. Public bureaucracy was therefore, different to that which existed in the private sector.

5.7 POLICY SCIENCES

The field of public policy is striving to acquire the status of a new discipline called policy science. It is no exaggeration to suggest that policy sciences propose analysis as a substitute for politics. Policy sciences are rational approaches to the processes of policy making. The rationalist model involves a commitment to scientific planning; this means an overhaul of the traditional approaches to making decisions.

Policy sciences are concerned with the knowledge 'of' and 'in' the decision process of the public and civic order. Israeli scholar Yehezkel Dror has stated that only a small

part of existing knowledge is made available to policy makers and what is more, only a small part of it is used. The concept of policy sciences was first formulated by Harold Lasswell in a paper called the 'Policy Orientation' in 1951.

Policy sciences aim at improving public policy process. It is essentially an attempt to develop theoretical developments. In the absence of conceptualization and theoretical developments, the societal experience can neither be meaningfully discussed nor communicated to others. This is the reason why one discusses not only the operational dimensions of a phenomenon, but also its reflections in the theory.

Meaning and importance of policy sciences

Policy sciences study public policies in a systematic and scientific manner. Policy formulation and implementation is governed by certain inherent principles. It is these principles that govern the policy choice and its outcome. Policy sciences attempt to discuss these principles in a systematic way. It strives to establish causal relations for the success and failure of certain principles. Policy sciences' main concern is understanding and improving public policy making systems. According to Dror, it includes the following:

- Policy analysis which provides methods for identifications of preferable policy alternatives
- Alternative innovation, which deals with the invention of new designs and possibilities to be considered in policy making
- Master polices or mega polices, which provides postures, assumptions, strategies and main guidelines to be followed by specific policies
- Evaluation and feedback that include social indicators, social experimentation and organizational learning
- Improvement of metapolicy, which is the policy on policy making by redesigning public policy-making systems, its organizational components, selection and training of its personnel and reconstruction of its communication and information network

Needs of policy sciences

The policy sciences are emerging from a number of efforts. First, the pressure of problems like environmental, public order, demands for new forms of participation, new patterns of international cooperation, and so on, are the main variables encouraging and even pushing a policy approach. So, we can say that the policy sciences lead the way towards policy research. The importance of administrative reforms has also led the way for increased policy studies. Policy sciences has also been recognized as a separate field of study due to the interests shown by a number of outstanding social scientists in policy studies, and also due to a number of universities that are offering courses on the subject, contributing to its growth. Although these developments do indicate the emergence of new sciences, Dror stated that it may not come up at all because of the existing academic and political culture. Dror also suggested some new approaches or features of the policy sciences which are discussed in the following subsection.

Features of policy sciences

Metapolicy

The main concern of the policy sciences is with understanding and improving macro control systems, especially public policy systems. This includes policy analysis, alternative

innovations, master policies feedback, improvement of metapolicy (policy about policy-making). Policy sciences would also bridge the gap between the pure and applied research. The real world would be the main laboratory of policy sciences. In this laboratory, the significance and probability of the most conceptual theories would be tested.

Super discipline among social sciences

Policy sciences break the barriers and traditional boundaries between various social science disciplines, including behavioural sciences and decision disciplines. So all of them can integrate knowledge with each other and make a super discipline focussing on public policy making. Policy also rejects the concept of historic approach and focusses on historic developments along with the future dimensions, for strengthening the central context for improved policy-making.

Actual policy implementation process

Policy sciences also reject the 'take it or leave it' approach of the behavioural sciences. They are committed for increased utilization of knowledge in actual policy making and in preparing professionals to serve in policy making positions throughout the social directional system. Policy sciences initiate to explore value suggestions, value consistencies, value costs and behavioural foundations of value commitments. The policy sciences world also presents alternative features with their value contents. For this purpose, policy scientists encourage creativity and in the entire process they contravene the solid wall of separating contemporary sciences from ethics and philosophy of values and build up an equipped theory of values.

Extra rational process in policy science

Policy sciences identify the vital role of extra rational processes, such as creativity, perception and value judgment and of unreasonable process, such as depth and motivation. They make an attempt to build up systematic knowledge and structured rationality that is to be applied to the design and process of social directional system.

Basic assumptions of policy sciences

Unity of knowledge

Unity of knowledge is the prominent theme in policy science. Dror, the most forceful advocate of the policy sciences, argues that maturation of policy sciences would affect the state of knowledge in three ways. It would lead to bridging the gap between basic and applied research through a synergic relationship between normal science and policy science. With the emergence of the policy scientist, a specialist in general approach and method has been formed.

Ideology

It means that policy science is loaded with utilitarian assumptions. Policy science involves primarily the development of professional analysts who are expert in rational decision-making. It is interdisciplinary approach that intended to afford these analysts objective criteria upon which policy decisions can be made.

To develop improved methods

Improved methods and techniques occupy the central position in the analytical approach to policy making. Policy analysis implies that such procedures will lead to a more frictionless situations than we now have, situations that maximize the good and minimize the harm done to those affected by them.

Reasonableness

Policy science is concerned with better achievement of goals through the use of structural rationality. The rationalist model involves a commitment to scientific planning. This implies an overhaul of the traditional patterns of policy-making.

Implications of policy sciences

The following are the implications of policy sciences:

- The emergence of policy sciences will have far reaching implications, such as transfer of some major research and teaching functions from universities to research organizations, the participation of the experienced politicians and executives in the scientific activities, communication between the universities and policy research organizations.
- Policy science is exclusive and it deals with the inner process of policy making and assumes that it would facilitate the policy maker to arrive at right decisions.
- Quality of the policy making system is directly proportionate to the increase in policy science knowledge. It does not mean that it would tamper with the political processes, but rather help it by offering straightforward alternatives from which the political system can pick up an alternative of its choice.
- Policy sciences bring basic change in the old aged problem of knowledge and power, which in turn affects social and political power.
- Policy science should avoid the drawback of a few persons monopolizing policy science knowledge. Instead, it should be widely detached and be communicable to all including school children.
- Policy sciences would expect changes from politics, the public and education. It would involve a major change in the contribution of scientists in policy making. The scientists should not only focus on their areas of specialization, but also on the matters such as judgment on values, value priorities judgment and on the time references. The scientists who have in depth knowledge of policy sciences should base their knowledge on facts and on the social significance and far reaching effects on man's future.
- Public participation in decision-making depends largely on the quantum of their enlightenment. To meet this challenge, radical nova designs of adult education is needed. These designs will involve developing new techniques for presenting and analysing public issues in the mass media and facilitate greater communication between public opinion and public policy making process. Training tools would include case studies and policy making process.
- Policy science training tools must include case studies policy games and individual policy exploration programmes. Through these programmes, education for policy making would be strengthened. Encouragement for participation in policy-oriented educational activities will be provided for. Large scale of research activities also have to be initiated in the policy science.

Difficulties in policy sciences

As we have already discussed, policy science hopes to improve the process of policy making and decision-making, which remain largely underdeveloped. Policy science is also emerging as a separate field of social science, as an efficient tool of policy and

decision-making. Dror believes that today policy science is facing many problems. He also opined that a careful study of such impediments is necessary to overcome the shortcomings, which are as follows:

- There are social and cultural distances and differences between political scientists and policy-makers.
- Awful experiences of political scientists and contributors in the policy-making.
- A lack of belief in the ability of science to be of help in the policy making process, which is monopolized by experienced politicians and decision-makers.

Six forms of public policy-making

The scholar Yehezkel Dror has considered the normative model as a tool for systematically analysing public policy-making, as a basis for the criterion and values needed to assess policy making and as guide for making effective proposals for developments that are desirable. He identifies the following six normative models of policy making:

- Pure rationality model
- Economically rational model
- The sequential or chronological decision model
- The incremental change model
- Satisfying or rewarding model
- Extra rational process model

Criticism of policy sciences

The pure rationality model comes in for most detailed criticism. Its first step, which includes establishing a complete set of operational goals, is politically more difficult than stating all-purpose goals and then letting the prepared goals evolve themselves. Politicians abandon this to administrators who are apprehensive and conservative.

The next two steps that include making a total list of values and resources and organizing a complete set of substitute policies are even more difficult with the present manpower allocated to policy making. The next three steps include preparing an applicable set of predictions of cost and benefit for each option, calculating the net differential probability for each and then choosing the best; these are indeed extremely difficult. The steps from four to six are all too attemptable only for certain quantifiable problems in transportation of business policy. The extra rational model is no model as such, but it is brought in to emphasize the need to use extra rational capability.

The discussion of Dror policy science is based on the experience of western scientists and of Israel, so the analysis cannot be said to be complete without the proper experience of developing countries. Dror failed to establish any correlation between improvement in public policy making and the social direction system. Dror's discussion on policy science was based partially on repetition and ambiguity, and this was due to his thoughtlessness while developing a new science and partly due to his over commitment to the concept.

Lindblom and Cohen have compared the analytical and interactive approaches to social problems solving and suggest that the latter is frequently more appropriate. Though the process is more reactive than analytical, analysis may well contribute to the decision-making process at the level of the interacting actors so that, 'analysis need only attend

the limited questions'. The significance of the interactive model has been described by Lindblom in his book, *Politics and Markets*.

Lindblom and Cohen also criticize the fact that policy involves a distinct and superior way of dealing with social problems, but they concede that it is simply more systematic in approach. They argue that the knowledge generated by policy-relevant social research is dependent upon ordinary knowledge that is based upon common sense, casual empiricism, or thoughtful assumption and analysis.

Despite the fact that the analytical approach to policy making is bound by several limitations, it is of great value. This approach, mainly advocated by Dror, is well-established, though it is often described as policy analysis rather than a policy science. Policy science and the analytical approach are located squarely within the orbit of western rationalist thought. This means that the human systems can be understood merely as networks for processing information and making decisions. This approach to human systems gives rise to two related distortions, which are as follows:

- (i) It emphasizes technological solutions of the social problems, to the exclusion of cultural design value adaptation.
- (ii) It is reductionist in that it denies that human systems are more than the sum of individual expressions of their members.

Dror suggested policy science was an answer to face the challenges of shaping the future through better knowledge, constructed rationality and organized originality. As the purpose of policy sciences is to contribute to the improvement of public policy making, policy sciences as a super-disciplinary attempt based on behavioural sciences and management studies has also a relevant significance.

ACTIVITY

Prepare a report on the role of the main opposition political party in India in formulating major policies in the country.

DID YOU KNOW

The second Governor General of British India, Lord Cornwallis (1786-93) laid the foundations of the modern Indian public services. He split the Company bureaucracy into two parts: the political branch for civil governance, and the commercial branch for its commercial activities. On entry, an officer of the East India Company had to opt for one of these branches.

5.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The term 'policy' is a comprehensive concept that signifies the way of doing things. Thus, public policy may refer to substantive programmes and policies of the government.
- The criteria for public policy include:
 - (i) Public opinion
 - (ii) Rationality

- (iii) Economic and political situation
- (iv) Influence of media
- Today, public policy is very important. It deals with the definition of a policy problem. The definition of a problem may generate more conflict than consensus. In policy-making, political power tends to impose upon the definitions of a problem. However, present study of public policy is based on the problem-solving behaviour, realizing that the definition of the alternatives is the supreme instrument of power.
- Policy can be studied with a view to gain greater knowledge and understanding of the causes and consequences of policy decisions.
- Public policy is an important method for changing a social or economic system from the past to the future.
- A policy may be general or specific, broad or short, simple or complex, public or private, written and unwritten, explicit or implicit, discretionary or detailed, or and qualitative or quantitative in nature.
- In public administration, various approaches and models have been introduced to the study the policy science, policy making and the policy process.
- The concept of policy and administration is interrelated since policy is primarily a goal-oriented action, and without action, it is merely a statement, while administration is an apparatus for the implementation of the policies.
- Policy science is a systematic and scientific study of public policy.
- Policy formulation and implementation is governed by certain inherent principles. It is these principles that govern the policy choice and its outcome. Policy sciences attempt to discuss these principles in a systematic way.

5.9 KEY TERMS

- **Budgeting list:** It refers to the actual status of policy implementation.
- **Policy agenda:** A policy agenda are the demands and claims that are made on the public officials by citizens or interest groups.
- **Pressure groups:** Pressure groups are organizations with formal structures whose members share a common interest.
- **Environment:** It refers to any event or condition which is external to the boundaries of the political system.

5.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Policy making depends on two major lists, called the wish list and the budgeting list.
2. Donor groups are the groups that provide financial assistance, aid or credit to developing countries by imposing their demands. This can be seen in their policies.
3. The basic criteria for policy making are public opinion, rationality, political and economic situation and media influence.
4. The three aspects of human behaviour involved in decision-making are cognition, control and affection.

5. Public policy is studied for two reasons, for developing policy science and for political and administrative reasons.
6. Policy issues that deal with rules and regulations are known as constituent policy issues.
7. Social scientists largely fail to give proper advice to the policy-makers owing to lack of knowledge about individual and group behaviour.
8. The game theory is a conceptual and deductive theory or model of policy making. It is a form of rationalism (BALANCED) applied in competitive situations where the outcome depends on what two or more participants do.
9. Lynn argues that policy making includes not only goal setting, decision-making and formulation of political strategies, but also supervision of policy planning, resource allocation, operations management, programme evaluation and efforts at communication, argument and persuasion.
10. The two public policy approaches are 'policy analysis' and 'political public policy'.
11. The secretary acts as the chief advisor to the minister and assists the ministers in formulation of the public policy.
12. The main concern of the policy sciences is with understanding and improving macro control systems, especially public policy systems.

5.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What do you understand by policy agenda?
2. Define decision-making.
3. Briefly describe the types of decisions and the factors that determine decision-making.
4. How are policy-making and decision-making related to each other?
5. Give any one limitation of policy analysis.
6. What is the impact of globalization on policy-making?
7. What purposes are served by conceptual models?
8. What do you understand by the institutional approach to policy analysis?
9. What is the difference between political leaders and administrators?
10. What do you understand by policy science?
11. Briefly discuss the basic assumptions of policy sciences.
12. What are the shortcomings of policy sciences?

Long-Answers Questions

1. With the help of an example, explain how needs and demands overlap.
2. Policy making itself involves dealing with conflicting demand. Elaborate on the statement.
3. Describe the different criteria of policy making.

4. Discuss the reasons for studying public policy.
5. Explain the nature of public policy.
6. Discuss in detail the complexities in formulating public policies.
7. Elaborate on some of the approaches to understand public policy.
8. Explain the concept of policy and administration.
9. Describe the basic assumptions of policy sciences.
10. Discuss the criticisms of policy sciences.

5.12 FURTHER READING

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