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Public Administration

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Development of Public Administration as an Academic Discipline: Its Stages; Impact of Globalization in the Modern Era: Idea of Global Governance

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1.1 Objectives

This chapter focuses on the concept of Public Administration as an academic discipline. After studying this you should be able to:

- A) Understand the concept of Public Administration.
- B) Understand the different stages of evolution of Public Administration as an academic discipline.

- C) The impact of globalization on Public Administration.
- D) The notion of Global Governance.

1.2 Introduction

Before discussing the various interpretations of the concept of public administration, it is appropriate to understand the meaning of the terms 'public' and 'administration'. As the will of the people of a state is represented by the government of the state, the word 'public' also has a specialized, governmental meaning. Therefore, the acts of administration performed by the government are called 'public administration'. Those acts which are undertaken by individuals in their own capacity are termed 'private administration'. The English word '*administer*' is derived from the Latin words *ad* and *ministrare*, which means 'to serve'. Thus, in simple words 'administration' means the 'management of affairs', or looking after the people. It is a process of management which is practiced by all kinds of organizations from the household to the most complex system of the government. Whenever two or more people cooperate to accomplish common goals, an administrative activity is assumed to have been involved. In the words of H. Simon, 'Administration can be defined as the activities of groups cooperating to accomplish common goals.'

As an aspect of governmental activity, Public Administration is very old as much as human history (civilization). In European languages, the term Public Administration began to creep in during the seventeenth century to separate the absolute monarch's administration of public affairs from the management of his private household. This was a period when the church was separated from the state and government was superimposed on all other societal institutions within a definite territory. In contemporary societies there are some activities like maintenance of law and order, and security carried out in the interest of the citizens. Besides maintenance of law and order, revenue collection and security functions, it operationalise a vast array of public laws, provides public services like post and telegraphs and transport facilities in cities and towns, and is the main instrument of socioeconomic transformation in modern societies.

In common usage, public administration is concerned with the executive—the operative and the most obvious part of government. In other words, it is mainly concerned with the executing and implementing parts of governmental activity, and with administering of the law of the land with equity, speed and smoothness. 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. To summaries, 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 formulated by the state. 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 Development of Public Administration as an Academic Discipline

As mentioned above, Administration as an activity or as a process is as old as the political society, that is, it has co-existed with the political systems to accomplish the objectives set by the political decision makers.

However, we can find the writings on administrative thought of ancient India in Kautilya's '*Arthashastra*', Ancient West in Aristotle's '*politics*' and Medieval West in Machiavelli's '*The Prince*'. Again in the 18th century, Cameralism in Germany and Austria was concerned with the systematic management of governmental affairs. Their objective of their study and research was to train candidates for civil service.

According to Rumki Basu, in USA, the public administration as a separate subject of study originated because of the following factors:

- 1) The scientific management movement advocated by F. W. Tylor.
- 2) The 19th Century industrialization which gave rise to large scale organizations.
- 3) The emergence of the concept of welfare state replacing the police state (*laissez faire*).
- 4) The movement for governmental reform due to negative consequences of 'spoils system'.

But as a field of systematic study or as an academic discipline, public discipline is much more recent—hardly a century old. Like other disciplines, it has passed through several phases of evolution. Its evolutionary history can be divided into the following phases of development.

1.3.1. Stage 1: The Era of Politics –Administration Dichotomy (1887-1926)

This stage marked the beginning of Politics – Administration dichotomy with the appearance in 1887 of Woodrow Wilson’s essay titled ‘*The Study of Administration*’ in *Political Science Quarterly*. It was written at a time when there was a crying need to eliminate corruption, improve efficiency, and streamline service delivery in pursuit of public interest. His advocacy that ‘there should be a science of administration’ has to be seen in its historical context. Writing against the background of widespread corruption, science meant, to Wilson, a systematic and disciplined body of knowledge which he thought would be useful to grasp and defuse the crisis in administration. He is regarded as the father of the Discipline because his essay laid the foundation for a separate, independent and systematic study in public administration. In his essay, Wilson has stressed the need for a separate study of administration as he regarded administration as distinct from politics. He argued that law-making or framing a constitution is the concern of politics, while administration is concerned with the implementation of a constitution. He said, ‘It is getting harder to run a constitution than to frame one’. In his words “...that administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics. Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices.”

Wilson described public administration as a field of business. He observed, “The field of administration is a field of business. It is removed from the study of the hurry and strife of politics.” He compared administration with science. Thus, he said that “the science of administration is the latest fruit of that study of politics which was begun some twenty- two hundred ago. It is a birth of our own country, almost of our own generation. We are having now, what we never had before, a science of administration. Hence, in order to strengthen the government and its organization and to make its business more efficient, there should be a science of administration.”

Another notable event of the period was the publication in 1900 of Frank J. Goodnow’s “*Politics and Administration*”. Goodnow developed the Wilsonian theme further with courage and conviction. He sought to conceptually distinguish the two functions of the government. He maintains, ‘Politics has to do with policies or expressions of the State Will’, while ‘Administration has to do with the execution of these policies’. Apart from this distinction he also stressed upon

the differentiation between the institutional locations of the two functions. While the location of politics was identified as the legislature and the higher echelons of government where major policy-decisions were made, the location of administration was identified as the executive arm of government—the bureaucracy. Goodnow thus posited the politics–administration dichotomy. Like Wilson, Goodnow also argued for the promotion of public administration as an independent and separate discipline. Hence, He came to be regarded as the ‘father of American Public Administration.’ In 1914, the American Political Science Association published a report which discussed the objectives of teaching political science. One of the objectives was to ‘prepare specialists for government positions’. Thus, public administration was recognized as an important sub-area of political science. The subject i.e., public administration began to gain recognition in the American universities and its study started steadily spreading. In 1926, the first textbook on the subject appeared. This was Leonard D. White’s *‘Introduction to the Study of Public Administration’*. It reflected the dominant themes in public administration of the period. Its premises were that politics and administration were to be kept separate and efficiency and economy were the watchwords of public administration. Public administration was stated to be a ‘value-free’ science and the mission of administration would be economy and efficiency. While not rejecting politics per se, the publicadministration reformers of this period sought better government by expanding administrative functions (planning and analyzing), keeping them distinct from political functions (Deciding). The politics–administration dichotomy emerged as a conceptual orientation whereby the world of government was to be divided into two functional areas, one administrative, and another political. With its publication, the subject picked up academic legitimacy.

The important and remarkable feature of the first period of the evolutionary stages of the discipline was a passionate belief in the politics–administration dichotomy. This 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.

1.3.2 Stage 2: Principles of Administration: (1927-37)

During this period of evolution of the discipline, the tendency to reinforce the idea of politics-administration dichotomy and a kind of value free science of management was continued. The main idea of this period was that there are certain principles of administration and the task is to discover them and promote their application to increase the efficiency and economy of public administration. They argued that administration is administration irrespective of the nature and context of work because the principles of administration have universal validity and relevancy. Hence they claimed that public administration is a science.

The period dawned with the appearance of W. F. Willoughby's work '*Principles of Public Administration*' in 1927. The title of the book indicates the new thrust of the discipline. There appeared a number of other works during this period stressing this approach, the more notable among them being '*Principles of Organisation*' by Mooney and Reiley; '*Creative Experience*' by Mary Parker Follett; '*Industrial and General Management*' by Henri Fayol. This period reached its zenith in 1937 when Luther H. Gulick and Lyndal Urwick's Papers '*on the Science of Administration*' appeared.

The use of the word 'science' by Gulick and Urwick for administration was significant. Urwick said, '*It is the general thesis of this paper that there are principles which can be arrived at inductively from the study of human organization which should govern arrangements for human association of any kind. These principles can be studied as a technical question, irrespective of the purpose of the enterprise, the personnel comprising it, or any constitutions, political or social theory underlying its creation.*'

This period reached its climax in 1937 when Luther Gulick and Urwick coined seven principles 'POSDCORB' (Planning, Organizing, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Reporting, and Budgeting) in their essay 'The Science of Administration'. The POSDCORB maxims of administration were said to be of universal applicability in old organizations.

The years under the second stage i.e., from 1927 to 1937 were the golden years of 'principles' in the history of public administration. As rightly observed by Mohit Bhattacharya, "*the 'public' aspect of public administration was virtually dropped at this stage and the focus was almost wholly on efficiency.*"

1.3.3 Stage 3: Era of Challenge (1938-1947)

Following the Second World War, many of the previously accepted theories of public administration came under attack. Under the crisis of decision-making atmosphere of the Second World War, Washington quickly exposed the politics-administration dichotomy as a false division. The rapid pace of mobilization decisions in a wartime environment quickly demonstrated the necessity for flexibility, creativity, and discretion in decision-making. The rigid, hierarchically based proverbs of administrative practice proved totally ineffective in such an environment. Finally, as a result of these experiences, now the attempt was done to reintroduce a focus on the broader social, moral, and political theoretical effectiveness to challenge the dogma of managerial effectiveness.

Moreover, the principles approach to organizational analysis was criticized as a mechanistic approach due to its emphasis on the formal structure of organization and neglect of socio-psychological aspects of organizational behavior. The Hawthorne studies (1924-1932) conducted under the leadership of Elton Mayo shook the foundations of principles approach to organizational analysis by demonstrating the role of informal organizations in determining organizational efficiency. These studies gave rise to 'human relations' theory of organization.

The argument was that administration cannot be separated from politics because of its political nature and political role. Administration is not only concerned with implementation of political policy decisions, but also plays an important role in policy formulation which is the domain of politics. In other words, the politics-administration dichotomy was rejected.

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 in which he criticized the principles as 'mere proverbs'. Again in his another book "Administrative Behavior" published in 1947 in which he strengthened his same argument and this work got him noble prize in 1978. Simon proposed the development of a new science of administration based on theories and methodology of logical positivism. The focus of such a science would be decision-making. He maintained that to be scientific it must exclude value judgments and concentrate attention on facts, adopt precise definition of terms, apply rigorous analysis, and test factual statements or postulates about administration. Simon's work sets forth the rigorous requirements of scientific analysis in

public administration. About some of the classical ‘principles’, Simon’s conclusion was that these were unscientifically derived and were no more than ‘proverbs’. His argument was:

“How can principles help in determining proper actions when two principles provide contradictory arguments for action? The principle of span of control assumes that administrative efficiency is enhanced by limiting the number of subordinates who report directly to one administrator. The principle of limited levels of hierarchy assumes that administrative efficiency is enhanced by keeping to the minimum number of organization levels. The former calls for a narrowly-based pyramid and the latter for a broadly-based pyramid.”

He didn’t make any difference between politics and administration. He laid substantive focus on decision-making and termed decision-making as the heart of administration by relating it to psychology, sociology, economics and political science. His focus on decision making was an alternative to principles approach.

Another challenge came from Robert Dahl who in his essay entitled *“The Science of Public Administration: Three Problems”* questioned the claim that public administration is a science. He mainly identified three problems in the evolution of a science of public administration:

- 1.3.3.1 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.
- 1.3.3.2 The second problem arises from the inescapable fact that a science of public administration must be a study of certain aspects of human behavior. Dahl criticized the ‘machine concept of organization’ and argued that the study of administration must embrace the whole psychological man.
- 1.3.3.3 The third problem relates to the conception of the principles of administration. There was a tendency, as he pointed out, to enunciate universal principles based on a few examples drawn from limited national and historical settings.

Robert Dahl observed, *“We are a long way from a science of public administration. No science of public administration possible unless: (a) the place of normative values is made clear; (b) the nature of man in the area of public administration is better understood and his conduct is more predictable; and (c) there is a body of comparative studies from which it may be possible to*

discover principles and generalities that transcend national boundaries and peculiar historical experiences.”

Robert Dahl emphasized the environmental effects on administrative behavior. He believed that public administration cannot escape the effects of national psychology and social, political and cultural environment in which it develops. Hence, he suggested the cross- cultural studies, that is, comparative studies

In this stage, public administration found itself in a very uncertain position because of heavy criticism was placed against it. Thus, dissent from mainstream public administration accelerated In the 1940s in two mutually reinforcing directions. One objection was that politics and administration could never be separated in any remotely sensible fashion. The other was that the principles of administration were something less than the final expression of Managerial rationality.

1.3.4 Stage 4: Crisis of Identity (1948-1970)

In this stage, public administration suffered from uncertainty, as it was facing a grave crisis i.e., crisis of identity. The scholars of public administration reacted to this crisis mainly in two ways: Firstly, some of them returned to the mother science, namely political science. But the political scientists have not welcomed them. Many political scientists began to argue that the true objective of teaching in the field was ‘intellectualized understanding’ of the executives, thus reserving the objective laid down in 1914, namely, preparing ‘specialists for governmental position.’ John Gaus in his article entitled “*Trends in the Theory of Public Administration*” (1950) says that “a theory of public administration means in our time a theory of politics also.” Further, Rosco Martin in his 1952 article, called for continued “dominion of Political Science over Public Administration.”

Secondly, some others were driven towards the administrative science. Here, too, public administration had to lose its distinctiveness, identify and to merge with a larger field. They argued that administration is administration irrespective of its setting and it was on this belief that ‘*The Journal of Administrative Science Quarterly*’ was established in 1956. The major works influenced by this perspective are ‘*Organisation*’(1958) by March and Simon, ‘*Behavioural theory of the*

Firm' (1963) by Cyert and March, '*Handbook of Organisations*' (1965) by March, and '*Organisations in Action*' 1967 by J. D. Thompson.

In both the cases public administration lost its separate distinctiveness and identity as it had to merge with the larger field. That is the reason this stage is known as the stage of crisis of identity.

Different types of developments took place during this phase of the evolution of public administration. They are:

Growth of Comparative Public Administration, Ecological Approach and Development Administration: In the post Second World War period, the emergence of new nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have set in a new trend in the study of public administration. Western scholars, particularly the American scholars, began to show much interest in the study of the varied administrative patterns of the newly independent nations. In this context, they recognized the importance of the relevance of environmental factors and their impact on the different administrative systems in these nations. This factor largely accounts for the development of Comparative, Ecological, and Development administration perspectives in the study of public administration. In this regard, the contribution of Ferrel Heady, F.W. Riggs, and Edward Weidner is significant. The cross-cultural and cross-national administrative studies have provided the impetus needed for the extension of the scope of public administration.

Emergence of New Public Administration: The period of the late 1960s was a time of academic foment that yielded a new perspective which was distinctly public perspective. This was the new public administration. At the Minnowbrook Conference I (1968), they advocated for bringing about arguably a new era in public administration informed with relevance, values, social equity, and change. Public interest formed the core of the deliberations. Relating administration to the 'political' was the central focus of the new public administration school.

Public Choice approach: Public choice school is another landmark in the evolution of public administration. Far from accepting bureaucracy as 'rational' and 'efficient', the protagonists of this school have been highly skeptical about its structure and actual operating behavior. The argument of Niskanen, Downs, and Tullock, in this context, is based on the assumption of administrative egoism. The bureaucrats are, in their view, individualistic self-seekers 'who would

do more harm than good to public welfare’ unless ‘their self-seeking activities are carefully circumscribed’. This explains the tendency towards bureaucratic growth that brings in more and more rewards for the officials and quid pro quo. To mitigate the evils of bureaucratic monopoly, Niskanen (1971) suggests the following steps:

- Stricter control on bureaucrats through the executive or legislature;
- More competition in the delivery of public services;
- Privatization or contracting-out to reduce wastage; and
- Dissemination of more information for public benefit about the availability of alternatives to public services, offered on a competitive basis and at competitive costs.

The public choice school has been successful in pointing out that there are alternatives available for the delivery of services to citizens. The role of the market as a competing paradigm has challenged the hegemonic position of the state. Also the power of the bureaucracy has been similarly slashed, opening up possibilities of non-bureaucratic citizen-friendly organizational options.

Apart from those developments, in this period we also find the rise of Human Relations Approach to the study of public administration as advocated by Chris Argyris, Douglas McGregor, Rensis Likert, Warren Barret and others.

1.3.5 Stage 5: Public Policy Perspective (1971 Onwards)

In this stage public administration has also identified itself with Policy Science. Public administrationists are showing much interest in the related fields of policy science, political economy, policy making, policy analysis, and so on. Public policy approach got acceptance in administrative analysis as the traditional idea of Politics-Administration dichotomy was abandoned. Dwight Waldo concluded that the separation between politics-administration had become an “outworn credo”. With the adoption of public policy approach, public administration has become inter- disciplinary, gained social relevance and expanded its scope.

The Minnowbrook Conference II, which was held in 1988, is another landmark in the evolution of public administration. The outcome of the conference gave birth to the new public management (NPM) approach to governance. Its emergence reflected the changes that took place in the Western nations. State as major dispenser of social justice had been increasingly questioned across the globe since late 1970s. NPM is depicted as a normative conceptualization of public administration consisting of several interrelated components: providing high-quality services that citizens value; increasing the autonomy of public managers; rewarding organizations and individuals on the basis of whether they meet demanding targets; making available human and technological resources that managers need to perform well; and, appreciative of the virtues of competition, maintaining an open-minded attitude about which public purposes should be performed by the private sector, rather than public sector. The NPM focuses on the entrepreneurial government. It is a participatory management and community-owned governance, in which citizens are considered as active consumers and not as passive recipients of programmes and policies. The main motto is to empower citizens. In addition to formal governments, the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations has been acknowledged as supplementary public agencies.

The new reforms model that is the NPM model is based on certain postulates, which include:

- Focusing on achieving results rather than primarily conforming to processes.
- Introducing market principles such as competition, and contracting out in the provision of goods and services.
- Making public administration customer-driven to enhance service ethic and efficiency.
- Assigning the role of steering activities to the government rather than rowing.
- Relying on third parties such as non-profit organizations, and other levels of government in implementation of policies.
- Deregulating the government activities to make them result-oriented.
- Empowering the employees to serve the customers as it promotes teamwork; and

- Changing the overall public administrative culture towards flexibility, innovation, entrepreneurialism, as ‘opposed to’ rule-bound, process orientation.

NPM has emerged clearly as a major manifestation of the Competition State. This new paradigm, which has gained wider implementation on a variety of labels such as reinventing, reengineering, quality management, liberation management, focuses basically on the changes in the structure and processes of government.

1.4 Impact of Globalization in the Modern Era

Globalization can be understood in terms of two distinct phenomena: ‘scope’ (or stretching) and ‘intensity’ (or deepening). On the one hand, it defines a set of processes, which embrace most of the globe or which operate worldwide hinting at a spatial connection. On the other hand, it also implies an intensification of the levels of interaction, interconnectedness or interdependence between the States and societies, which constitute the world community. It involves domains of activity and interaction that include the economic, political, technological, military, legal, cultural and environmental. It implies, from an economic perspective, removal of trade barriers, deregulation of financial and banking systems, high levels of consumer demands and expectations and large-scale entry of multinational enterprises engaged in Foreign Direct Investment.

Both structurally and functionally, public administration has experienced a metamorphosis of sort. Structurally speaking, thanks to the sweeping socioeconomic–political transformation under globalization, the rigid, hierarchical, and bureaucratic form of governance has given way to a more flexible, de-hierarchical, and post-bureaucratic form of governance based on networks and partnership. Similarly, at the functional level public administration has witnessed a profound transformation in the form of delivery of public goods and services. But, the onset of globalization and the eventual rolling back of the welfare state ushered in a new collaborative form of public administration, where state administration has had to readjust itself to deliver public goods and services in collaboration with the innumerable other players and NGOs functioning at the societal level.

Globalization has affected public administration due to the impact of pressures generated on it by global institutions, information technology and increasing concern for efficiency and productivity.

The pressures exerted by global institutions are immense. These are defined as the pressures exerted by a formalized institution with a global jurisdiction that has authority and power over individual countries in a given policy area. The aid conditionality imposed has wider repercussions as they increase the developing country's financial, military, and political dependencies on the West. In many developing countries, people have been devoid of any choice of determining their own priorities, and policy preferences. Structural adjustment and stabilization policies, pursued by several developing countries have been considered as a negation of local democracy.

Public administration, traditionally speaking, has always had the major obligation of adhering to the rule of law; promoting public interest; assuring equity, representativeness and responsiveness to the citizens. The excessive reliance of traditional administration on bureaucracy, hierarchy rules and regulations, in course of time, raised significant questions about efficacy and effectiveness. So there was a need of model with managerial orientation, which is termed as NPM, aims at making public administration market- based, and committed to the three primary goals of economy, efficiency and effectiveness. The very term management instead of administration emphasizes that efficiency is more important than mere adherence to rules and regulations.

Several methods have been used to facilitate the privatization of welfare delivery, namely, contracting out, encouraging private provision, introducing quasi-markets, mobilizing voluntary sectors, and the like. However, the shift from the role of a direct provider to a facilitator of welfare delivery has not made public administration redundant. In fact, it has continued to enjoy its key position. In a market economy, public administration has a great instrumental value, which not only facilitates the smooth functioning of the market, but also legitimizes its operations within a society.

The market approach argues that the government is less efficient than markets over providing services to individuals. The market firms due to competition and profit motive make a more effective use of given resources than the government agencies, which lack similar incentives. Also, individuals can choose the services they want from the market, subject to their income, whereas government provision of services leaves them with little or no choice.

Minogue(2001) criticized the welfare state as being :

- 1) Unresponsive but all- pervasive which fostered citizen dependence rather than self-sufficiency.
- 2) Encompassing over time and unable to carry out functions and responsibilities effectively (over- extended state).
- 3) Controlled by elite groups that used the state to serve their own interests rather than public interest (private interest state).

The impact of globalization has thus been a mixed one. In the view of Ali Farazmand (1999), due to globalization, on the one hand, public administration seems to be moving towards protection of citizens' rights, accountability, ethical values, research and training. On the other hand, globalization is leading to shrinking of public space, violation of human rights and commodification of citizens.

Public administration, according to Jamil Jreisat (2004) is facing new challenges due to the impact of globalization. These are:

- A growing need for negotiation skills among sovereign States
- Changed role of bureaucracy from managing to facilitating economic activities
- An organizational, managerial culture which stresses performance and result-oriented management (There is a demand for managerial skills of adaptability, cooperation and creativity)
- Focus on managerial leadership and expertise which has been necessitated by the demands of negotiations, mediation, and sensitivity to human rights and diversity
- Emergence of e-government, where all countries have been executing major initiatives to tap the vast potential of the Internet for improving and perfecting the governing process
- Need for a comparative perspective wherein, in response to the new global reality, public administration must effectively utilize a comparative outlook that incorporates non- western as well as more developed systems

Apart from these needs, there is an urgent need for public administrations to acquire a corps of professional public managers that will be equipped with skills adapted to the international administrative working environment.

1.5 Idea of Global Governance

Global governance is a process of international cooperation among transnational actors, aimed at negotiating responses to problems that affect more than one state or region. The concept of global governance, as distinct from 'good governance', refers to formal and informal sets of arrangements in global politics. It implies that states alone cannot manage global affairs, and therefore it accords roles to international governmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGO's) and multinational corporations (MNC's). Global governance refers to transnational networks, institution building, norm entrepreneurship, regime creation and the management of global change. Private Institutions under global governance include the international nonprofit organizations operating at a global scale. The modern question of international governance exists in the context of globalization and globalizing regimes of power: politically, economically and culturally. In response to the acceleration of worldwide interdependence, the term "global governance" may be called as the process of designating laws, rules or regulations intended for a global scale.

It covers many issues, such as women's rights, human rights, development, democratization, the environment, security and investments. Its recent achievements include the treaty banning landmines, the Kyoto climate convention, the international criminal court, the World Trade Organization, and the 'new generation' UN peacekeeping operations. Globalization brings with it both new opportunities and many challenges. Pollution does not respect international boundaries while terrorism, drugs, the proliferation of small arms, and other transnational problems not only dominate the political agendas of individual states, but require international co-operation if they are to be dealt with effectively.

Global governance is a purposeful order that emerges from institutions, processes, norms, formal agreements, and informal mechanisms that regulate action for a common good. Global governance encompasses activity at the international, transnational, and regional levels, and refers to activities

in the public and private sectors that transcend national boundaries. In this conception of global governance, cooperative action is based on rights and rules that are enforced through a combination of financial and moral incentives. In the absence of a single authoritative institution or world government structure, global governance is comprised of elements and methods from both the public and private sectors. These basic elements include agreed upon standards, evolving norms based on shared values, and directives issued and enforced by states. Methods of global governance include harmonization of laws among states, international regimes, global policy issue networks, and hybrid institutions that combine functions of state agencies and private sector organizations.

The concept of global governance raises two sets of, as yet, unresolved issues. One has to do with claims of the legitimate exercise of authority, the other with democratic values. In contrast to theories of governance at local and national levels, a social contract between citizens and institutions of global governance has not been developed sufficiently to constitute a sufficient basis for legitimacy. In its current conception, global governance implies democratic governance. However, the reliance on scientific and professional bodies to set standards, rules, and procedures, on bureaucratic agencies of the state to implement policies, and on voluntary organizations to monitor compliance, none of which are based on democratic principles of representation or equal participation, raises questions about the compatibility of democratic values and the concept of global governance.

1.6 Summing Up

- Public Administration is the non-political machinery of the government carrying on its work for the welfare of the people according to the laws formulated by the state.
- Like other disciplines, Public administration has passed through several phases of evolution.
- The first and the second stages of the evolutionary stages of the discipline were mainly concerned with the politics–administration dichotomy.
- The third stage exposed the politics–administration dichotomy as a false division.
- In the fourth stage, public administration was facing a crisis of identity. The scholars of public administration reacted to this crisis mainly in two ways: Firstly, some of them

returned to the mother science, namely Political Science and some others were driven towards the administrative science.

- Different types of developments took place during this phase of the evolution of public administration (ex., CPA, Development Administration, New Public Administration, Public Choice School, Human Relations Approach and Ecological Approach.
- In the fifth stage, public administration has identified itself with Policy Science.
- In 1980s there was another landmark in the evolution of PA, which is called NPM.
- Distinction between administration and management is becoming irrelevant
- The New Public Management emphasis on the use of private society style models, organizational ideas and values to improve the service orientation of the public sector.
- NPM treats individuals as ‘customers’ or ‘clients’ rather than as citizens.
- The 21st century demand small but effective government from public administration.
- Global governance is a purposeful order that emerges from institutions, processes, norms, formal agreements, and informal mechanisms that regulate action for a common good.
- Methods of global governance include harmonization of laws among states, international regimes, global policy issue networks, and hybrid institutions that combine functions of state agencies and private sector organizations.

1.7 Self-Assessment Questions

- a) What do you understand by the term Public Administration in the 21st century?
- b) What are the main stages in the evolution of public administration as an academic discipline?
- c) How is Public Administration different from Politics?
- d) Discuss the interplay between Public Administration and Politics?
- e) What are the major impacts of Globalization on Public Administration?
- f) Discuss whether globalization has created barrier or enhanced the functioning of Public Administration?
- g) What are the main factors involved in the process of global governance?

- h) What are the changes that took place in the functioning of Public Administration in the 21st century?
- i) What are the main needs of Public Administration in the 21st century?

1.8 Suggested Readings

1. Chakrabarty B. & Chand P. (2012). Public Administration in a Globalized World: Theories and Practices. Sage Texts Publication.
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New Public Administration: Minnowbrook I; Blacksburg Manifesto; Minnowbrook II

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1.1 Objectives

This chapter focuses on the concept of New Public Administration. After studying this you should be

able to:

- a) Explain the concept and context of New Public Administration.
- b) Understand the emergence and growth of New Public Administration.
- c) Explain the basic features and themes of New Public Administration.
- d) Discuss the Goals and anti- Goals of New Public Administration.
- e) Understand the important concerns of the first, second and third Minnowbrook conferences.
- f) Understand the concept of Blacksburg Manifesto and its contribution to Second Minnowbrook Conference.
- g) Understand the concept of Third Minnowbrook Conference.

1.2 Introduction

The discipline of public administration has seen many ups and downs ever since its emergence as an Independent field of study. The 1960s and early 1970s were periods of turbulence, instability and confusion in the West, particularly in the United States. During this time, some of the best of the younger generation of American scholars pioneered a movement in American public administration which came to be known as the 'new public administration'. The young academics, although nurtured and schooled in the era of positive government, were actually sensitive to the failings of American democracy.

The year 1968 was the most turbulent one in the most turbulent decade in the United States since World War II. It began with the Vietnam War, which made it clear to the American people that we were not winning that war and that their government had not been telling the truth. The assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy were both followed by a wave of urban riots. The Democratic National Convention in Chicago was marked by protesters chanting "The whole world is watching" and beatings by the police. Finally that year, the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia. The United States was tearing itself apart over the Vietnam War. The Great Society was collapsing. Universities were caught in the middle.

Students, worried about the draft, were a source of continuous unrest. Authority of all kinds was being questioned. Public administration like other social sciences such as psychology, sociology and political science, stood shaken by this revolutionary period.

By the mid- 1970s, the Ford Foundation was prepared to fund the establishment of several new public policy analysis schools, most of them at universities that previously had viable graduate programs in public administration. The argument made by the advocates of these changes was that academic public administration was no longer “relevant” to the real problems of the day, most of those problems being concerned with policy— and particularly policy analysis— rather than administration.

The Minnowbrook Conference I was truly a wake-up call for theorists and practitioners alike to make the discipline socially relevant and accountable. It was held in the backdrop of a turbulent time which was marked by a series of contemporary developments like social upheavals in the form of ethnic skirmishes across the American cities, campus clashes, Vietnam War and its repercussions in American society, and the like. These above developments coupled with a deep sense of dissatisfaction among the practitioners regarding the present state of the discipline, especially its obsession with efficiency and economy, had ushered in a qualitatively improved phase in public administration subsequently christened as New Public Administration. This new ‘counter-culture’, as Mohit Bhattacharya puts, has called for the ‘primacy’ of ‘politics’ in administration.

In this Unit, an attempt will be made to trace the genesis of New Public Administration, highlight the thrust areas of the Minnowbrook I and Minnowbrook II conferences, to enable us to appreciate the changes in the discipline and practice of public administration. We will also look at the role of Blacksburg Manifesto in shaping the ideas of second Minnowbrook conference.

The First Minnowbrook Conference (1968)

The Minnowbrook Conference I was famous for bringing about arguably a new era in public administration informed with relevance, equity, change, and social justice. Public interest

formed the core of the deliberations. Social equity has been added to efficiency and economy as the rationale or justification for policy positions. Equal protection of the law has come to be considered as important to those charged with carrying out the law (public administrators), as it is to those elected to make the law. Ethics, honesty, and responsibility in governance have returned again to the lexicon of public administration; they are now understood to hold a public trust to provide the best possible public service with the costs and benefits being fairly distributed among the people.

With this momentous backdrop, Dwight Waldo, then holder of the Albert Schweitzer Chair of Public Administration at the Maxwell School of Syracuse University organized the Minnowbrook I Conference. This Conference is considered an important chapter in the genesis of a new public administration. Sometime later the two valuable volumes “Towards a New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective” and “Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence” edited by Frank Marini and Dwight Waldo respectively gave currency to the concept of new public administration. These two volumes appeared in 1971, one after the other. They viewed ‘neither the study nor the practice of public administration was responding in appropriate measure to mounting turbulence and critical problems’. The term ‘new public administration’ is the offshoot of the new trend and the new movement in the field that resulted in the holding of Minnowbrook Conference by young teachers and practitioners of virtually all the academic participants at Minnowbrook I were political scientists who tended to frame their perspectives on public administration along political science fault lines, particularly the so-called behavioral (logical positivism, rationality, science) versus anti-behavioral (philosophical, historical, normative) debate.

Most conference participants were familiar with the debate between Waldo and Herbert Simon over the role of science in political science and public administration. That debate tended to frame the Minnowbrook “conversation,” dominated by the anti-behavioral perspective associated with Waldo. Simon emphasized a more empirical investigation of organizational and behavioral approaches to understanding decision making, one that incorporated tools of management and social psychology. Waldo emphasized a more political, theoretical, and philosophical approach to thinking about the tensions between democracy and bureaucracy. His emphasis was more of a critique, less positivistic, and more directed at increasing the

bureaucracy's involvement in developing processes for public participation and democratic expression. He feared that public administration as a field would become replaced by decision makers who were overly consumed with a set of values that focused on making government organizations efficient and effective at the expense of democratic values.

Major landmarks for the emergence of New Public Administration

The following can be cited as the major landmarks in the growth and emergence of New Public Administration:

- (a) The Honey Report on Higher Education for the Public Service, 1967. The report identified some problems confronting the discipline which needed immediate attention.
- (b) The Philadelphia Conference on the Theory and Practice of Public Administration, 1967.
- (c) The Minnowbrook Conference–I, 1968.
- (d) Publication of *Toward a New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective*, edited by Frank Marini, 1971.
- (e) Publication of *Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence* edited by Dwight Waldo, 1971.

1.3 Themes of New Public Administration

Frank Marini summarised initially the principal themes of the Minnowbrook conference I under the following heads: relevance, anti-positivism, personal morality, innovation concern for clients and anti-bureaucratic philosophy. But later on the following sub-topics were utilised: morals, ethics and values, social equity, client-focus; and repression. The literature of new public administration lays emphasis on four major themes: relevance, value, social equity and change are believed to be the major themes of the Minnowbrook Conference of 1968.

According to Frank Marini, these themes may be elaborated as follows:

Relevance:

‘Relevance’ was an extremely common word at Minnowbrook and can be identified as one of the four major rubrics under which the themes making up the ‘Minnowbrook perspective’ can be grouped. Public Administration has traditionally been interested in efficiency and economy. Management- oriented public administration curriculum was found ‘irrelevant’ and the demand was to deal explicitly with the political and administrative implications of administrative action. Todd R. L. Porte argues that there is almost no examination of the relevance of the concepts to social or organizational reality. He says that our primary normative premise should be that the purpose of public administration is the reduction of economic, social and psychic suffering and the enhancement of life opportunities for those inside and outside the organization i.e., public organisations should be assessed in terms of their effect on the production and distribution of material abundance in efforts to free all people from economic deprivation and want. Furthermore, public organisations have a responsibility to enhance social justice.

Another aspect of the ‘relevance’ issue relates to the character of the knowledge itself. The question that was asked was: public administration knowledge for what? Is it the purpose of public administration to facilitate use of administrative knowledge for the perpetuation of political power? Some of the important questions raised at Minnowbrook were:

- (f) What standards of decision do we use to select which questions ought to be studied and how to study them?
- (g) Who defines our questions and priorities for us?
- (h) To what extent are we aware of the social and moral implications of knowledge in public administration?
- (i) What are the uses of public administration as a social and political science?
- (j) Does public administration presently yield knowledge useful to certain institutions in society (usually the dominant ones) and not to others?

These are obviously very disturbing questions, challenging the status quo in public administration. The new movement demanded radical curriculum change to facilitate meaningful studies oriented toward the realities of public life.

Values

The new public administration movement focused its basic normative concern in administrative studies. It openly rejected the value-neutral belief taken by behavioral political science and management - oriented public administration. Value- neutrality in public administration was considered impossibility and the discipline should explicitly espouse the cause of the disadvantaged sections in society. The new public administration should be less 'generic' and more 'public'; less 'descriptive' and more 'prescriptive'; less 'institution-oriented' and more 'client-impact oriented'; less 'neutral' and more 'normative'; and no less scientific.

Social equity

New public administration adds social equity to the classic objectives and rationale for public administration. The protagonists of new public administration clearly states that the purpose of public action should be the reduction of economic and social disparities and the enhancement of life opportunities for all social groups inside and outside the organisation. Frederickson is of the opinion that social equity includes activities designed to enhance the political power and well-being of the disadvantaged sections of society. He further argues that new public administration seeks to change those policies and structures that systematically inhibit social equity. Frederickson writes, a commitment to social equity not only involves the pursuit of change, but attempts to find organisational and political forms which exhibit a capacity for continued flexibility or routinised change.

Change

Social change is another theme of the youth conference. To serve the cause of social equity is to actively work for social change. The attack is on the status quo and against the powerful interests entrenched in permanent institutions. It suggests innovation in administrative machinery for bringing about social transformation. Social change is the basic need in order to make public administration fulfill its commitment to social equity. Change is basic to new public administration.

1.4 Basic Features of New Public Administration

George Frederickson has referred to certain key features of New Public Administration. These

are:

1. **Change and Responsiveness:** There is change all over in the social, political, economic and technological environments. This calls for administration to bring about necessary and appropriate changes internally as well as externally to the environment. Necessary flexibility and adaptability also need to be introduced in the functioning of administration.
2. **Rationality:** This calls for judging the efficacy of administrators' actions not only from their point of view of the government, but also from the citizens' perspective.
3. **Structural Changes:** New Public Administration calls for experimenting with different organisational structures in tune with the relevant situation and needs of environment. There is need for small, decentralised, flexible hierarchies to facilitate citizen interaction.
4. **Emphasis on Multi-disciplinary Perspective:** Public Administration is influenced not just by one single thought, but several knowledge streams. Hence, an understanding of various approaches including political, management, human relations, is essential to contribute to its growth.

1.5 'Goals' and 'Anti-Goals of New Public Administration'

The proponents of new public administration agree on a number of issues. However, they also disagree on some points.

Robert T. Golembiewski talked about three 'anti-goals' (what they reject) and five 'goals' (what they want to approach) of the new public administration. These are:

1.7.1.1 They reject (i) the definition of public administration as 'value free', (ii) a traditional deterministic view of humankind and (iii) any definition of public administration that was not properly involved in policy.

1.7.1.2 The new public administration is anti-technical, that means they decry the human beings sacrificed to the logic of the machine and the system.

1.7.1.3 The new public administration is more or less anti-bureaucratic or anti-hierarchical.

From a positive perspective, the five Goals of new public administration are:

- (a) The new public administration considers mankind as having the potentiality of becoming perfect. Humans are not static factor of production.
- (b) It stresses the central role of personal and organisational values or ethics. There is an essential relationship between the structures and processes of administrative efforts and their ends.
- (c) Social equity should be the guiding factor for public administration. Social equity means that public administration should champion the cause of the underprivileged sections of society.
- (d) It must become an active agent of economic and social change.
- (d) The new public administration advocates a client-oriented approach.

1.6 Criticism of New Public Administration

Despite a few redeeming features, New Public Administration has been subject to severe criticism. It is often held responsible for the propagation of an illusion of ‘paradigm change, paradigm shift or paradigm revolution within the field’. The argument goes that NPA instead of contributing to a paradigm shift, has ‘fostered intellectual confusion, the obfuscation of critical philosophical and methodological issues and the institutionalization of undisciplined mediocrity in the field’ with a definite political intention of reinforcing of the status quo. Contemporary Developments in Public Administration

Moreover, NPA is under attack for philosophical dilettantism and absence of methodological rigor and self-criticism.

Victor A. Thompson in his book “Without Sympathy or Enthusiasm” (1975), criticised New Public Administration’s position that public administrators should promote social equity independently of a legal or other official mandate to do so. He called it “theft of the popular

sovereignty,” arguing against the idea that promoting social equity is either necessarily a good thing or something public administrators should try to force on the nation. He argued that procedural justice is crucial to public administration and democratic government and that like cases should be treated alike. He stressed that public administrators should not independently define their mission to include using their authority and governmental power to help poor people and minorities, the “powerless.” It has also been criticized as anti-theoretic, anti-positivist and anti-management.

However, the spirit of Minnowbrook I was strong and enthusiastic. Its positive value lies in bringing public administration closer to political science. In fact, this movement has been successful in integrating public administration with the basic concerns of political theory. The client-oriented, normative and socially conscious public administration, as advocated by the new movement, is of direct relevance for the third world’ countries as well, where public administration is in dire need of de-bureaucratization and basic, qualitative transformation. Indeed, the participants at this gathering identified the role they were to continue to play in the field’s development primarily as one questioning the status quo. That development was not straightforward, easily reconciled, or aligned with common goals. However, NPA is a kind of soul-searching exercise, which sought to bring back relevance in public administration by integrating theory and practice in a coherent whole.

1.7 The Blacksburg Manifesto

This Manifesto is commonly referred to as the Blacksburg Manifesto because its authors, Gary Wamsley, Charles Goodsell, John Rohr, Camilla Stivers, Orion White, and James Wolf, were part of the Center for Public Administration and Policy at Virginia Tech located in Blacksburg. They prepared a manifesto which was referred to as the Blacksburg manifesto which includes the role and status of state. They argued that public administration should be treated as the 4th organ of the state and should not be treated as a sub-ordinate agency to political executive; rather it should be treated as an autonomous agency under the obligation to the constitution. The Manifesto called for a normative approach to the study and practice of public administration and was one of the first major publications in the latter part of the twentieth century that explicitly defended the bureaucracy which was bashed publicly by Carter and Reagan government. So, they advocated

for reform than for replacement. Bureaucracy should be treated as an autonomous agency under obligation to the constitution. Instead of rolling back of state they advocated for retention of the same state led bureaucratic paradigm with some reforms. Blacksburg manifesto also came as a response to provide the present and future development of the administration. It redefines the legitimate role of the public administrator. Wamsley and his colleagues made the case that U.S. public administration served as a core institutional component of American government and worked to advance democratic governance as it seeks to promote constitutional governance rather than public management. It encourages strengthening the ‘publicness’ in public administration. Here it should be remembered that constitutionalism is the core of Blacksburg Manifesto.

1.7.1. Main Themes of Blacksburg Manifesto

There are four themes of the Blacksburg Manifesto which complement the aims of the Constitutional School because each points to the importance of grounding all facets of public administration in the rule of law and democratic constitutionalism.

First, the agency perspective maintains that we should understand the responsibilities of public sector agencies with a fuller appreciation for how they benefit society at large. It also serves to promote and direct the public interest in a manner that emphasizes the historical, institutional, political, and constitutional underpinnings for how public issues and public policies affect the citizenry.

Secondly, the Blacksburg perspective emphasizes the public interest, which Wamsley argues is a multi-dimensional approach to solving public problems. It seeks to incorporate a long-range perspective into deliberation on matters affecting public sector governance. This specific method for advancing the public interest attempts to consider all positions in the decision-making process, especially when John Rohr’s (1986) influence on the Blacksburg school of thought was profound.

The third theme of the Manifesto relates specifically to Rohr’s argument that the constitutional heritage of the United States legitimates the administrative state in word and deed. Grounding the American administrative state in the constitutional foundations of the nation provides the normative framework that enables the field of public administration to

promote democratic governance and in doing so advance the broadest possible public interest. This analysis represents the core of the Constitutional School. It speaks to how the constitutional foundation of the nation provides the foundation to examine, to understand, and to underscore the most central dynamics of the democratic governance process.

The final theme of the Manifesto focuses on the role of the public administrator, which is a position that demands the utmost professionalism. Professionalism in public administration underscores the expectation that civil servants be competent in their job responsibilities, service-oriented, able to define the public interest in the broadest possible manner, conserve the nation's constitutional heritage, and be able to uphold the oath of office. These professional expectations help to distinguish public administration from other professions and other forms of administration. The Constitutional School embraces this framework because of its emphasis on the democratic-constitutional requirements associated with public service and public administration. The Constitutional School works to draw attention for how the democratic-constitutional responsibilities of public sector governance work to differentiate the sectors from each other. This effort runs deep within the public administration literature to include Graham Allison's explanation for why public and private management are alike in all the unimportant respects; Ronald Moe's analysis regarding the limits of privatization; and Larry Terry's (2005) argument for how the application of private sector norms and values work to thin public administrative institutions and subsequently create a hollow state incapable of governing according to constitutional expectations.

Blacksburg manifesto mainly supports two principles, the first is Collectivism which views the group as the collective entity and the second is structuralism which emphasized on strengthening of institutions. It believes that in modern societies, institutions of law and bureaucracy occupy a dominant role. It argues that ills and inefficiencies of big welfare state cannot be solved by adopting LPG formula. Rather, the solution lies in bringing structural and procedural reforms in public sector itself.

NPA during Minnowbrook I overlooked the institutional and structural base of public administration and focused only on the new path that traditional public administration should now take. Blacksburg manifesto filled up this gape. Hence, Blacksburg manifesto

was an extension to NPA, called “institutionalized NPA”. It should be mentioned here that it criticizes behaviouralism and positivism for their value neutrality; and seeks to promote the value premises of NPA. Thus, it was anti – behaviouralist and anti- positivist.

Though Blacksburg manifesto raised its voice against behaviouralism and positivism, but it failed to bring substantial impact on public administration. Because it has failed to propose how to bring transformation that it envisages. These issues were much better handled in Minnowbrook II. But still, its emphasis on bringing reforms in public systems cannot be ignored and it gave due emphasis on strengthening of ‘publicness’ in public administration.

1.8 The Second Minnowbrook Conference

Twenty years after the original Minnowbrook Conference, another conference called the Minnowbrook-II was organised in 1988 at the same site to revisit the 1960s perspectives, to review developments of intervening decades and consider prospects for the future of public administration. It provided a unique opportunity to compare the theoretical and research perspectives of the earlier generation with those of the 1980s and to discuss and speculate on how those contrasting perspectives have influenced and will continue to influence the conduct of governmental and other public affairs.

Indeed, through the 1970s and early 1980s, the political and social context was steadily changing, and not generally in a direction favored by the “Minnows.” The dominant political mood was increasingly anti-governmental and anti-bureaucratic. The context of public administrative reality in post-Reaganite America changed in favor of less directly performing government and governance, more privatization and contracting out, more voluntarism and social capacity-building and more-third party government. The values of public purpose came to be steadily replaced by the emerging values of private interest.

Minnowbrook- II was designed to compare and contrast the changing epochs of public administration. The first Minnowbrook conference was attended by scholars most of whom had political science background. However, in contrast, the second conference included many

individuals who had been trained in policy analysis and policy studies, economics, planning, urban studies and law. This Conference included many of the themes of the 1968 conference. These were particularly ethics, social equity, human relations, reconciling public administration and democracy, and concern for the state of the field. At the same time inclusion of some of the themes that were not so prominent in 1968 such as leadership, constitutional and legal perspective, technology policy and economic perspectives gave the second gathering an identity of its own.

The “New Right” support for market solutions often included alarming examples of bureaucratic retreat, such as in the area of deregulation and new efforts aimed at devolution. The politics of bureaucrat bashing were increasingly effective as political leaders, the press, and civil society viewed government employees as detached from their work, unmotivated by results, and indolent in their work efforts. The public administration period that began with the Progressive Era reform movement and flourished as part of the “positive state” was coming to an end as new constraints were being implemented to limit bureaucratic discretion in program development, implementation, and evaluation.

It was held at the original Minnowbrook Conference Center, but it was organizationally somewhat different from Minnowbrook I. More people attended Minnowbrook II and almost half were female, whereas all the participants at Minnowbrook I had been male. Though the debate between the normative and the behaviorist perspectives continued at Minnowbrook II, social equity and diversity were accepted as basic values among the participants. Diversity in society and in the work force was accepted as a basic value among the participants. Diversity was identified in three main contexts: the issue of generalists vs. specialists; racial, ethnic and sexual diversity; and gender diversity. But not much attention was given towards the reality that heterogeneity brings, and on the conflict resolution strategies, arbitration skills and values clarification. Democratic values and the centrality of public administration strongly reaffirmed in 1988 with special focus on ethics, accountability and administrative leadership. Impatience with the constraints of public personnel systems was evident. A need was felt for innovative personnel practices, to bring out the best in the employees and reinforce high productivity.

Frederickson summarized the themes from Minnowbrook II: “First, more technicist; Second, more individualist; Third, a social equity perspective that now included gender and age; Fourth,

an emerging importance on productivity and performance measurement; and Fifth, a greater connection to mainstream social science and the positivist or Simon perspective.”

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

Overall, Minnowbrook II was less controversial and probably less influential than Minnowbrook I. Minnowbrook II grappled with issues that permeated the disjointed and growing study of public administration. These included contemporary challenges to the legitimacy and efficacy of government bureaucracies. The first conference (1968) offered a challenge to public administration to become proactive with regard to burning social issues. By contrast, the second conference in 1988 held in the midst of governmental cutback and privatization policy, retreated from an action perspective to cerebral examinations of democracy, ethics, responsibility, philosophy and even economics. The outcomes of Minnowbrook- II were therefore more pragmatic and less radical.

1.9 The Third Minnowbrook Conference (2008)

The setting of Minnowbrook III was more like the first Minnowbrook than the second. The controversial presidency of George W. Bush, terrorism, the 9/11 attacks, wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, Hurricane Katrina, the impact of the internet, and a severe economic recession were forms of turbulence rather like 1968. The political landscape provided momentum to bureaucratic changes viewed as increasingly technocratic, performance oriented, and directed toward managing by results. In the governance networks of 2008, nonprofit and private- sector actors complemented the work of governments in an increasingly fragmented intergovernmental and inter-jurisdictional environment at both national and global levels.

The imagined teaching in the future included opportunities for creativity, the presentation of applied and relevant ideas, the use of new technologies, learning through engagement, and producing students who would have the needed skills and competencies to address the world's most pressing public policy problems.

The purposes of Minnowbrook III are:

- (a) To exchange knowledge of current and emerging public service challenges and solutions in a variety of settings and cultures. Sessions will focus on the international public sector, collaborative governance and the training of the next generation of public servants.
- (b) To develop a network of scholars to support future collaboration and the exchange of ideas concerning improvements in public service.
- (c) To disseminate the best papers presented at the conference as a specially edited 'reader' for courses in schools of public policy and management around the world.

The overall idea informing the conference had been to focus on the comparative aspects of administrative studies centered on the challenges of public sector management in a variety of settings and cultures. The third Minnowbrook conference was organized in two phases: the themes for discussion in the first phase were wide-ranging including academic- practitioner relations; democratic performance management; financial management; globalization/ comparative perspectives; information technology and management; law; politics and public administration management; leadership; methods/ interdisciplinary; networks; performance measurement; public administration values and theory; social equity and justice and transparency and accountability. The second phase of the Minnowbrook III conference took serious note of the contemporary international scenario and the overall impression was that humanity is living in dark times- war, terrorism, climate change, economic calamity etc.

1.10 Summing Up

After analyzing all the ups and downs in public administration, we can say that as a discipline it is still in the process of establishing its identity and administrative practices are called upon to respond to new problems and challenges surfacing in the wake of social change. It seems that the norms of democracy are seeking entry into public organizations and the concern for distributive justice is assuming critical significance as a major administrative component.

New Public Administration had a significant impact on the discipline and profession of public administration. In both the conferences, an attempt has been made to relate public administration with the prevailing socio-economic scenario and the dominant philosophical concerns of the times. The second Minnowbrook Conference was held in a changed scenario, especially in American Public Administration. It was marked by cynicism towards big government and increasing public preference for less government. The state underwent a change in nature from the welfare to the regulatory state. It has been characterised by more privatisation, outsourcing and predominance of private over public purpose values. In addition, there has been a change in the nature of the discipline of public administration. The field, which was an integral part of the political science in the 1960s, became more multi-disciplinary, analytical and theoretically sophisticated. There are variations in the mood and tone of the two conferences. While the 1968 conference was contentious, confrontational and revolutionary, the 1988 conference was more civil, and practical. The 1968 dialogue was considered anti-behavioral, while that of the 1988 conference was more receptive to the contributions of behavioral science to public administration.

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

The development that occurred in the 20 years since Minnowbrook - I in the form of regulatory state, less government, more governance, and privatization reflected public's cynicism towards government. The second Minnowbrook Conference, against this background, attempted to examine the future of public administration. The conference made a sincere attempt to highlight some of the themes such as ethics, human relations, social equity, concern for the state of the field, along with current themes such as technology policy, economic and legal perspectives etc.

1.11 Self-Assessment Questions

1. How will you describe the concept of Public Administration in all these three Minnowbrook conferences of 1968, 1988, and 2008?
2. Describe the major themes of New Public Administration? Also describe its basic features?
3. Describe the major themes of Blacksburg Manifesto and its relation with constitutional school?
4. How Blacksburg school helped the Minnowbrook II to adopt itself with the present scenario?
5. How are new ideas about networked governance and collaborative public Management changing the way we look at Public Administration? Are they changing the practice of Public Administration?
6. How has globalization affected our understanding of the key challenges that face the study and practice of Public Administration in both the developed world, and developing and transitional countries?
7. What according to you should be the focus of public administration in present times? Prepare a brief note.
8. Assuming that another Minnowbrook Conference is to be held next year, identify certain major themes the conference need to deliberate.

1.12 Suggested Readings

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Comparative Public Administration: Concepts and Significance

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3.1 Objectives

This chapter focuses on the concept of Comparative Public Administration. After studying this you should be able to:

- A) Understand the concept of Comparative Public Administration.
- B) Explain the Nature and Area of its studies.
- C) Trends of Comparative Public Administration.
- D) Conceptual approaches to study Comparative Public Administration.

E) Contribution of Fred W. Riggs to the Comparative Public Administration.

3.2 Introduction

Comparative public administration is defined as the comparative study of administrative systems of different countries. It has been broadened and deepened by the interest of scholars in the administration of Third World countries, especially after World War II. A clear comparative discussion between the administrations of different countries in a particular environment was needed to dispel doubts about what that development administration would look like. Because the administrative model of the West can never be applied to these newly independent countries to get good results. As a result of comparative public administration, it is possible to arrive at what kind of administration is most conducive to the environment of those countries. Only after the Second World War and with the emergence of new nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, a vigorous interest in comparative studies of Public Administration has evolved. Comparative Public Administration, in simple terms, refers to a comparative study of government administrative systems functioning in different countries of the world.

Generally, comparative public administration means, comparison of structure and functions of two or more administrative units. This comparison can be cross national, namely, the comparison of municipal administration in Sri Lanka and India; intra-national like the comparison of Rajasthan and UP secretariats; cross-cultural such as the comparison of budget administration of Nepal and Russia; and cross temporal, such as the comparison of administration of Chandra Gupta Maurya and Akbar. These comparisons show that modern comparative public administration has a wide range of analysis.

Tautologically, Comparative Public Administration is a study of public administration on a comparative basis. Fred W. Riggs, confined comparative analysis in public administration to empirical, nomothetic (universal), and ecological studies and excluding a large number of normative and idiographic (individualistic) studies. However, Fred Riggs is the major exponent of the comparative approach to public administration. He is considered as the father of comparative public administration. He was also the chairman of CAG for one decade (1960-1970).

In the words of Lynton Caldwell, its objective has been to “hasten the emergence of a universally valid body of knowledge concerning administrative behavior- in brief, to contribute to a genuine

and generic discipline of public administration. Comparative public administrations stand for cross-cultural and cross-national public administration. It has two basic motivational concerns: 1) theory-building, and 2) administrative problems of the developing countries. Ferrell Heady describes the period of the late 1960s as the *'heyday of the comparative administration movement'*.

The main difference between public administration and comparative public administration is that the former is 'practitioner-oriented' and involves the 'real world' whereas the latter attempts to the 'theory-building' and 'seeks knowledge for the sake of knowledge'. In brief, comparative public administration has a purely scholarly thrust, as opposed to professional.

Comparative public administration is basically interested in cross-cultural public administration. The founding fathers like Leonard D. White thought that cultural factors did not make any difference in administrative settings, as in their view, there were 'universal principles' applicable to situations anywhere and everywhere. But, writers like Robert Dahl and Dwight Waldo pointed out those cultural factors could make public administration in one nation different from that in another. As Dahl has explained, "the comparative aspects of public administration have largely been ignored and as long as the study of public administration is not comparative, claim for 'science of administration' sound rather hollow."

CAG or Comparative Administration Group defined comparative public administration as 'the theory of public administration as applied to diverse cultures and national settings' and 'the body of factual data, by which it can be expanded and tested.' However, this definition satisfies only one of the two criteria specified above; it emphasizes inter-cultural or cross-cultural comparison but it is not explicit about its focus on public organizations. The most important single contribution to the growth of comparative public administration came at a time when cold war at its height from the Comparative Administration Group (CAG), established in 1960 as a committee of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA, founded in 1939). The eminent scholars associated with the CAG were Fred Riggs, Alfred Diamant, Ferrel Heady, Dwight Waldo, Wallace Sayre, Martin Landau, William Saffin, John Montgomery, Ralph Braibanti, Bertram Gross and others. The comparative public administration got real impetus in 1962 when the CAG received the financial support from the Ford Foundation. The CAG developed a programme with three objectives:

- 1) To encourage research in comparative public administration;

- 2) To encourage teaching of comparative public administration; and
- 3) To contribute to more effective public policy formulation in the field of development administration.

3.3 Purposes

According to Ferrel Heady, the comparative public administration addresses five ‘motivating concerns’ as an intellectual enterprise. These are:

- 4) The search for theory;
- 5) The urge for practical application;
- 6) The incidental contribution of the broader field of comparative politics;
- 7) The interest of researchers trained in the tradition of administrative law; and
- 8) The comparative analysis of ongoing problems of public administration.

According to Fred Riggs, the comparative public administration has the following four purposes:

- 1) To learn the distinctive features of a particular system or cluster of systems.
- 2) To explain the factors responsible for cross cultural and cross- national differences in bureaucratic behavior.
- 3) To examine the causes for the success or failures of particular administrative features in particular ecological settings.
- 4) To understand strategies of administrative reform.

The earlier stage of CPA was enriched by the steady growth of a subfield called development administration. From 1960 to 1970, when development administration dominated CPA, Fred W. Riggs chaired ASPA’s CAG group. It is small wonder, therefore, that much of the work in CPA has revolved around the ideas of Riggs who had abiding interest in the public administration of the developing countries. As Riggs desired, CPA was to be ‘empirical, nomothetic and ecological- that is, to put crudely, factual and scientific, abstracted and generalized, systematic and non-parochial.

3.4 Trends: Normative to Empirical; Ideographic to Nomothetic; Non-ecological to ecological

Prior to the Second World War, there were few studies on comparative politics and administration but these studies were primarily based on descriptive and normative approach. Fred Riggs noticed three trends in the Comparative Study of Public Administration. These were:

- .1) from "normative" to "empirical",
- 2) from "ideographic" to nomothetic" and
- 3) from "non-ecological" to "ecological".

We will now briefly discuss these three trends:

1.4.1 Normative to Empirical

Traditional studies of Public Administration were very much influenced by the classical approach. These studies emphasized upon 'good administration' which was based on following certain ideal principles. Efficiency and economy were considered to be the primary goals of all administrative systems and there were certain principles of formal organisation which helped-in the achievement of these goals, therefore, a few models of administration, primarily of the western democratic world, were considered to be useful for all other administrative systems. As a number of developing countries emerged on the scene and with the success of the communist systems in various part of the world, it became clear that a limited culture-bound normative approach to the study of Public administration was not adequate. The behavioral approach highlighted the value of studying the facts and reality in a significant manner and therefore the Comparative Studies of Public Administration after the Second World War started assigning greater importance to the study of administrative "reality" existing in different Countries and cultures. These studies were more interested in finding out facts about some patterns and behavior of administrative systems rather than in describing as to what was good for each system.

1.4.2 Ideographic to Nomothetic

The words "ideographic" and "nomothetic" have been used by Riggs in specific contexts. An ideographic approach concentrates on unique cases, e.g. a historical event, study of single agency, single country or even a single cultural area. Nomothetic approach, on the other hand seeks to develop generalisations and theories which are based on analysis of regularities of behaviour of administrative systems. Thus earlier studies of Comparative Public Administration which were ideographic in character focused on the study of individual nations or institutions and their approach was primarily descriptive. No serious attempt was made to compare various nations and systems. Generally, within a volume on comparative governmental administration, there were separate chapters on different nations, without any attempt to link at the similarities or differences among such nations in terms of their administrative systems. These studies, therefore, were 'comparative' only in name and did not help in the process of, theory-building or in developing generalisations concerning the functioning of administrative system in different settings. Nomothetic studies analyze various administrative systems in comparative context in a manner that will help in the generation of hypothesis and theories. The objective of such studies is to look at the similarities and differences of various administrative systems existing in different nations and cultures and then draw certain generalisations relating to administrative systems functioning at various levels and in different settings. It may be noted that the emphasis on nomothetic comparative studies is more noticeable in the United States of America than in Europe or Asia. Presently, a large number of comparative administrative studies are ideographic in character. Even these studies, it must be admitted, contribute to knowledge in Comparative Public Administration. Analysis or theory-building has to be based on facts and description. And therefore, in the present state of comparative administrative studies, a co-existence of ideographic and nomothetic studies may have to be accepted.

1.4.3 Non-ecological to Ecological

The traditional studies of Comparative Public Administration were mainly non-ecological, These studies mentioned about the environment of administrative system only in a casual manner, There was no serious attempt to examine the relationship between the administrative system and its environment, Thus, it had become very difficult to identify the sources of differences among various administrative systems. However, studies undertaken after the Second World War have been specifically looking at similarities and differences among environmental settings prevailing-

in different nations and cultures and have been attempting to examine the impact of environment on the administrative system and the influence of the administrative system on the environment, on the other. The well-known ecological approach relates to the study of interrelationship between the system and its environment. This approach popularised by Fred Riggs, has been regarded as an important development in the study of Public Administration. It may be noted that most of the comparative studies of Public administration after the Second World War have been referring to the environment of the administrative systems, but the emphasis is still on analyzing the impact of the environment on Public Administration. The analysis relating to the influences of the administrative system on the environment is still inadequate. Nevertheless, a change in emphasis is noticeable and the ecological orientation is gaining stronger footing in the contemporary comparative - administrative analysis.

At this stage it may be pointed out that when Riggs presented the above three trends in Administration 1962; he was conscious of the fact that these is bound to be a co-existence of older as well as the newer emphasis in the comparative studies. Accordingly, today there are normative as well as empirical, ideographic as well as nomothetic and non-ecological to ecological approaches co-existing in the literature on Comparative Administration’.

3.5 Conceptual Approaches to Study Public Administration

Ferrel Heady identified four conceptual approaches in comparative public administration.

9) Modified traditional literature which can further be divided into studies made from a comparative perspective of standard administrative sub-topics and those of entire system. Topics in the first sub-division include administrative organization, personnel management, fiscal administration, headquarter field relations, administration of public enterprises, regulatory administration, administrative responsibility, control and field programmes such as health, education, welfare and agriculture.

The second category includes a number of studies that are basically descriptive, institutional comparisons of administration in western developed countries, with special emphasis on administrative organisation and civil service systems such as Paul Meyer’s

“Administrative Organisation: A Comparative Study of the Organisation of Public Administration (1957).”

- 10) Development orientation is concerned essentially with the problems of public administration in the context of rapid socio-economic and political change. Its emphasis is on the capabilities of administrative systems to direct socio-economic change in a society. The creation of new states in Asia and Africa and their concomitant entrance into the world concert of nations as underdeveloped or developing countries have engendered an unprecedented focus on development in these areas on the part of the more advanced or developed nations. One of the main consequences of implementation of the US technical assistance programmes has been an increased attention to development administration as a new problem area and focus for the research. These studies focus on ‘the administration of development programmes designed to promote nation-building and socio-economic development and the concomitant development of administrative practices and institutions necessary for the implementation of such programmes.
- 11) The general system model building is concerned with the study of administrative systems in the overall context of their social environment. Thus, its focus is generally on the whole society. The word ‘model’ is used here by Waldo, to mean ‘simply the conscious attempt to develop and define concepts or cluster of related concepts, useful in classifying data, describing reality and [or] hypothesising about it’. Waldo has observed that the central problem of model construction in the study of comparative public administration is ‘to select a model that is “large” enough to embrace all the phenomena that should be embraced without being, by virtue of its large dimension, too coarse textured and clumsy to grasp and manipulate administration Another source for model building is equilibrium theory which postulates a system with inputs and outputs as a basis for analysis.
- 12) Middle range theory formulation is more specific in its subject of focus and it concentrates on certain particular components or characteristics of an administrative system. Robert Presthus says, ‘Middle range theory attempts to explain a restricted set of relationships, as opposed to theory...which attempts to comprehend and to explain an entire social system’. For example, the ‘bureaucratic’ theory of Max Weber based upon the ideal type/model of bureaucracy, is a middle range theory. Waldo finds this model useful, stimulating and

provocative but its disadvantages are that this model, 'is set in a large frame work that spans history and culture and relates bureaucracy to important societal variables, yet it focuses attention upon the chief structural and functional characteristic of bureaucracy.

The following are the various approaches/models in the study of comparative public administration.

(i) **The Bureaucratic System Approach:** The most influential of the approaches is Max Weber's ideal-type bureaucratic model. This has structural characteristics of hierarchy, specialization, role-specificity, and recruitment by merit, promotion by seniority-cum-merit, career development, discipline, separation between personal and official means, etc. The emphasis in the model is on rationality and efficiency.

There are a number of studies conducted in a comparative context employing the bureaucratic mode of Weber. Notable scholars in this area include Michael Crozier (on France), Roy Lairdton (the Soviet Union) and Monoe Berger (on Egypt). The methodological limitation of an ideal-type model and specific context of legal-rational authority systems constraints in the application of Weber's model to the comparative, study of bureaucracies. Nevertheless, for an analysis of the bureaucracies, of the developed countries, the model is still considered eminently useful. Dwight Waldo views Weber's ' bureaucratic model as a "paradigm" of Public Administration particularly after Second World War, a number of approaches have emerged in the comparative administrative analysis. Much of this effort is, based on an adaptation of the developments in comparative anthropology, comparative sociology and comparative politics.

(ii) **The General System Approach:** This approach adopted by F.W Riggs in his "Fused-prismatic-diffracted typology" and John T. Dorsey in his "information energy model." The general system approach views an administrative system as a subsystem of the society. It looks at various parts of an administrative system (formal organization, informal organization, roles, and individuals) and examines the inter linkage among various parts. Besides, the approach analyses the dynamic interactions between the administrative system and its external environment.

(iii) **The Development Administration Approach:** This approach adopted by Riggs, Weidner, and others emphasizing directed socioeconomic change. A very well-known conceptual approach in Comparative Public Administration is of 'Development Administration' which has been elaborately dealt with in a separate unit. This approach focuses on certain characteristics of a dynamic administrative system, e.g. goal-orientation, change-orientation, progressiveness, innovativeness, participation and responsiveness.

(iv) **The Decision-making Approach:** This approach advocated by Martin Landau to increase the decision-making capacity of developing countries administrative system to avoid muddling through technique.

(v) **Anthony Downs Model:** it differentiated five categories of bureaucrats, namely, climbers, conservers, zealots, advocates and statesmen.

(vi) **Structural-Functional Model :** This model advocated by Talcott Parsons, involving the concept of Social System" as a given and the society in terms of its structures and functions. A structure, according to this approach, is a pattern of behavior that has become a standard feature of a social system. Further, a function denotes the impact of a structure on another structure and the interrelationships among various structures. Fred Riggs has successfully applied the ecological and structural-functional approaches in his analysis of societies and their administrative systems. His typology of "agrarian-transitia-industria" systems, developed in 1957, was superseded by the typology of "fused-prismatic diffracted" societies that was constructed in 1959. For the, past thirty years or so, Riggs's model of prismatic society and its administrative system known as "sala" has ruled the contemporary model-building scene in Comparative Public Administration. Despite criticisms and certain inherent methodological limitations, the prismatic-sala model has fascinated the students and practitioners of Public Administration in "developing" countries.

(vii) Other models developed by Paul Meyer, F.M. Marx, and Brain Chapman, emphasizing on the comparative study administrative organisation and Civil Service System in the western developed countries.

3.6 Comparative Models of Fred Riggs: Agrarian-Industria Model; Fused-Prismatic-Diffracted Model

Ferrel Heady says that Riggs's book "*Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic society*" (1964), continues to be probably the most notable single contribution in comparative public administration.

Fred Riggs used three analytical tools to explain his administrative theories. These are: 1) Ecological approach; 2) Structural- Functional approach; and 3) Ideal Models Building approach;

Ecological approach studies the dynamics of interaction between administrative system and its environment consisting of political, social, cultural and economic dimensions. It assumes that administrative system is one of the various sub-systems of society and is influenced by other sub-systems and in turn, also influences them.

He adopted the structural- functional approach in explaining the administrative systems from ecological perspective. According to the structural- functional approach, every society has various structures which perform specific functions. Riggs identified five functions which are performed in each society. They are political, economic, social, symbolic and communicational functions. He stated that, same set of functional requisites apply to an administrative sub-system.

Based on structural- functional approach, Fred Riggs has constructed two 'ideal models' to explain the administrative systems in a comparative context. These are 1) Agrarian-Industria Model and 2) Fused- Prismatic- Diffracted model.

1.6.1. Agrarian- Industria Model:

Riggs developed the Agrarian- Industria typology in 1956. In this model, he distinguished between two types of societies- on the one hand, there are societies dominated by agricultural institutions wherein it mainly prescribes for ascriptive values, particularistic norms, the patterns of administration are much diffused and the system is based on deferential stratification. Such types of administrative system can be found in Imperial China.

On the other hand, there are societies dominated by industrial institutions wherein it mainly prescribes for achievement values, universalistic norms, the patterns are very specific and the system is based on egalitarian class. Such types of administrative system can be found in USA.

In the following year (1957), Riggs postulated an intermediate model called ‘transitia’ which bears the features of both agrarian and industria and thus represents a transitional society. But it faced several criticisms as does not provide sufficient mechanism to study mixed- type societies.

Consequently, Riggs abandoned this typology of agrarian- transitia and formulated another model which is improvised as fused- prismatic- diffracted model.

1.6.2. Fused- Prismatic- Diffracted Model:

This model represents the underdeveloped, developing and developed societies respectively. To quote Riggs, “traditional agricultural and folk societies approximate the fused model, and modern industrial societies approach the diffracted model. The former is ‘functionally diffuse’, the latter ‘functionally specific.’ Intermediate between these polar extremes is the prismatic model. It is called the prismatic, because it is the prism through which fused light passes to become refracted”. Thus a fused society is one in which a structure performs a large number of functions. On the other hand, a diffracted society is one in which structure performs a limited number of functions. In between these two polar types, comes the category of prismatic society. It is a transitional society and hence combines the features of both. It refers to a society that is semi- differentiated, selective, poly-functional and standing midway between an undifferentiated fused society and a highly differentiated diffracted society.

Riggs elaborated the administrative subsystem of Prismatic society which is known as “Prismatic-Sala model.

3.7 Prismatic Sala Model

In this Model, Riggs analyzed the interaction between the administrative system and its environment in prismatic societies. Here ‘prismatic’ represents the prismatic society (transitional or developing society) and ‘Sala’ represents the administrative sub-system of a prismatic society.

Here he identified the following features of Prismatic- Sala Model:

1. Heterogeneity: – In this type of system, there are different kinds of patterns, rules, systems & viewpoints. This society is a blend of elements of “chamber” of fused society & “bureau” of diffracted society. Thus the heterogeneous groups where the qualities are not alike are seen in this Model.
2. Formalism: - This is the second most important feature which shows a wide gap between theory & practice i.e. what is formally prescribed & effectively practiced. It shows a distinction between norms & realities.
3. Overlapping: – This features shows that differentiated structures of a diffracted society co-exist with undifferentiated structures of a fused society. This denotes overlapping of administrative behavior of both the societies.

Overlapping in sala, refers to what is described as administrative but which is actually determined by non- administrative criteria, that is , by political, economic, social, religious or other factors. It has five different aspects:

- a) Nepotism: Riggs says that ‘sala’ is characterized by nepotism in recruitment.
- b) Poly-normatism: this means the co-existence of modern and traditional ‘norms’ leading to lack of consensus on norms of behavior.
- c) Poly-communalism: this means simultaneous existence of various ethnic and religious groups in a hostile interaction with each other. Riggs calls them ‘clects’, that is, club plus sect.
- d) Bazaar- Canteen model: This sub-system of a prismatic society combines the elements of market economy of diffracted society and traditional economy of fused society. Such a situation produces a kind of ‘price indeterminacy’ and fluctuation.
- e) Authority versus control: The authority structure of a prismatic society is highly centralized and concentrated while the control system is highly localized and dispersed. Hence, a prismatic society has an ‘unbalanced polity’ in which administrators dominate the politico- administrative system.

In 1973, Riggs revised his prismatic theory in his book “*Prismatic Society Revised*” in which he replaced the one dimensional approach (i.e., differentiation) with two dimensional approach (i.e., differentiation and integration) . A prismatic society, according to Riggs, is characterized by a growing degree of structural differentiation but not matched by an equal degree of integration

(coordination). This integration lag is reflected in almost all aspects of the functioning of a prismatic society.

3.8 Decline

The beginning of the 1970s saw the decline of the comparative public administration. In 1971, the Ford Foundation terminated its financial support to the CAG. In 1973, the CAG itself was disbanded and merged with the International Committee of the American Society for Public Administration to form a new Section on International and Comparative Administration (SICA). Its major journal *The Journal of Comparative Administration* ceased to publish from 1974, after five years of existence. Its legacies were absorbed into the larger field of political science and public administration. On failure of comparative public administration, Robert T. Golembiewski said, *“Public administration should take full notice of the fact that comparative administration’s failure rests substantially on a self-imposed failure experience. It set an unattainable goal, that is, in its early and persisting choice to seek a comprehensive theory or model in terms of which to define it”*. Similarly, Peter Savage, who served as the editor of *The Journal of Comparative Administration* (published for a five-year period from 1969 to 1974), observed, *“Comparative administration started with no paradigm of its own and developed none.”*

In spite of these obstacles, in the 21st century public administration has successfully managed to survive itself because of its relevancy or significance.

3.9 Significance

There are two factors that make comparative studies significant. The first factor relates to the academic study of Public Administration. It is believed that through Comparative Public Administration hypotheses, generalizations, models and theories can be constructed which can collectively help in the scientific study of Public Administration. The study of Comparative Public Administration also contributes to a greater understanding of the individual characteristics of administrative systems functioning in different nations and cultures. Besides, comparative studies

also help in explaining factors, responsible for, cross-national and cross-cultural similarities as well as differences in the administrative systems.

The second important function of Comparative Public administration relates to its relevance to the empirical world. Through study of comparative Public Administration, administrators, policy makers and academicians can examine causes for the success or failure of particular administrative structures and patterns in different environmental settings. It is interesting to find out through comparative analysis as to which important environmental factors help in the promotion of administrative effectiveness and which administrative structures function appropriately and successfully in what type of environmental settings.

An administrator or policy maker can, through comparative studies of public Administration, have greater insight into the process and strategies of administrative reforms. He can look at the structures of administrative reforms adopted by, various nations and examine those strategies and methods which can be helpful in his own country .In other words, through comparative Public Administration, we learn about the administrative practices followed in various nations and then we can endeavor to adopt those practices which can fit in our own nations and systems.

Apart from these points, it has stimulated interest on the part of its members in the problems of development administration. It has also helped to eliminate the narrowness of provincialism and regionalism. It has also played an important role in making the subject of public administration broader, deeper and useful.

Lack of financial support, for a time, reduced academic interest in comparative administrative research. The real work of public administration has, however, presented many opportunities, for innovative comparative studies. For instance, there is today increasing inter-state interactions due to globalization and liberalization policies dictated by international funding agencies and influenced by the forces of international economic transactions. The interactive efforts in the performance of states can thus be a good theme for comparative analysis. The issue of human rights is currently engaging the attention of international institutions and national governments. Comparative studies of human rights enforcement could be another major area of comparative study. There is yet another trend noticeable in governmental circles- the co- production of results in the public sector. Public bureaucracies, private firms, voluntary agencies and community based

organizations are coming together more and more, blurring the distinction between public and private management. Now in different situations, the nations are promoting co-production and creating a climate of networking of governance. All these go to constitute a new thrust toward comparative governmental analysis.

3.10 Summing Up

- Comparative Public Administration refers to a comparative study of government administrative systems functioning in different countries of the world.
- It stands for cross-cultural and cross-national public administration.
- It has two basic motivational concerns: 1) theory-building, and 2) administrative problems of the developing countries.
- It has a purely scholarly thrust, as opposed to professional.
- The most important single contribution to the growth of comparative public administration came from the Comparative Administration Group (CAG) in the year 1962.
- Ferrel Heady identified four conceptual approaches in comparative public administration; these are- Modified traditional, Development orientation, the general system model building, and Middle range theory formulation.
- Apart from those approaches, there are Bureaucratic System Approach, The General System Approach, The Development Administration Approach, The Decision-making Approach, Anthony Downs Model, and Structural-Functional Model.
- Fred W. Riggs desired, CPA was to be 'empirical, nomothetic and ecological- that is, to put crudely, factual and scientific, abstracted and generalized, systematic and non-parochial.
- Fred Riggs used three analytical tools to explain his administrative theories. These are: 1) Ecological approach; 2) Structural-Functional approach; and 3) Ideal Models Building approach.
- Riggs developed the Agrarian-Industrial typology in 1956. In this model, he distinguished between two types of societies- agricultural institutions and industrial institutions.

- Another model formulated by Riggs is, Fused- Prismatic- Diffracted model represents the underdeveloped, developing and developed societies respectively.
- In the Prismatic-Sala Model, Riggs analyzed the interaction between the administrative system and its environment in prismatic societies. Here 'prismatic' represents the prismatic society (transitional or developing society) and 'sala' represents the administrative sub- system of a prismatic society.
- In this model, he identified these features of Prismatic- sala model: heterogeneity, formalism, overlapping.
- Overlapping in Sala, refers to what is described as administrative but which is actually determined by non- administrative criteria, that is , by political, economic, social, religious or other factors. It has five different aspects: Nepotism, Poly-normatism, Poly-communalism, Bazaar- Canteen model, Authority versus control.
- In 1973, Riggs revised his prismatic theory, in which he replaced the one dimensional approach (i.e., differentiation) with two dimensional approaches (i.e., differentiation and integration).
- Through Comparative Public Administration hypotheses, generalizations, models and theories can be constructed which can collectively help in the scientific study of Public Administration.
- CPA relates to its relevance to the empirical world. Through study of comparative Public Administration, administrators, policy makers and academicians can examine causes for the success or failure of particular administrative structures and patterns in different environmental settings.
- There are today increasing inter-state interactions due to globalization and liberalization policies dictated by international funding agencies and influenced by the forces of international economic transaction which made CPA much more relevance.
- Public bureaucracies, private firms, voluntary agencies and community based organizations are coming together more and more, blurring the distinction between public and private management.
- Now in different situations, the nations are promoting co-production and creating a climate of networking of governance. All these go to constitute a new thrust toward comparative governmental analysis.

3.11 Self-Assessment Questions

- a) What do you understand by the term comparative public administration and how is it different from Public Administration?
- b) Discuss about different types of approaches to study Comparative Public Administration?
- c) What are the contributions of Fred W. Riggs to Comparative Public Administration?
- d) What are the main tools adopted by Riggs to analyze his Administrative theories?
- e) Explain the Prismatic- Sala Model formulated by Fred W. Riggs to analyse the administrative system in developing societies?
- f) What is the significance of CPA in the age of globalization?

3.12 Suggested Readings

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Theories of Bureaucracy: Marxist, Weberian, Post-Weberian

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- 4.9 Suggested Readings**

4.1 Objectives

প্রশাসনিক ব্যবস্থা বিষয়ে বিজ্ঞানসন্মত আলোচনার প্রথম পদক্ষেপ হ'ল আমলাতন্ত্র । এই নিবন্ধে ভূমিকায় আমরা আমলাতন্ত্র সম্পর্কে একটি সাধারণ আলোচনা করেছি। এরপর মার্কসীয় দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিতে আমলাতন্ত্রের পরিচয় সংযুক্ত করে ওই বিষয়ে লেনিনের অবদান আলোচনা করা হয়েছে। তারপরে ওয়েবারীয় আমলাতন্ত্র ও তার সমালোচনা পর্যালোচনার সঙ্গে ছাত্র-ছাত্রীদের পরিচয় ঘটানোর প্রয়াস নেওয়া হয়েছে। পরিশেষে ম্যাক্স ওয়েবার উত্তর আমলাতন্ত্রের বিষয়ে নতিদীর্ঘ আলোচনা করা হয়েছে। আশা করা যায়, এই আলোচনার ভিত্তিতে আমলাতন্ত্র সারবস্তু বিষয়ে ছাত্র-ছাত্রীরা আগ্রহী হয়ে উঠবে।

4.2 Introduction

স্থায়ী প্রশাসনিক সরকার হল আমলাতন্ত্র। ব্যুৎপত্তিগত অর্থে “Bureaucracy” বা আমলাতন্ত্রের অর্থ হল টেবিলতন্ত্র। কথিত হয় যে অষ্টাদশ শতাব্দীতে ফরাসী দেশের বাণিজ্যমন্ত্রী “Bureaucratic” শব্দটি প্রথম ব্যবহার করেন, ঊনবিংশ শতাব্দীতে জার্মানিতে জার্মান শব্দ “Buraukratic” হিসাবে তা প্রযুক্ত হয় এবং তারপরে ইংরেজি ভাষায় “Bureaucracy” রূপে তার ব্যবহারিক কার্যক্রম শুরু হয়। এনসাইক্লোপাডিয়া ব্রিটানিকা গ্রন্থে আমলাতন্ত্র বলতে বিভিন্ন দপ্তর বা ব্যুরোর হস্তে সরকারী ক্ষমতাকে কেন্দ্রীভূত রাখা এবং স্থায়ী সরকারী কর্মীবৃন্দের অত্যধিক ও অনাবশ্যিক হস্তক্ষেপ বোঝানো হয়, যা কিছুটা নেতিবাচক। আবার অনেক সময় মূল্য নিরপেক্ষ অর্থে দক্ষ, অভিজ্ঞ, নিরপেক্ষ স্থায়ী সরকারী কর্মচারী দ্বারা পরিচালিত প্রশাসনিক ব্যবস্থাকেই আমলাতন্ত্র বলা হয়। সংকীর্ণ অর্থে আমলাতন্ত্র হল ক্রমোচ্চ স্তরবিভাগ গঠিত কর্মচারী মণ্ডল, যারা জনসাধারণের কার্যকরী নিয়ন্ত্রনের ক্ষেত্রভূমির বাইরে অবস্থান করেন। অন্যদিকে, ব্যাপক অর্থে আমলাতন্ত্র হল এমন এক কর্মীবৃন্দ সংস্থা বা পদ্ধতি, যেখানে কর্মীবৃন্দ ব্যুরো, বিভাগ, দপ্তর, শাখা ইত্যাদি স্তরবিন্যস্ত কাঠামো ও প্রশাসনিক পদ্ধতিতে বিভাজিত। আমলাতন্ত্র বিষয়ে যারা স্বতন্ত্র তত্ত্ব তৈরি করে বিস্তারিত আলোচনা করেছেন তাঁদের মধ্যে সবচাইতে উল্লেখযোগ্য হলেন জার্মান সমাজতত্ত্ববিদ ম্যাক্স ওয়েবার (১৮৬৪ _ ১৯২০) এছাড়াও আমলাতন্ত্র বিষয়ে উল্লেখযোগ্য আলোচনা করেছেন কার্ল মার্কস (১৮১৮ _ ১৮৮৩)। তবে, এ কথা সর্বজনস্বীকৃত, যে, ওয়েবারই সর্বপ্রথম আমলাতন্ত্রের একটি তাত্ত্বিক ব্যাখ্যা প্রস্তুত করে তার একটি সুসংহত রূপ দেন।

4.3 Karl Marx and Bureacracy

আমলাতন্ত্র বিষয়ে মার্কসের অভিমত বেশ জটিল। মার্কস আমলাতন্ত্রকে সামাজিক ব্যবস্থার একটি অবিচ্ছেদ্য অঙ্গ বলে বর্ণনা করে বলেছেন এর মূল কাজ হলো ব্যক্তির স্বার্থ পূরণে সম্প্রদায় ও সামাজিক সমষ্টিকে শোষণ করা। রাষ্ট্র ক্ষমতার অঙ্গ হিসাবে আমলাতন্ত্র অনেকটা সম্পত্তির মালিক শ্রেণীর কাছে ব্যক্তিগত সম্পত্তির মত কাজ করে। মার্কসের কথায়, “Bureaucracy holds, in its essence of the state, the spiritual essence of the society, it is it’s private property.”

আমলাতন্ত্র ও তার প্রকৃতি নিয়ে “Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right (1843) এই বইতে প্রথম আলোচনা করেন। ঊনবিংশ শতাব্দীর মধ্যভাগে প্রকাশিত এই গ্রন্থে মার্কস আমলাতন্ত্রকে বিশ্ব জনীন স্বার্থের প্রতিনিধি হিসাবে দেখতে চান নি, আমলাতন্ত্রকে তিনি বিশ্বজনীন, যুক্তি সংগত, ও নিরপেক্ষ হিসাবে স্বীকৃতিও দিতে চান নি;

বরং মনে করেছেন ধনতান্ত্রিক সমাজে, শ্রেণী সংগ্রামের প্রেক্ষিতে আমলাতন্ত্র রাষ্ট্র ব্যবস্থাকে ব্যক্তিগত সম্পত্তির মত ব্যবহার করে। এই গ্রন্থে রাষ্ট্র ব্যবস্থার প্রকৃতি হিসাবে মার্কস তিনটি বিষয়ের উপর গুরুত্ব দিয়েছেন (ক) শ্রেণী আধিপত্যের সংগঠনের, সুসংহত রূপ হল রাষ্ট্র, খ) এক শ্রেণী কর্তৃক অন্য শ্রেণীর উপর নিয়ন্ত্রণ ও শ্রেণীদন্দব চালু রাখাই যার মূল কাজ, এবং (গ) শ্রেণী দ্বন্দ্বের নিরসনে রাষ্ট্রের অবলুপ্তি। এই তিন অবস্থানে প্রথম দুই অবস্থানই আমলাতন্ত্র পরগাছার মত রাষ্ট্রে প্রচলিত ব্যবস্থাকে টিকিয়ে রাখতে সচেষ্ট থাকে। সর্বহারার বিপ্লবের ডাক দিয়ে মার্কস আমলাতন্ত্রকে সম্পূর্ণরূপে শোষণ ও প্রাধিকারের মূল নির্যাস হরণ করে আমলাতন্ত্র্ কার্ল মার্কস, “The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte” গ্রন্থে আমলাতন্ত্রের ভূমিকা ব্যাখ্যা করেন। মার্কস ১৭৮৯ সালের ফরাসী বিপ্লবের পূর্বে অব্যবহিত পরে আমলাতন্ত্র কিভাবে বুর্জোয়া শ্রেণীর শাসনকে প্রতিষ্ঠা করতে সহায়তা করেছিল, তা পরিষ্কার করে বলেন। ১৮৫১ সালে বিপ্লবোত্তর ফরাসী দেশে গৃহযুদ্ধের পরিণতিতে নেপোলিয়নের ভ্রাতুষ্পুত্র লুই বোনাপার্ট তৃতীয় নেপোলিয়ন নামে ফ্রান্সের শাসন ক্ষমতার অধিষ্ঠিত হন। এই সময় বুর্জোয়া শ্রেণী রাষ্ট্রের উপর তাদের আধিপত্য বজায় রাখতে পারেনি। শ্রমিক শ্রেণী, ক্ষুদ্র জমির মালিক শ্রেণী ও বুর্জোয়াদের পারস্পরিক দুন্দব-বিরোধের মাঝে রাষ্ট্র ক্রমশই আপেক্ষিক স্বাতন্ত্র্য ভোগ করতে থাকে। ফলে এই অবস্থায় আমলাতন্ত্র ও বুর্জোয়াদের স্বার্থরক্ষার কাজে ততটা উদ্যোগী হতে পারে না। ক্ষমতাসীন শ্রেণীর স্বার্থ রক্ষায় ব্যস্ত থাকে তা উল্লেখ করে মার্কস দেখান যে ফরাসী দেশের বৃহৎ শাসন বিভাগ ও তার সহযোগী সামরিক ও আমলাতান্ত্রিক প্রতিষ্ঠান এক্ষেত্রে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা পালন করেন। মার্কসের মতে এই দুটি প্রতিষ্ঠানই পরভোজী, আস্তে আস্তে ফরাসী সমাজকে গ্রাস করে নেয়; এবং বিশেষ করে আমলাতন্ত্র্ রাষ্ট্র ক্ষমতাকেও গ্রাস করে নেয়। এই কারণেই মার্কস বলেন সমাজতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লবের মাধ্যমে, অসমতা দূর করেই আমলাতন্ত্রকে উৎখাত করতে হবে। “The Capital” গ্রন্থেও মার্কস অল্প বিস্তারিত আমলাতন্ত্রের কথা উল্লেখ করেছেন। সর্বহারার বিপ্লবের ক্ষেত্রে আমলাতন্ত্রকে কিভাবে ব্যবহার করা যায়; ক্যাপিটালে মার্কস সেই যুক্তিরও অবতারণা করেছেন, এক্ষেত্রে তাঁর প্রাথমিক পর্বের রচনার সুর থেকে এখানে তিনি ভিন্ন মত প্রকাশ করেছেন। আসলে প্রাশিয়ার সামন্ততান্ত্রিক -পুঁজিবাদী কাঠামো বা ফরাসী দেশের এতিহ্যবাহী পুঁজিবাদী ব্যবস্থার প্রেক্ষিতে মার্কস আমলাতন্ত্রকে যেভাবে বিশ্লেষণ করেছেন, ব্রিটিশ আমলাতন্ত্রকে কৃষি ও বাণিজ্য স্বার্থে শিল্প আশ্রিত মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণী যে ঠিক তেমনটি করছে না, তা বুঝতে পেরে অন্য বিশ্লেষণ করেছেন। ব্রিটেনের আর্থিক-সামাজিক প্রেক্ষাপটে আমলাতন্ত্র তদানীন্তন সরকারকে বাধ্য করেছিল সাধারণের মঙ্গলের জন্য পদক্ষেপ নিতে। মার্কসের এই পর্যবেক্ষণ সমালোচনার উর্ধে নয়, পুঁজিবাদী রাষ্ট্রের কিছু অনুদানে যে শ্রমিক শ্রেণীর আর্থিক

ব্যবস্থার পরিবর্তন ঘটাবে, এমন তো পরিস্থিতি নয়, তবুও কিছু সংস্কারের মাধ্যমে আমলাতন্ত্রও রাষ্ট্রব্যবস্থা যে সামরিক একটা স্বস্তি এনেছিল, সেই সত্যের ঐতিহাসিকতা মার্কস অস্বীকার করেননি। তবে "ক্যাপিটাল"-এর পরবর্তী অংশে মার্কস আর আমলাতন্ত্র সম্পর্কে কিছু বলেননি, বরং উন্নত পুঁজির উচ্চ পর্যায়ে উন্নীত প্রতি নিবদ্ধ তবে পরবর্তী কালে গ্রামস্টি ইত্যাদির আলোচনার সূত্রে বোঝা যায় যে রাষ্ট্রের আপেক্ষিক স্বতন্ত্রতার প্রেক্ষিতে আমলাতন্ত্রও স্বতন্ত্র সামাজিক বর্গ হিসাবে কোনো কোনো সময় অবস্থান করে।

4.4 Lenin and Bureacracy

মার্কসীয় তত্ত্বের বাস্তবায়ন ঘটে লেনিনের নেতৃত্বে ১৯১৪ সালের রাশিয়ার বিপ্লবের মাধ্যে। সমাজতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লবের পর রাষ্ট্রগঠন কিভাবে হবে তা দেখার সুযোগ মার্কসের ছিল না। লেনিন সে সুযোগ পেয়েছিলেন, তবে তাঁর কাজটি ছিল একান্তই অনন্য। কারণ, মার্কসীয় তত্ত্ব অনুযায়ী সমাজতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লবের সম্ভাবনা সেইখানেই ততটা বেশী যেখানে ধনতন্ত্রের উন্নয়ন পূর্ণ মাত্রায় সম্ভব হয়েছে। কিন্তু জারের শাসনাধীনে অনগ্রসর কৃষি প্রধান রাষ্ট্রে লেনিন বলশেভিকদের নেতৃত্ব দিয়ে যে সমাজতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লব সম্ভব করেছিলেন সেখানে তখনও ধনতন্ত্রের পূর্ণতা প্রাপ্তি ঘটেনি, ফলে ধনতন্ত্রের সংকটজাত পরিস্থিতি, যা থেকে মার্কসের সূত্রানুযায়ী সমাজতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লবের সম্ভাবনা পূর্ণ হবে, তেমন পরিস্থিতি ছিল না।

তাই এই পরিস্থিতিতে রাশিয়ায় কীভাবে শিল্প ব্যবস্থা গড়ে ওঠেবে, সমাজ বিধানের পথে ধনতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা বা পর্যায়কে অতিক্রম করে সমাজতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থায় কেমন করে পৌঁছানো যায় এমন সব সমস্যার মুখোমুখি দাঁড়াতে হয়েছিল লেনিনকে। বস্তুবাদী দর্শনও সামাজিক অবস্থার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে লেনিন প্রশাসনে আমলাতন্ত্রের ভূমিকা কি হবে; আমলাতন্ত্রকে কীভাবে সর্বহারা শ্রেণীর সহায়ক ভূমিকা দেখা যেতে পারে, তা নিয়ে ব্যবহারিক কিছু মতামত ব্যক্ত করেছিলেন। মার্কসীয় তত্ত্বের মূল সূত্রের ভাবনার সঙ্গে সহমত হয়ে লেনিনও ধনতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থায় আমলাতন্ত্রের শ্রেণী শাসনের ভূমিকা অস্বীকার করেননি। আমলাতন্ত্র ও আমলা সম্পর্কে বিরূপ ধারণা থাকলেও কৃষিভিত্তিক সমাজব্যবস্থা থেকে সোভিয়েত রাশিয়াকে একটি শিল্প প্রধান রাষ্ট্রে পরিণত করে তোলার পর্যায়ে লেনিন প্রশাসনিক ব্যবস্থায় তত্ত্ববিধায়ক হিসাবে আমলাতন্ত্রকে ব্যবহার করে চেষ্টা করেছিলেন। দক্ষতা ভিত্তিক আমলাতন্ত্রের একটি সোভিয়েত

মডেল গড়ে তোলার প্রচেষ্টা হয়েছিল। মডেলটিকে এভাবে বিন্যস্ত করা যায়ঃ- (ক) আমলারা দলীয় ব্যবস্থার অধীনে থাকবে; খে) কেন্দ্রীয় স্তরে পরিকল্পনা _ বাজেট _ সমন্বয় নিয়ন্ত্রণ থাকবে; গ) গণতান্ত্রিক কেন্দ্রীকতা ভিত্তিক উল্লস স্তরে সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ করা হবে; ঘে) কেন্দ্রীকরণ আবশ্যিক শর্ত; ঙ) উৎপাদনক্ষেত্রে রাষ্ট্রের ভূমিকা বৃদ্ধি করা হবে; (চ) বিশেষীকরণ গড়ে তোলা হবে এই সোভিয়েত মডেল স্তালিন ও ক্রুশ্চেভ পর্বে খুবই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা নেয়। পূর্ব ইউরোপের সমাজতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রগুলিতে ও এশিয়ার সমাজতান্ত্রিক উন্নয়ন ও পরিকল্পনায় এই মডেল গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা নিয়েছিল। সমালোচকদের মতে দলীয় ব্যবস্থায় অত্যধিক আমলাতান্ত্রিক প্রবণতা শেষ অবধি সোভিয়েত রাশিয়া ও পূর্ব ইউরোপের সমাজতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রগুলির ভঙ্গুরতার কারণ হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছিল।

4.5 Max Weber and Bureacracy

আমলাতন্ত্রের বিষয়ে বিস্তারিত বিশ্লেষণাত্মক আলোচনা করেছেন ম্যাক্স ওয়েবার। ওয়েবারের চিন্তা তার পরবর্তী প্রজন্মের বহু চিন্তক- গবেষকদের আমলাতন্ত্রের পাঠ ও সাংগঠনিক ভাবনায় উদ্বুদ্ধ ও প্রভাবিত করেছে, শুধু তাই নয় সমাজতাত্ত্বিক চিন্তার ক্ষেত্রেও তার পূর্বসূরীদের তুলনায় ওয়েবার যে এক যুক্তিনিষ্ঠ তাত্ত্বিক ভাবনার অবতারণা করেছিলেন তাও সর্বজন স্বীকৃত। সমাজের আর্থিক ও রাজনৈতিক প্রেক্ষাপটে তিনি তার আমলাতন্ত্রের তত্ত্বকে উপস্থাপিত করেছেন। পুঁজিবাদের উদতবে তিনি যেমন ধর্মের প্রভাব দেখেছেন, তেমনি শিল্পায়নের সাথে সাংগঠনিক কাঠামোর সম্পর্ক লক্ষ্য করেছেন। সামাজিক- অর্থনৈতিক শক্তির সঙ্গে জটিল যে সাংগঠনিক কাঠামোর উদ্ভব হচ্ছে, তার নিরিখে তিনি আমলাতন্ত্রকে দেখতে চেয়েছেন। সমাজকে যুক্তিসঙ্গতভাবে গঠন করা ও কিভাবে বিভিন্ন প্রক্রিয়ার মাধ্যমে আধিপত্য প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয় এই বিষয়টা লক্ষ্য করতে গিয়ে তিনি আমলাতন্ত্রের আলোচনা শুরু করেন। এখানে একটি কথা বলা প্রয়োজন, ওয়েবার যেভাবে আধিপত্য, ক্ষমতা এবং কর্তৃত্বের বিষয়গুলোকে ব্যাখ্যা করেছেন তাতে তার দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিকে মার্কসীয় আলোচনার বিকল্প দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি হিসেবেই সর্বস্তরের স্বীকার করা হয়। অনেকেই ওয়েবারকে আধুনিক সমাজ তত্ত্বের পথিকৃত বলে আখ্যা দিয়েছেন। সামাজিক আচরণ (behaviour) ও ব্যবহারকে (conduct) ব্যাখ্যা করে ওয়েবার একটি নির্দিষ্ট সামাজিক কাঠামোয় অর্থনৈতিক প্রতিষ্ঠান এর সঙ্গে অন্যান্য সামাজিক প্রতিষ্ঠান এর সম্পর্ক ও আচরণের ব্যাখ্যা করতে চেয়েছেন। এই বিষয়টিকে অনুধাবন করার জন্য তিনি যুক্তিসংগত (rationalization) ও আধিপত্য (domination) এর উপর জোর দেন। তার মতে একটি সমাজ কতটা যুক্তিসঙ্গত লাভ করেছে তা পরিমাপ করার দুটি পদ্ধতি আছে। প্রথমটি হলো বিভিন্ন সামাজিক ধারণা গুলি কতটা

বিজ্ঞানসম্মত ও সুশৃঙ্খল তা নির্ধারণ করা, আর দ্বিতীয়টি হল অবৈজ্ঞানিক চিন্তা ও কুসংস্কার কতটা হ্রাস হয়েছে তা বিশ্বাস বিচার করা। যুক্তিসংগত ছাড়া অন্য যে বিষয়টিকে ওয়েবার গুরুত্ব দিয়েছেন তা হলো আধিপত্যতবে ওয়েবারের মতে ক্ষমতা ও আধিপত্য কিন্তু এক নয়, এদের মধ্যে পার্থক্য আছে। বৈধ ক্ষমতাকে তিনি আধিপত্য বলেন কেননা বৈধ ক্ষমতা শাসককে ক্ষমতা প্রয়োগের অধিকার দেয় এবং শাসিতদের কাছেও সেই ক্ষমতা মেনে চলা একটি কর্তব্য। সমাজে দু'ধরনের আধিপত্য দেখা যায়, একটি হলো ধর্মীয় সংগঠনের যা ভিন্ন ভিন্ন স্বার্থের উপর ভিত্তি করে গড়ে ওঠে। আরেকটি হলো কর্তৃত্বের উপর ভিত্তিশীল আধিপত্য, যার পরিচয় পাওয়া যায় আমলাতন্ত্রের প্রতিষ্ঠানে। ওয়েবারের মতে বৈধ কর্তৃত্বের উপর ভিত্তি করে যে আধিপত্য গড়ে ওঠে তা মূলত তিন প্রকার ক) ব্যক্তিবিশেষের জনমহিনী শক্তির উপর গড়ে ওঠা আধিপত্য (charismatic authority) (খ) এতিহ্যবাহী আধিপত্য (traditional authority) (গ) যুক্তিবাদী আধিপত্য (Legal-rational Ananthisity) ব্যতিক্রমী প্রতিভা গুণাবলীর কারণে কোনো নায়ক বা নেতা তার অনুগামীদের ওপর যে মোহিনী কর্তৃত্ব প্রতিষ্ঠা করেন এবং তার প্রতি বিশ্বাসের জোরে তার অনুগামীরা যে আনুগত্য প্রদর্শন করেন, তাই জনমোহিনী কর্তৃত্ব। ভারতের জন সমাজে মহাত্মা গান্ধীর কথা এ ক্ষেত্রে উল্লেখ করা যায়। ব্যক্তিবিশেষের নিজস্ব গুণাবলীর উপর এই আধিপত্যের ভিত্তি, এখানে যৌক্তিকতার কোন স্থান নেই। এই ধরনের আধিপত্যে প্রশাসনিক ব্যবস্থা খুবই দুর্বল ও অস্থায়ী হয়। দ্বিতীয় কর্তৃত্বের পরিচয় পাওয়া যায় আদিবাসী, প্রাচীন জনগোষ্ঠীর নেতৃত্বের মধ্যে, যারা প্রাচীন এতিহ্যের মধ্যে থেকে ক্ষমতা প্রয়োগের বৈধতা লাভ করেন। এক্ষেত্রে ব্যক্তির ব্যক্তিগত আনুগত্যের বিষয়টি বেশি গুরুত্ব পায়। সামন্ততান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা বংশানুক্রমিক রাজতন্ত্র এমন আধিপত্য দেখা যায়। তৃতীয়টি হলো আইনি- যুক্তিবাদী আধিপত্য, এখানে যুক্তিসঙ্গতভাবে তৈরি আইনের মধ্যে দিয়ে ক্ষমতা বৈধতা অর্জন করে। জনগণ আইন মান্য করে কারণ তারা বিশ্বাস করে যে এটি যথাযথ বৈধ ও উদ্দেশ্যসূলক ক্রিয়ার মাধ্যমে গৃহীত হয়েছে। শাসনের ধরন এখানে নৈব্যক্তিক। নৈব্যক্তিকতার কারণেই গণবাহিনী এতিহ্যবাহী আধিপত্যের তুলনায় আইনি- যুক্তিবাদী আধিপত্যের ধারণাটি শুধু পৃথকই নয় অনন্যও। এই ব্যাখ্যার মাধ্যমে ওয়েবার একটি আদর্শ মডেল বা Ideal type তৈরি করার চেষ্টা করেন।

এই আইনিযুক্তিবাদী আধিপত্য ভিত্তিক আদর্শ আমলাতন্ত্রের কয়েকটি নীতিগত বৈশিষ্ট্য ওয়েবার উল্লেখ করেছেন-

(ক) প্রশাসনের কাজের ধারাবাহিকতা ও নিয়মানুগতা বজায় রাখতে হবে। কোন রকম পছন্দ- অপছন্দ গুরুত্ব পাবে

না।

(খ) আমলাতান্ত্রিক সংগঠনের সমগ্র কাজকর্মের নির্দিষ্ট বিভাজন থাকবে, যেগুলি উপযুক্ত কর্তৃত্বের দ্বারা অনুমোদিত।

(গ) প্রশাসনিক কার্যকলাপ ক্রমোচ্চ- স্তরে বিন্যস্ত থাকবে সেগুলির নিয়ন্ত্রণ ও অভিযোগের ক্ষেত্রও সুনির্দিষ্ট থাকবে

(ঘ) আমলাতান্ত্রিক সংগঠন পরিচালিত হয় নিয়মের ভিত্তিতে, বৈজ্ঞানিকভাবে, যেখানে প্রশিক্ষণের উপর গুরুত্ব অর্পণ করা হয়, ব্যক্তির আবেগের কোন স্থান যেখানে নেই।

আমলাতান্ত্রিক সংগঠনের সম্পদ কোন প্রশাসকের ব্যক্তিগত সম্পদ নয়।

(চ) প্রশাসক প্রশাসনিক কার্যালয় দখল, বা বিক্রি করতে পারবে না, বা বংশানুক্রমিক ভাবে দান করতে পারবে না।

(ছ) লিখিত দলিল এর উপর ভিত্তি করে প্রশাসন পরিচালিত হয়।

(জ) আইনি-যুক্তিবাদী কর্তৃত্বের বিভিন্ন রূপ থাকলেও, তার বিশুদ্ধ রূপটি আমলাতান্ত্রিক প্রতিষ্ঠান-এর মধ্যেই পাওয়া যায়।

এই নীতিগত বৈশিষ্ট্যের ভিত্তিতে আমলাতান্ত্রিক সংগঠনের নিয়োগের শর্তাবলীকেও ওয়েবার সুনির্দিষ্ট করেছেন।

(১) ব্যক্তিজীবনে প্রশাসকের স্বাধীন ও নির্দিষ্ট চুক্তির ভিত্তিতে প্রশাসনিক কাজে নিযুক্ত হন।

(২) প্রশাসকদের নির্বাচিত হন না, কাজে নিযুক্ত হন।

(৩) প্রশাসকের পেশাগত যোগ্যতা ও মেধার প্রেক্ষিতে নিযুক্তি করণ ঘটে।

(৪) প্রশাসকের চাকুরী জীবনে নির্দিষ্ট মাসিক বেতন পান এবং চাকরি জীবনের শেষে আমৃত্যু অবসরকালীন ভাতা পেয়ে থাকেন।

(৫) প্রশাসকদের পদোন্নতির সুযোগ থাকে, এই পদোন্নতি একান্তই মেধাভিত্তিক, এবং অনেক সময় বরিষ্ঠতার অর্থাৎ সিনিয়রিটির ভিত্তিতেই হয়।

(৬) প্রশাসকের পদের উপর গুরুত্ব দেওয়া হয়, কারণ এই পদটিই তার প্রধান পেশা।

(৭) সামাজিক শৃঙ্খলা, নিয়ম বা নিয়ন্ত্রণ মেনে প্রশাসককে কাজ করতে হয়।

মার্টিন এলব্রাউ এর মতে উল্লিখিত বৈশিষ্ট্য সকল ও নিয়োগের শর্তাবলী সাপেক্ষে ওয়েবার একটি "Ideal type Bureaucracy" আদর্শ আমলাতন্ত্রের ধারণা গড়ে তুলতে চেয়েছেন! ওয়েবারের মতে আমলাতন্ত্র যুক্তিনির্ভর কারণ জ্ঞানাশ্রয়ী চিন্তার দ্বারা তা নিয়ন্ত্রিত, এর কর্ম উদ্যোগ বুদ্ধিদীপ্ত আইন দ্বারা পরিচালিত হয়। আমলাতন্ত্রের দক্ষতা নির্ভর করে তার নির্ভুলতা, দ্রুত ও ধারাবাহিক সিদ্ধান্ত নেবার কর্মক্ষমতা, নথিপত্র সংরক্ষণ, গোপনীয়তা রক্ষা, সুসংহতিকরণ, নৈব্যক্তিকরণ, ব্যক্তিগত খরচ ও উপাদানগত খরচের নূন্যতম ব্যয় বজায় রাখা প্রভৃতির উপর। এই কারণেই আমলাতন্ত্র সম্পর্কে ওয়েবারের ধারণাকে মূল্যমান নিরপেক্ষ বলা হয়। এ বিষয়ে তিনটি যৌক্তিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি অবতারণা করা হয়। প্রথমত কাঠামোগতভাবে আমলাতন্ত্র সকলের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করে। এ বিষয়ে আমলাতন্ত্রের শ্রেণীবিভাজন ও ক্রমোচ্চ স্তরবিন্যাস কাঠামোই সর্বাপেক্ষা গুরুত্ব পায়। দ্বিতীয়ত আমলাতন্ত্রকে আচরণগত দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি দিয়েও ব্যাখ্যা করা যায়। আমলাতন্ত্র মানবোচিত আচরণের ক্ষেত্রে যত বেশি নৈব্যক্তিক থাকবে অর্থাৎ ব্যক্তিগত ভালোবাসা- ঘৃণা, ক্রোধ- জ্বেহ ইত্যাদি বর্জন করতে পারবে তত বেশি পরিপূর্ণ সংগঠন হয়ে উঠবে। তৃতীয়তঃ আপাত বিবেচনায় যান্ত্রিক মনে হলেও লক্ষ্য পূরণের দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকেও আমলাতন্ত্রকে পর্যালোচনা করা সম্ভব। ওয়েবারের আমলাদের শাসন কে কিভাবে সীমিত করা যায়, এ প্রসঙ্গে মার্টিন এলব্রাউ পাঁচটি প্রক্রিয়ার কথা বলেছেন, সেগুলি হল- যৌথ দায়িত্ব, ক্ষমতার স্বতন্ত্রীকরণ, অপেশাদারী প্রশাসন, প্রত্যক্ষ গণতন্ত্র ও প্রতিনিধিত্ব।

ওয়েবার অবশ্যই আমলাতন্ত্রকে রাষ্ট্র কর্তৃত্বের সঙ্গে পৃথক করে আলোচনা করেছেন। আধুনিক রাষ্ট্র ব্যবস্থায় জটিল ও বৃহৎ প্রশাসনের জন্য যেসকল সাংগঠনিক প্রয়াস দেখা যায়, তার মধ্যে আমলাতন্ত্র সর্বাপেক্ষা দক্ষ ও সর্বোৎকৃষ্ট সংগঠন। স্থিতিশীলতা, শৃঙ্খলা, নিয়মানুগত আস্থা প্রভৃতির দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে আমলাতন্ত্র সর্বাপেক্ষা উন্নত সংগঠন। সমাজের সমবেত কাজের প্রকৃতি সঙ্গত প্রতিফলন আমলাতান্ত্রিক কাঠামোতেই পরিলক্ষিত হয়। তুলনায়, প্রশাসনের সঙ্গে যুক্ত উচ্চপদস্থ আমলাদেরকে রাষ্ট্রকৃত্যক এর অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হয়। রাষ্ট্রকৃত্যক বলতে এই আমলাতন্ত্রের উচ্চপদস্থ আধিকারিকদের কেই বোঝায়, ওয়েবারীয় ধারণায় তাই রাষ্ট্রকৃত্যকরা কখনোই আমলাতন্ত্রের সমর্থক নয়।

4.6 Criticisms of Weber's theory

আমলাতন্ত্র সম্পর্কে ওয়েবারীয় মডেলটিকে "যান্ত্রিক তত্ত্ব" ও "বদ্ধ মডেল" হিসেবে সমালোচনা করা হয়। সামাজিক পরিবেশের সঙ্গে প্রশাসনের পারস্পরিক সম্পর্কের প্রতি গুরুত্ব না দেওয়ায় অনেকেই এই মডেলটিকে বদ্ধ বলেন। স্থিতিশীল ব্যবস্থায় এই মডেলটি কার্যকরী, অস্থিতিশীল অবস্থায় নয় ওয়েবারের তত যে মূল্যমান নিরপেক্ষতার কথা বলা হয়, তাকে নস্যাত্ন করে দিয়ে আমলাদের স্বার্থাশ্বেষীতা, ক্ষমতা,

উপরি আয়, পৃষ্ঠপোষকতা গ্রহণের ইচ্ছা, ও পদকে নিজের স্বার্থে ব্যবহার করার ইচ্ছা কে চিহ্নিত করে, নিসকানেন তার বই, "Bureaucracy and Representative Government"এ উল্লেখ করেছেন। এছাড়াও গার্ডেন তুলক, ডব্লিউ. সি. মিশেল ওয়েবারের আমলাতন্ত্রের দায়িত্বসম্পন্ন স্বার্থহীন- সিদ্ধান্ত প্রয়োগের ধারণাটিকে অবাস্তব বলে উল্লেখ করেছেন। নতুন সৃজনশীল চিন্তা প্রসূত প্রশাসনিক কাজকর্মে ওয়েবারের আমলাতন্ত্র একান্তই অনুপযুক্ত, তা শুধুমাত্র রুটিন কাজ করার পক্ষে উপযুক্ত। ওয়েবারের আমলাতন্ত্র যে বৈধ কর্তৃত্ব এর কথা বলে, তা প্রশ্নের উর্ধের নয়। ক্ষমতার প্রয়োগ বৈধ স্বীকৃতি তখনই পায়, যখন জনগণ ক্ষমতা প্রয়োগকারীর ভূমিকাকে যথার্থ বলে মেনে নেয়। আমলারা যে সিদ্ধান্ত প্রয়োগ করে, তা মেনে নেওয়ার ক্ষেত্রে আমলাদের দক্ষতা ও যোগ্যতা সম্পর্কে শ্রদ্ধাবোধ না নিছক বাধ্যবাধকতা ও ভীতি নিয়েও প্রশ্ন ওঠে। সুতরাং আমলাদের কর্তৃত্ব বৈধ এমনটি বলা যায় না। লয়েড রুডলফ এবং সুসান রুডলফ যুগল সমাজবিজ্ঞানী ওয়েবারের আমলাতন্ত্রের প্রধান বিবেচ্য বিষয় দক্ষতাকে উপযুক্ততার কাঠগোড়ায় তুলেছেন। তারা বলেন যে আনুষ্ঠানিক যুক্তিসঙ্গত সংগঠনকে দক্ষ করলেও অনেক ক্ষেত্রে তা প্রতিরোধ,

ক্ষমতার দন্দ, কর্তৃত্বের সংঘাতের জন্ম দেয়। ফলে দক্ষতা লোপ পায় অদক্ষতার বৃদ্ধি হয়। আবার ওয়ারেন বেনিস নামে এক সমাজ বিজ্ঞানী বলেছেন, বর্ধিত শিল্পায়নের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে আমলাতন্ত্র ক্রমে লুপ্ত হবে, তার জায়গা চুক্তিভিত্তিক, অস্থায়ী কার্যক্রম (work system) চালু হবে। এছাড়াও প্রেসথুস মনে করেন যে ওয়েবারীয় আমলাতান্ত্রিক মডেল একটি বিশেষ সংস্কৃতির পক্ষে উপযোগী হলেও উন্নয়নশীল রাষ্ট্রের আর্থসামাজিক ও ভিন্ন সাংস্কৃতিক প্রেক্ষাপটে তা ব্যবহার যোগ্য নয়।

ডেভিড বিথাম, তার "Max Weber and the theory of modern politics" গ্রন্থে বলেছেন, আমলাতন্ত্রের অন্তর্নিহিত প্রবণতা হলো নিজের কাজকে অতিক্রম করে পৃথক এক শক্তি হিসেবে আত্মপ্রকাশ করা, এবং পৃথক শক্তি গোষ্ঠী হিসেবে আমলাতন্ত্র সামাজিক উদ্দেশ্য নির্ধারণের কাজ (Social goal setting function) নিয়ন্ত্রণ

করতে চায়। দুর্বল বা অতিরিক্ত অস্থায়ী গণতান্ত্রিক শাসনব্যবস্থার সুযোগ নিয়ে অনেক সময় আমলারা ক্ষমতাশীল হয়ে রাষ্ট্রীয় প্রশাসন কে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করে। এছাড়া অত্যাধিক নীতিনিষ্ঠ আমলাতন্ত্রের মনন ও কাঠামোয় এমন এক অনমনীয় মনোভাবের জন্ম দেয় যা আজকে উপযুক্ততার ক্ষেত্রে উদ্বিগ্ন ও অসহিষ্ণুতার জন্ম দেয়।

নানাবিধ আলোচনা সত্ত্বেও, একথা স্বীকার করতেই হবে ওয়েবার আধুনিক পুঁজিবাদী, গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রে আমলাতন্ত্রকে বিশেষভাবে প্রশিক্ষিত প্রকাশক ও কর্মীদের একটি সংগঠন হিসেবে চিহ্নিত করে, এমন একটি প্রশাসনিক কাঠামো প্রস্তুত করেন, যার মাধ্যমে আইনি যুক্তিবাদী আধিপত্য প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়।

4.7 Post-Weberian Bureaucratic Theory

এক্ষেত্রে প্রথমেই নাম করতে হয় "public choice school" জনপছন্দ পাঠক্রমের। এই ভাবনার প্রবক্তাদের মধ্যে ওট্ট, ডাইনস, টুলক, নিসকানেন খুবই উল্লেখযোগ্য। এরা প্রায় সকলেই আমলাতন্ত্রের দক্ষতা নিয়ে সংশয় প্রকাশ করেছেন। আমলাদের স্বার্থাশ্বেষী অভিহিত করে এরা বলেন জনকল্যাণের ক্ষেত্রে আমলারা ভালোর চেয়ে খারাপ করেন বেশি। কার্যত তারা অতিরিক্ত আমলাতান্ত্রিকতার বিরোধী ডগলাস ইয়েটস, এভা এটজিওনি, হালেভি প্রযুথেরা বিভিন্ন গণতান্ত্রিক কাঠামো আলোচনায় দেখিয়েছেন যে

আমলাতন্ত্র ও গণতন্ত্রের মধ্যে 'টেনশন' বিরাজ করে। এই সূত্রে তারা বাজারে ব্যবস্থা বাড়িয়ে আমলাতান্ত্রিক নির্ভরতা কমাতে চান। অবশ্য এ বিষয়ে ক্লাউসওফ গোরান হাইডেন প্রশ্ন তুলেছেন উন্নয়নশীল রাষ্ট্রে জনকল্যাণমুখী কর্মসূচির গুরুত্ব কি কমানো উচিত? ওয়ুনা ক্রিটিকাল তত্ত্ব জনপ্রশাসনে তথ্যনির্ভর ও লক্ষ্য কেন্দ্রিক দৃষ্টিবাদী ও আচরণবাদী তত্ত্বের সমালোচনা করেন। এই তত্ত্বের অন্যতম প্রবক্তা হাবারমাস সামাজিক ব্যবস্থার জন্য একটি বিকল্প পদ্ধতির কথা বলেন। যেখানে ব্যাখ্যা ও সমালোচনাকে গুরুত্ব দেওয়া হয়। এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি থেকেই জনপ্রশাসনে ক্রিটিকাল তত্ত্ব গড়ে ওঠে। এই তত্ত্ব প্রবক্তা বাট কিং, জে রিচার্ড হেকম্যান প্রমুখরা আমলাতন্ত্রের প্রাধান্যের বিরোধিতা করে বলেন, গোপনীয়তা, নিয়ম নির্ভরতা, শৃঙ্খলা পরায়নতা, প্রভৃতি আমলাতন্ত্রকে একটি অমানবচিত প্রতিষ্ঠানে পরিণত করেছে। তথ্যের আদান-প্রদান মত বিনিময় প্রভৃতির ওপর গুরুত্ব দিয়ে, এরা আমলাতন্ত্রের শ্বাসরোধকারী আধিপত্য থেকে বেরিয়ে আসতে চেষ্টা করেন।

4.8 Questions for Self-Assessment

- a) মার্কসীয় আমলাতন্ত্রের ধারণাটি ব্যাখ্যা কর। এ প্রসঙ্গে লেনিনের তত্ত্বটিও আলোচনা কর।
- b) ম্যাক্স ওয়েবারের আমলাতন্ত্রের ধারণাটি বিশ্লেষণ কর।
- c) ওয়েবার উত্তর আমলাতন্ত্রের ধারণা সম্পর্কে একটি নতিদীর্ঘ আলোচনা কর।

4.9 Suggested Readings

- a) Albrow, M. (1970). *Bureaucracy*. London, Palgrave Macmillan.
- b) Avasthi, A., and Maheshwari, S. (1977) *Public Administration*. Agra, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal. (revised edition)
- c) Bhattacharya M. (2001). *New Horizons of Public Administration*. Jawahar Publishers & Distributors.
- d) Beetham, D. (1974). *Max Weber and the theory of Modern Politics*. Allen and Unwin.
- e) রাজশ্রী বসু। (২০০৫)। জনপ্রশাসন। পশ্চিমবঙ্গ রাজ্য পুস্তক পরষদ।

Development Administration and Its Challenges: Role of Non-State Actors in Administration

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5.1 Objectives

The unit under discussion intends to explore the role of non-state actor in the light of development administration and its challenges.

5.2 Introduction

Development administration is essentially a statist project. The inclusion of non-state actors in development is a post globalization phenomenon where it is posited as a smart alternative to the state/government. Born out of the exigency of putting the newly independent nation into growth trajectory by undoing the sorry legacy of underdevelopment under the colonial governance, the concept of development administration had been brought into being. However, doing away with the colonial legacy was not very easy as forming an exclusively indigenous administration at the dawn of independence was practically impossible with the then rate of literacy and other Human Development Indices. Consequently, the newly independent states were compelled to fall back on the colonial bureaucratic structure with a few cosmetic changes to bring about an indigenous feel in governance. Hence, development administration was born with an avowed

‘developmental’ objective and directionality. Hence, the birth of development administration was more or less a state-led and bureaucratically managed initiative, which intend to bring about overall development . As a faceless administrator bureaucracy is normally assigned with the duty of implementing public policy, irrespective of political or ideological texture of the government. Non state actors were rarely allowed to the development discourse. The non-state actors include among others interest groups, social movements, Non-Governmental Organizations, and mass media. However, of late, the perceptions on the role of non-state actors vis-à-vis governance in general and the role of non-Governmental organization in particular has undergone a sea change as public administration is conceived as a ‘network of horizontal and vertical linkages among the organizations of all types- governmental, non-governmental and quasi -governmental’’. Engaging non-state actors in administration is a neoliberal agenda. As an essential precondition of neoliberal dream of integrating global market, the non-state actors have been brought into the discourse of development at the cost of state actors and bureaucracy. It was argued that non state actors would gradually replace the state and government in provisioning public goods and services. Hence, state /government has been dethroned from the development discourse with corresponding enthroning of non-state actors. Despite the relentless advocacy of non-state actors in development by the neoliberals, reality presents quite a distressing picture as non-state actors found to be incapable of handling the challenges of development. Among the several non-state actors, NGO is perhaps the most visible actor in development. Public administration in recent times, unlike in the past, has roped in NGOs like many other civil society organizations in most of the developmental activities as an equal partner of the state/government. Though it should be noted that civil society and NGO are not the same, S group, action group, social movements, trade associations, women’s organization, NGO and so on. There is no denying that NGOs have been in existence for a long time but its role in public administration was felt only recently with the onset of globalization. It has impacted the governance processes to a great extent. The state which has so long been at centre of governing process has lost its predominance and relegated to one of the many service providers citizens have at their disposal. Further, the rigid hierarchical and bureaucratic way of management under classical public administration is given way to a post-bureaucratic style of management based on flexibility, informality and close interaction among the multiple stakeholders like private sector, public sectors, civil society organizations. State/Government facilitates and encourages the NGOs to take part in the policy making. Normally, NGOs are playing a supplementary role in governance, but instances of playing a pivotal role in policy process

cannot be entirely ruled out.

5.3 The Role of NGOs in Administration

The role NGOs performed in public administration can be summed as advocacy, mediation, lobbying, activism monitoring, whistle blowing, educating to name a few. In the following section an attempt will be made to explore the role non-state actors especially NGOs played in public administration in recent times.

Policy Making

Facilitating policy making is one of the most important roles performed by NGOs in recent times. However, it would be a gross overstatement had we associated policy making exclusively with NGOs. In fact, policy making was considered as an exclusive enclave, strictly earmarked for senior bureaucrats and specialists, other than elected executives. Allowing NGOs into that domain was a post-globalization phenomenon. However, the said role is confined to exploration of possible course of action, making suggestions or assessing the possible impact of any given policy. Such role of NGOs has endorsed by no less than two very famous administrative thinkers Denhardt and Denhardt. They have argued that policy making is what an agency or a host of agencies like private, public and NGOs have chosen to do or not to do. The above argument has underlined the rising importance of NGOs in implementing and evaluating government policies and programmes as and when they are called upon to discharge their duties. Owing to their locational advantage of being a linking pin between governmental agencies and bureaucracy on the one hand, and general people on other, it is very easy for the NGOs to establish a critical interface between government and the people.

Policy implementation-

It is perhaps the most critical phase of public policy making. As an essential part of the public policy making process, implementation is the means by which decisions are converted into applications. It is as important as the formulation of policy. However, implementation part of policy making gets the least attention (Gerston: *ibid*; Hogwood&Gunn: 1984). At least two factors can be held responsible for it: first due to a popular misconception that the formulation of public policy would automatically lead to the intended objective; and the secondly it does not get proper attention because bureaucracy is largely entrusted with the task of implementation. Since bureaucracy works in a sub-culture of impersonality and anonymity, the task of implementation of policy decision remains outside the public glare. It was the publication of a book entitled

"Implementation" in 1973 by Pressman and Wildavsky , which gave implementation its due attention as an integral part of public policy making(Hogwood&Gunn: ibid). However, it should not be treated as a single and isolated act. Rather, it is an integral part of interwoven stages of policy making (Joseph Kasongo: 1999). Hence, considering the importance of the implementation of policy, as stated above, NGOs have been assigned to implement public policy. Accordingly, NGOs have been involved in the delivery of healthcare, education, human rights, emergency relief, microfinance and so on. Further, NGOs also come handy for acquiring inputs and feedbacks from the people on any given policy.

Service Delivery

Thanks to neoliberal scheme of things, NGOs are also included in the task of the delivery of service so long done by the governmental agencies alone. Apart from self motivated stand of voluntarism, NGOs are also assigned the duties of the delivery of services by the government. But the track record of NGOs in delivering services is not very inspiring as NGOs are often plagued by the problems of quality control, limited sustainability, poor coordination and amateurism.

Catalyst

Inclusion of NGOs in public administration, no matter whatever be the reason behind it, has undeniably instilled a spirit of change. Such inclusion has facilitated grassroot mobilization and group formation, and also helped disseminating information regarding policies.

Advocacy

Advocacy is considered to be another important strategy to disseminate information regarding public policy and helps people to grasp the essence of a given policy so that they may avail the benefit of that policy. Hence, in other words due to the relentless advocacy of NGOs, several unaddressed issues of the society like protection of basic human rights, minority rights, rights of the marginalized and voiceless people, environmental issues, displacement etc come to the fore.

Innovation

Innovation is a unique attribute of NGOs. It helps state to grapple with several intractable issues of governance. In addition to its enviable flexibility, and excellent adaptability, NGOs are also capable of experimenting with any unforeseen challenges. The recent unusual reliance of state on

NGOs in development is indicative of this special quality of innovation.

Whistleblowing

Of late, NGOs are also known for its whistleblowing role. Despite constant monitoring of several government policies and programmes, NGOs also play the critical role of whistleblower by identifying any anomaly or discrepancy in governance.

5.4 Major Challenges of NGOs

Having said that, NGOs should not be couched as the only panacea of all sorts of administrative malfunctioning and crises. There is no denying that allowing non-state actors especially NGOs in governance bring a fresh air of plurality and cooperation. But a few challenges that are associated with third sector cannot be denied. This section mainly casts some light on the challenges of non-state actors especially NGOs.

First, the major challenge of NGO-led development that one would identify is the issue of transparency and accountability. Unlike the state/government-led model of development with its traditional mechanism of ensuring and accountability, NGOs do not have any reliable mechanism of ensuring and accountability. Further, upholding democratic values like equity and responsiveness may not be possible in NGO-led development. Secondly, due to its funding constraint, often NGOs ceases to be independent agency and becomes an appendage of the donor. Thirdly, overall financial constraints associated with NGOs have often badly circumscribed the functioning capability of NGOS. Fourthly, the irregular financing, erratic regulation, lack of coordination , fragmentation and so on often marred the effectiveness of NGOs.

5.5 Bureaucracy as State Actor

It is the permanent wing of the government which keeps the continuity of public policy making by implementing public policy with professional dedication. Though primarily concerned with the implementations of policy decisions, bureaucracy sometimes also acts as policy makers. Despite the pivotal role of bureaucracy in public policy making in general and implementation of policies in particular, the danger of administrative evils cannot be entirely ruled out. Most disturbing fact of administrative evils is that they do not originate with the failure of bureaucracy. In fact, in most instances they originate with the meticulous performance of bureaucracy. Incidentally, we can cite

an interesting book by Guy b. Adams and Danny L. Balfour , entitled 'Unmasking Administrative Evil'. " the notion of organizational evils merely conjures up images of pollution, mismanagement, corruption or law breaking." But the authors argue that there is something beyond this: organizations inflicting pain and suffering unto death willingly. Not inadvertently or accidentally. They have many examples, from the clear one of the holocaust to the murky one of the Challenger disaster. And this administrative evil is organizational, formal, rational, efficient evil-not the work of crazy leader, personal failing, lax controls or racist ideologies. Though these may be involved, they would be less consequential without modern organizations and their efficiency and professionalism. They argue that there is 'an inherent characteristic of modern organizations that allows evil to be administratively 'sanitized', accepted as rational and proper in terms of efficiency, and the masking may be inadvertent".Implementation of public policies requires four elements viz. translation ability, resources, limited numbers of players and accountability (Gerston: ibid)

Translation Ability- In public policy making the major problem is the incompatibility between the objectives of the policy makers and the level of comprehension of the bureaucrats who are assigned with the duty of implementing those policies into action. Apparent ambiguity and fuzziness of the policy decisions often pose a serious challenge to the implementation of public policy. Hence, there should be proper clarity about the policy and the way how it is to be carried out. are key translation requirements for doing the job correctly.

Resources- The success of public policy is also largely contingent upon the proper arrangement of resources. This is more so in the implementation of public policy, as the implementors of public policy (normally the bureaucracy) do not have the direct access to resources.

Limited Numbers of Players- For the proper implementation of public policy there should be a limit in the number of agencies involved in the task. For, too many players might jeopardize the entire policy making process as they engender confusion and unnecessary competition.

Accountability- Last but not the least is the element of accountability, which plays an equally important role in implementing public policy. But unlike the elected policy makers, who are answerable to the electorate, bureaucrats are serving the tenure service as permanent cadres, only

ted by the service conduct rule.

However, complying with the above conditions does not necessarily guarantee the proper implementation of public policy. As there are several intervening variables, which might disturb the implementation process viz. post-decision bargaining, new priorities, poor oversight, and so on (Gerston: *ibid*). Almost in similar vein Hogwood and Gunn argue that the 'perfect implementation' of public policy is 'unattainable'. Drawing on Herbert Simon, especially his 'bounded rationality', Hogwood and Gunn have identified ten factors which have to be satisfied if perfect implementation were to be achieved:

First, there are certain circumstances beyond the control of the administrators in policy making. For example, the success of any agricultural policy, no matter how well conceived and relevant that might be, is contingent upon the climatic conditions over which administrators have little control. Administrators should remain alive to these kinds of factors in implementing public policy.

Second, for successful implementation of public policy, there should be 'sufficient resources and time available to the programme'. In reality implementation process often fails because either 'too much is expected in too short a period or the paucity of grants crippled the implementation process.

Third, for successful implementation of public policy, mere availability of resources is not sufficient. In fact, the implementation process calls for a proper coordination of 'money, manpower, land, equipment, etc. For example, any temporary resource crunch can be managed, but the non-availability either of the stated elements can jeopardize a policy. Fourth, the implementation of public policy is often hampered if it is based on faulty theoretical base. Fifth, for smooth implementation of public policy there should be brief and direct relationship between cause and effect with little or no intervening links. Since "longer the chain of causality, the more numerous the reciprocal relationships among the links and the more complex implementation becomes". Sixth, for perfect implementation implementing agency should be single instead of plural. In other words implementing agency should not rely on others to implement a particular policy. Hence, the dependency should be minimal in number and importance. Seventh, "there

should be complete understanding of, and agreement on, the objectives to be achieved and that these conditions should persist throughout the implementation process". Eighth, for the successful implementation of public policy the objectives should be 'specified in complete detail and perfect sequence'. Ninth, for smooth implementation there should be proper coordination among various elements or agencies involved in the implementation process. Hood argues that for perfect implementation it is necessary to have a completely unitary administrative system "like a huge army with a single line of authority' with no compartmentalism or conflict within. Tenth, finally the implementation also requires perfect cooperation between those in authority and those to whom the policy is directed. (Hogwood and Gunn: *ibid*).

5.6 Concluding Observations

In the foregoing analysis an attempt has been made to discuss the role of non-state actors in the background of the challenges of the development administration. It is true that non-state actors have had a long presence in development discourse. However, it did not get formal shape until the onset of globalization. Globalization with its ultimate objective of unification of global markets, has literally opened the floodgates of labour and capital with resultant challenges of governance. Under the circumstances, non-state actors and civil society organizations got a huge impetus, as the decapitated state actors were not in a position to handle the challenges of governance. Consequently, NGOs have been roped in the development sector as partners of the state/government. From policy making, policy implementation, service delivery to advocacy and whistleblowing, NGOs have been playing supplementary role to the state/ government. Having said that, the paper argues that one should not overlook the challenges of non-state actors like problems of accountability and transparency financial constraints and so on. Finally, the development administration should not include non-state actors alone. For a holistic understanding of development administration there should be a proper collaboration between non-state and state actors.

5.7 Self-Assessment Questions

a) What is Development Administration?

- b) Write a detailed note on the role of non-state actors like NGOs in Development Administration.
- c) Write a note on bureaucracy as a state actor in Development Administration.

5.8 Suggested Readings

- a) Bhattacharya, M. (2001). *New Horizons of Public Administration*. Jawahar Publishers & Distributors.

Radical Challenges to Developmentalism: New Indicators of Development, Controlling Post-Development

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6.1 উদ্দেশ্য

এই অধ্যায়ের উদ্দেশ্য হল উন্নয়ন এবং উন্নয়নবাদ সম্পর্কে একটি তাত্ত্বিক আলোচনা তুলে ধরা এবং উন্নয়নের প্রশ্নে বিভিন্ননপ্রশ্নগুলি বিচার বিবেচনা করা। সাবেকি উন্নয়নের তত্ত্বগুলি যেমন গান্ধীবাদী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী, অর্থনৈতিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি,

মনস্তাত্ত্বিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী, অধীনতা তত্ত্ব, বিক্ষিপণবাদী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি, মার্কসীয় বা সাম্যবাদী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী প্রভৃতির নিয়ে একটি সমালোচনামূলক ব্যাখ্যা বিশ্লেষণ এই অধ্যায়ের আর একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ উদ্দেশ্য। এছাড়াও বিংশ শতাব্দীর শেষ দিকে আরও যে সব দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী উন্নয়ন প্রশাসন সংক্রান্ত আলোচনার কেন্দ্রবিন্দুতে চলে আসে সেগুলি অর্থাৎ বিকল্প উন্নয়নের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী, জনকেন্দ্রিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী, মানব উন্নয়নের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী, ধারণযোগ্য উন্নয়নের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী এবং অংশগ্রহণমূলক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী নিয়েও এই অধ্যায়ে একটি তত্ত্বগত আলোচনা করা হয়েছে। উত্তর-উন্নয়ন তত্ত্ব নিয়েও একটি ধারণা প্রদান করা এই অধ্যায়ের আর একটি বিশেষ উদ্দেশ্য।

6.2 ভূমিকা

উন্নয়ন হল ইতিবাচক পরিবর্তনের ধারা। রাজনৈতিক ব্যবস্থার কাছে উন্নয়ন একটি প্রক্রিয়া হিসাবে চিহ্নিত হয়। নিন্তর অবস্থা থেকে অপেক্ষাকৃত আধুনিক উন্নততর অবস্থার পরিবর্তনের উদ্দেশ্যে এই প্রক্রিয়াকে অনুসরণ করা হয়। মানব সভ্যতার ইতিবাচক পরিবর্তনকে নির্দিষ্ট করতেই 'উন্নয়ন' সংক্রান্ত ধারণাটি প্রচার করা হয় এবং কোন একটি দেশের আর্থ-সামাজিক ও রাজনৈতিক কাঠামোর পরিপ্রেক্ষিতেই উন্নয়নের যথাযথ প্রক্রিয়া বা ফর্মুলা অনুসরণ করা হয়। সাধারণত সকল দেশই আর্থ-সামাজিক ও রাজনৈতিক ব্যবস্থার পরিবর্তনের উদ্দেশ্যে উন্নয়নের কোন একটি নির্দিষ্ট ধারা বিরতিবিহীন ভাবে চালিয়ে যেতে সচেষ্ট হয়। উন্নয়নের উদ্দেশ্যে স্থির করা প্রচেষ্টা সফল হলে সেই প্রচেষ্টা উন্নয়নের সূচক হিসাবে পরিগণিত হয় এবং উন্নয়নের ধারা অব্যাহত রাখতে বা তরাঙ্খিত করতে তা যথা সময়ে অনুসৃত হয়। এইভাবেই পরিকল্পিত হয় উন্নয়নের মডেল। কিন্তু উন্নয়ন এবং তার মডেল সংক্রান্ত প্রশ্নে বুদ্ধি বিতর্ক এবং আলোচনা লক্ষ্য করা যায়। তত্ত্বগত আলোচনায় পরিলক্ষিত হয় পরস্পর বিরোধী কিছু দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি যা উন্নয়নের মানদণ্ড স্থির করে। তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলির পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে দেখা যায় যে উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত সকল তত্ত্বকথাই কম-বেশী সমালোচনার সম্মুখীন হয় এবং ফলশ্রুতিতে বিকল্প উন্নয়ন, স্থিতিশীল উন্নয়ন, মানব উন্নয়ন প্রভৃতি ধারণার প্রস্তাব দেওয়া হয় এবং তা জনপ্রিয়তা লাভ করতেও শুরু করে এবং ক্ষেত্র বিশেষে সমালোচিতও হয়। এইভাবে প্রচলিত মূলধারার উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত তত্ত্ব সমূহের প্রতি অবিশ্বাস থেকেই উত্তর-উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত আলোচনার সূত্রপাত ঘটে।

6.3 উন্নয়ন এবং উন্নয়নবাদ

উন্নয়ন হল সমাজ পরিবর্তনের জন্য নির্দেশিত একটি ব্যাপক অংশগ্রহণের প্রক্রিয়া যা সামাজিক বিকাশ এবং বৈষয়িক উভয়ের ক্ষেত্রেই প্রযোজ্য। সামাজিক এবং বৈষয়িক বিকাশের অর্থ হল সমাজের সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ মানুষের জন্য বৃহত্তর অর্থে সাম্য, স্বাধীনতা, ন্যায়বিচার ইত্যাদির জন্য সুস্থ স্বাভাবিক একটি পরিবেশ সৃষ্টি এবং তার উপর ব্যাপক নিয়ন্ত্রণ। উন্নয়নের সংজ্ঞা নিয়ে ব্যাপক মতপার্থক্য লক্ষ্য করা যায়। মানব উন্নয়নের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে অমর্ত্য সেন উন্নয়নের সংজ্ঞা নির্ধারণ করেছেন। অমর্ত্য সেন তার *Development as Freedom* (1999) শীর্ষক গ্রন্থে উন্নয়নকে স্বাধীনতার সঙ্গে তুলনা করেছেন। অমর্ত্য সেনের মতে পরাধীনতা বা স্বাধীনতাহীনতাই মানুষকে যুক্তিসত্তার অনুশীলনে বাধার সৃষ্টি করে এবং বিভিন্ন প্রকারের পরাধীনতার অপসারণই হল উন্নয়ন। উন্নয়নকে অর্থনৈতিক, রাজনৈতিক এবং সামাজিক ব্যবস্থার সামর্থ্য হিসাবে গণ্য করা হয় এবং এই সামর্থ্যই ধারণযোগ্য(sustainable) এবং দীর্ঘমেয়াদী (long-term) ভিত্তিতে জনকল্যাণের পরিবেশ সৃষ্টি করতে পারে। সেই কারণেই অমর্ত্য সেন দাবি করেন যে উন্নয়ন দীর্ঘমেয়াদী পরিবর্তনের অর্থ বহন করে।

Walt W. Rostow তার *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960) শীর্ষক গ্রন্থে বৃদ্ধির একটি রৈখিক পর্যায়ের (linear stages of growth) মডেল দেখিয়ে উন্নয়নকে ব্যাখ্যা করেছেন। উন্নয়ন হল বিভিন্ন পর্যায়ের এমন একটি ক্রম যা সকল সমাজকেই অতিক্রম করতে হয়। মূলত অর্থনৈতিক প্রবৃদ্ধির দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকেই তিনি উন্নয়নের ধারণা ব্যাখ্যা করেছেন।

উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত ধারণা নিয়ে Fred Riggs'র “*The Idea of Development Administration*” (1970) সংক্রান্ত রচনাটি বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখযোগ্য। Riggs বস্তুতান্ত্রিক দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে উন্নয়নের সংজ্ঞা নিরূপণ করেছেন। উন্নয়নকে স্বাভাবিক বৃদ্ধির একটি প্রক্রিয়া হিসাবে সংজ্ঞায়িত করেছেন। এই প্রক্রিয়া হল সামাজিক ব্যবস্থার বিচক্ষণতা যা বিচ্ছুরণের মাত্রা বৃদ্ধি মাধ্যমে সম্ভব হয়। তার মতে বিচক্ষণতার অর্থ হল বিভিন্ন বিকল্পের মধ্যে থেকে বেছে নেওয়ার ক্ষমতা এবং কিচ্ছুরণ হল একটি সমাজ ব্যবস্থায় পৃথকীকরণ (Differentiation) এবং একীকরণের র (integration) একটি মাত্রা। উন্নয়ন হল পরিবেশকে প্রভাবিত করে যৌথভাবে সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ এবং সম্পাদনের একটি ক্রমবর্ধমান ক্ষমতা। পৃথকীকরণ এবং একীকরণ উন্নয়ন প্রক্রিয়ার দুটি মূল উপাদান। যখন একটি সমাজ ব্যবস্থায় সমাজের প্রতিটি কাজ সম্পাদনের জন্য একটি সামাজিক কাঠামো বিদ্যমান থাকে তখন সেই সমাজে

পৃথকীকরণের প্রক্রিয়া সম্পন্ন হয়। একীকরণ হল বিভিন্ন সামাজিক কাঠামো এবং কার্যাবলীর মধ্যে সমন্বয় সাধন বা সংযুক্তিকরণ।

Colm এবং Giger এর মতে উন্নয়নের অর্থ হল পরিবর্তন সেইসঙ্গে প্রবৃদ্ধি। Weidner উন্নয়নকে প্রবৃদ্ধির প্রক্রিয়া হিসাবে সংজ্ঞায়িত করেছেন। এই প্রবৃদ্ধি হল আধুনিকতার নিরিখে এবং নির্দিষ্টভাবে এই প্রবৃদ্ধি হল জাতি গঠন এবং সামাজিক-অর্থনৈতিক প্রগতির নিরিখে। T. N. Chaturvedi উন্নয়নকে সমাজ পরিবর্তনের প্রক্রিয়া হিসাবে চিহ্নিত করেছেন। Gunnar Myrdal উন্নয়নকে সমগ্র সমাজ ব্যবস্থার উর্ধ্বমুখী সচলতা আন্দোলন বলে উল্লেখ করেছেন। দাবি করা হয় যে, উন্নয়নবাদের (Developmentalism) ধারণা বা উন্নয়নমূলক রাষ্ট্র (Developmental State) দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধের পরবর্তী ঘটনা। ১৯৮০"র দশক থেকে "উন্নয়নমূলক রাষ্ট্র" শব্দটি প্রচলিত হতে থাকে। উন্নয়নবাদের পেছনে মূল ধারণাটি হল যে একটি জাতির উৎপাদনশীল কাঠামো কম গুণমাণ সম্পন্ন হতে পারে এবং সক্রিয় অর্থনৈতিক নীতির সাহায্যে তা উন্নত করা যেতে পারে। উন্নয়নবাদ দাবি করে যে নির্দিষ্ট কিছু অর্থনৈতিক কার্যকলাপ প্রবৃদ্ধি এবং জনকল্যাণের পক্ষে অনুকূল। রাজনৈতিক মতাদর্শ হিসাবে উন্নয়নবাদ হল অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের একটি তত্ত্ব যা দাবি করে যে স্বল্পোন্নত অর্থনীতির বিকাশের সর্বোত্তম উপায় হল একটি শক্তিশালী এবং বৈচিত্র্যময় আভ্যন্তরীণ বাজার গড়ে তোলা এবং আমদানিকৃত পণ্যের উপর উচ্চ শুল্ক আরোপ করা। উন্নয়নবাদের তত্ত্বটি চারটি মূল ধারণার উপর প্রতিষ্ঠিতঃ প্রথম ধারণাটি হল যে, কোন একটি সরকার দাবি করতে পারে যে একটি জাতির বৈধতার কেন্দ্রীয় উৎস হল অর্থনৈতিক কর্মক্ষমতা। উন্নয়নবাদীরা যুক্তি দেন যে, অর্থনৈতিক প্রবৃদ্ধির রক্ষণাবেক্ষণ এবং নাগরিকদের কল্যাণের বিরতি বিহীন অগ্রগতি সাধারণ জনগণকে ক্ষমতায় থাকা শাসককে সমর্থন করার জন্য উৎসাহ দেয়।

দ্বিতীয় ধারণাটি হল যে, পুঁজিবাদী উন্নয়নের সঙ্গে সম্পর্কযুক্ত ঝুঁকিগুলি ব্যাখ্যা করতে সরকারী কর্তৃপক্ষ ব্যবহারের ক্ষেত্রে শাসকের ভূমিকা এবং সেই সঙ্গে জাতীয় স্বার্থের অগ্রগতিকে সর্বাধিক করার জন্য সরকারী এবং উদ্যোগপতিদের ইচ্ছাকে একত্রিত করা।

তৃতীয়ত, উন্নয়নবাদ দাবি করে যে রাষ্ট্রীয় আমলারা রাজনীতিবিদদের থেকে আলাদা হয়ে যায় এই

পৃথকীকরণ নেতৃত্বের কাঠামো এবং প্রশাসনিক ও আমলাতান্ত্রিক পদ্ধতির স্বাধীন এবং সফল পুনর্নির্মাণের অনুমতি দেয়। এই বিচ্ছিন্নতা রাষ্ট্রের চাহিদা এবং শক্তিশালী আন্তর্জাতিক অর্থনৈতিক সম্পর্ক তৈরি ও সম্পর্ক বজায় রাখার গুরুত্বের মধ্যে ভারসাম্য বজায় রাখার চাবিকাঠি। এই বিচ্ছিন্নতার দরুন, সরকার জাতীয় পর্যায়ে নির্দিষ্ট কিছু সমস্যা মোকাবিলার জন্য স্বাতন্ত্র্য ভোগ করে রাষ্ট্রীয় আমলাদের সহায়তা করে এবং রাষ্ট্রীয় আমলারা জাতির অর্থনীতির বিকাশের জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় আন্তর্জাতিকতাবাদের নীতি অনুসরণ করে।

চতুর্থত, উন্নয়নবাদ এই ধারণা নিয়ে কাজ করে যে, আন্তর্জাতিক অর্থনীতিতে অগ্রগতির মাধ্যম হিসাবে পুঁজিবাদী ব্যবস্থাকে ব্যবহার করা জাতির জন্য প্রয়োজনীয়। পররাষ্ট্র সংক্রান্ত বিষয়গুলির প্রতি তীব্র প্রতিক্রিয়া থেকেই উদ্ভূত হয় পুঁজিবাদী ব্যবস্থার কিছু বিশেষীকৃত পদমর্যাদা যাতে বাহ্যিক সম্পদ লাভ করা যায় যা বৃহত্তর ক্ষেত্রে অর্থনৈতিক স্বাতন্ত্র্যের সহায়ক হবে। আন্তর্জাতিক অর্থনৈতিক বিষয়ে সক্রিয় অংশগ্রহণের মাধ্যমে অর্জিত সম্পদ কোন দেশকে পুঁজিবাদের দ্বারা শোষিত হওয়া থেকে দূরে সরিয়ে রাখতে সাহায্য করে এবং এইভাবে সেই দেশ আন্তর্জাতিক অর্থনীতিকে নিজের জাতীয় লাভের জন্যও কাজে লাগাতে পারে।

6.4 উন্নয়নের তত্ত্বসমূহ এবং সাম্প্রতিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী

দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধের পরবর্তী সময়ে যখন উপনিবেশবাদের উচ্ছেদকরণের প্রক্রিয়া শুরু হয় তখন থেকেই সমাজ বিজ্ঞান গবেষণা এবং আন্তর্জাতিক নীতি অধ্যয়নে উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত তত্ত্ব বহু চর্চিত বিষয় হয়ে ওঠে। মূলত অর্থনৈতিক, সামাজিক এবং প্রশাসনিক উন্নয়নের নিরিখেই উন্নয়নের তত্ত্ব রচিত হতে থাকে। সাবেকি উন্নয়নের তত্ত্বসমূহের মধ্যে গান্ধীবাদী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী, অর্থনৈতিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি, মনস্তাত্ত্বিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী, অধীনতা তত্ত্ব, বিক্ষিপণবাদী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি মার্কসীয় বা সাম্যবাদী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী প্রভৃতির প্রাধান্য লক্ষ্য করা যায়। এছাড়াও বিংশ শতাব্দীর শেষ দিকে আরও যে সব দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী উন্নয়ন প্রশাসন সংক্রান্ত আলোচনার কেন্দ্রবিন্দুতে চলে আসে সেগুলি হল বিকল্প উন্নয়নের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী, জনকেন্দ্রিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী, মানব উন্নয়নের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী, ধারণযোগ্য উন্নয়নের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী এবং অংশগ্রহণমূলক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী।

6.4.1 গান্ধীবাদী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী

জাতির জনক মহাত্মা গান্ধী অর্থনৈতিক পরিবর্তনের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে উন্নয়নকে দেখেছেন। উন্নয়নের প্রসঙ্গ

নিয়ে আলোচনা করতে গিয়ে মহাত্মা গান্ধী যে সব বিষয়ের উপর জোড় দিয়েছেন, সেগুলি হলঃ ক) কৃষিভিত্তিক শিল্প, স্বনির্ভর গ্রামীণ অর্থনীতি; খ) সীমিত চাহিদার উপর ভিত্তি করে অর্থনীতি; গ) অছি ব্যবস্থার অর্থনীতি । তার মতে, অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবস্থা পুঁজিবাদই হোক বা সমাজতান্ত্রিকই হোক - বৃহদাকার উৎপাদন ব্যবস্থা বা বৃহৎ শিল্পায়ন কখনোই কাম্য নয়। বৃহদাকার উৎপাদন ব্যবস্থা এবং বৃহৎ প্রযুক্তি “প্রাণহীন কতৃৎ জন্ম দেয় এবং শ্রম ব্যবস্থার বিনাশ সাধন ঘটায়। সীমিত চাহিদার ভিত্তিতে অর্থনীতির বিকাশ - সর্বোৎকৃষ্ট এবং ভারসাম্যমূলক ব্যক্তিত্ব বিকাশের সাথে সাথে আমাদের দুর্নীতি এবং নরক যন্ত্রণা থেকেও সুরক্ষা প্রদান করবে। গান্ধীজী বৈষয়িক বিকাশের তুলনায় আধ্যাত্মিক বিকাশের প্রতি বেশি পরিমাণে জোড় দিয়েছেন। তবে তার মতে শিক্ষাই হল এক শক্তিশালী হাতিয়ার যা আমাদের নৈতিক এবং বৈষয়িক উভয় দিক থেকেই উন্নত করতে পারে। সমালোচকেরা বলেন যে ক্ষুদ্র ও কুটির শিল্পের বিকাশ, কৃষি ভিত্তিক গ্রামীণ তথা পরিবেশবান্ধব প্রযুক্তি নির্ভর শিল্প, গ্রামীণ সাধারণতন্ত্র ইত্যাদির মাধ্যমে গান্ধীজী এমন এক আদর্শ সমাজ ব্যবস্থার কল্পনা করেছেন যা অত্যন্ত রোম্যান্টিক চরিত্রের এবং এর বাস্তবায়ন আধুনিক সমাজ ব্যবস্থায় রীতিমত অসম্ভব।

6.4.2 অর্থনৈতিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী

এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী অনুযায়ী, কোন একটি দেশের অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নই সামগ্রিকভাবে সকল উন্নয়নের আধার। ১৯৫০ এবং ১৯৬০ এর দশকে তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলি উপনিবেশবাদের হাত থেকে মুক্ত হতে শুরু করে এবং স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণা করে। সেই সঙ্গে রাষ্ট্রীয় উন্নয়নের জন্য পশ্চিমী শিল্পোন্নত রাষ্ট্রগুলির অনুকরণে উন্নয়নের মডেল স্থির করার প্রবণতা পরিলক্ষিত হয়। কিন্তু অর্থনীতিবিদরা তৃতীয় বিশ্বের উন্নয়নের জন্য পশ্চিমী মডেল অনুসরণ না করার পরামর্শ দেন। এক্ষেত্রে ভারসাম্যমূলক প্রবৃদ্ধি (Balanced Growth) এবং ভারসাম্যহীন প্রবৃদ্ধি(Unbalanced Growth)মধ্যে পার্থক্যকে তুলে ধরা হয়। ভারসাম্যমূলক প্রবৃদ্ধির লক্ষ্য হল সামঞ্জস্য, ধারাবাহিকতা এবং ভারসাম্য; অন্যদিকে ভারসাম্যহীন প্রবৃদ্ধি বৈষম্য, অসঙ্গতি এবং অসমতা তৈরি করে। ভারসাম্যমূলক প্রবৃদ্ধির জন্য বিপুল পরিমাণ মূলধন দরকার হয়। কিন্তু ভারসাম্যহীন প্রবৃদ্ধির জন্য কম মূলধনের প্রয়োজন হয় কারণ এক্ষেত্রে শুধুমাত্র বিশেষ কিছু গুরুত্বপূর্ণ খাতে বিনিয়োগ করতে দেখা যায়। ভারসাম্যমূলক প্রবৃদ্ধি একটি দীর্ঘমেয়াদী কৌশল কারণ অর্থনীতির সকল সেক্টরের উন্নয়ন শুধুমাত্র দীর্ঘ মেয়াদেই সম্ভব। অন্যদিকে ভারসাম্যহীন প্রবৃদ্ধি একটি স্বল্পমেয়াদী কৌশল কারণ অল্প সময়ের মধ্যে কয়েকটিই বিশেষ বিশেষ ক্ষেত্রের উন্নয়নই সম্ভব।

Walt W. Rostow অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের প্রক্রিয়ায় পাঁচটি স্তরের কথা উল্লেখ করেছেন, যথা - ক) সাবেকি সমাজ (Traditional Society), খ) অনুকরণের জন্য পূর্বশর্ত (Precondition for Take Off), গ) উত্তরণের স্তর (Take Off), ঘ) পরিপূর্ণতার স্তর (Drive to Maturity), এবং ঙ) উচ্চ হারে গণভোগের স্তর (Stage of High Mass Consumption)। সাবেকি সামাজ হল কৃষিভিত্তিক সমাজ। এখানে নিম্নমানের প্রযুক্তি ও কারিগরি বিদ্যার উপস্থিতি লক্ষ্য করা যায়। এই ধরনের সমাজ অত্যন্ত রক্ষণশীল বলে সামাজিক সচলতার সুযোগ একেবারে কম। দ্বিতীয় স্তরে সাবেকি সমাজ পরিবর্তনের প্রক্রিয়া শুরু হয় এবং এই পরিবর্তন অত্যন্ত ধীর গতিতে চলতে থাকে। বিজ্ঞানমনস্কতা ও প্রযুক্তির প্রতি আগ্রহ দেখিয়ে পরিবর্তনের পূর্বশর্ত সৃষ্টির প্রক্রিয়া এই স্তরে শুরু হয়। তৃতীয় স্তরে সমাজ সাবেকি মূল্যবোধ গুলি বর্জন করতে সক্ষম হয়। এই স্তরে প্রযুক্তির সহায়তায় কৃষি ও শিল্প উভয় ক্ষেত্রেই উন্নতি সাধিত হতে দেখা যায়। পরিপূর্ণতার স্তরে জাতীয় উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি পায় এবং শহরাঞ্চলের পরিধি বিস্তৃত হয়। দ্রুততার সঙ্গে অর্থনৈতিক বিকাশ সাধিত হতে থাকে এবং বৃহৎ আন্তর্জাতিক অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবস্থার সাথে সামঞ্জস্য বিধানের প্রচেষ্টাও বৃদ্ধি পায়। সর্বশেষ স্তরে মানুষের জীবনযাত্রার মানোন্নয়ন এবং সামাজিক নিরাপত্তার উদ্দেশ্যে বেশি পরিমাণে দেশের সম্পদ ব্যয় করার কথা বলা হয়। Rostow এইভাবে রৈখিক পর্যায়ের কথা উল্লেখ করে উন্নয়নের ধাপ বর্ণনা করেছেন কিন্তু তার আলোচনায় উন্নয়নের কোন বিশেষ পদ্ধতির সন্ধান পাওয়া যায় না। এমনকি এই পর্যায়গুলি সংখ্যাতত্ত্বের দিক থেকে প্রমাণযোগ্যও নয়। এছাড়াও পর্যায়ক্রমিক ক্রমবিকাশের কারণ সম্পর্কেও সঠিক সিদ্ধান্তে আসা খুব মুশকিল।

6.4.3 মনস্তাত্ত্বিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী

কিছু কিছু তাত্ত্বিক উন্নয়নকে মনস্তাত্ত্বিক দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে ব্যাখ্যা করেছেন। ম্যাক্স ওয়েবার যুক্তি দেখিয়ে বলেছেন যে পশ্চিম ইউরোপে আধুনিক পুঁজিবাদের বিকাশের মূল কারণ হল প্রটেস্ট্যান্ট নীতিশাস্ত্রের উদ্ভব। প্রটেস্ট্যান্ট সংস্কার আন্দোলন দীর্ঘদিন ধরে চলতে থাকা চার্চের কর্তৃত্বকে ধ্বংস করতে সক্ষম হয়েছিল এবং বিজ্ঞানমনস্কতার বিকাশ ঘটিয়েছিল। David McClelland এবং Everett Hagen এর লেখা থেকে উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত মনস্তাত্ত্বিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর পরিচয় পাওয়া যায়। তারা উন্নয়নকে সমাজ পরিবর্তনের আলোকে ব্যাখ্যা করেছেন। তারা দাবি করেন যে উদ্ভাবন এবং উদ্যোক্তার মানদণ্ডে কোন একটি সমাজের কৃতিত্বকে ব্যাখ্যা করা যায়। অর্থনৈতিক প্রতিবন্ধকতা বা

সীমাবদ্ধতাকে জয় করার অন্যতম উপায় হল পর্যাপ্ত উচ্চমানের প্রেষণা। McClelland বলেন যে কৃতিত্ব অর্জনের প্রয়োজনীয়তা ব্যক্তিকে চ্যালেঞ্জের সম্মুখীন হতে, ঝুঁকি নিতে এবং প্রতিবন্ধকতার মুখে সাফল্য লাভ করতে উৎসাহিত করে। পশ্চিমী শিল্পোন্নত দেশগুলি ব্যক্তিকে উচ্চ মানের প্রেষণার দ্বারা সংযত করে রাখে যার ফলে উচ্চ হারে জাতীয় অর্থনৈতিক বিকাশের প্রক্রিয়া ত্বরান্বিত হয়।

Hagen পর্যবেক্ষণ করেছেন যে সাবেকি তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলি কর্তৃত্ববাদী ব্যক্তিত্বের কারণে আত্মবিশ্বাসের অভাবে ভোগে এবং যখনই কোন নতুন পরিস্থিতির সম্মুখীন হয় তখনই এক উচ্চ পর্যায়ের উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ করে থাকে এবং এসব কারণেই তারা স্থিতাবস্থা সংরক্ষণের পক্ষপাতি। বিপরীতক্রমে, পশ্চিমী শিল্পোন্নত দেশগুলির ব্যক্তিবর্গ অত্যন্ত উভাবনী ব্যক্তিত্ব সম্পন্ন হয় বলে আত্মবিশ্বাস প্রকাশ পায় এবং অসাধারণ কৃতিত্বের অধিকারী হতে পারে। Hagen মন্তব্য করেছেন যে উন্নয়নের জন্য দরকার ব্যক্তির ব্যক্তিত্বের বিকাশ এবং ব্যক্তির ব্যক্তিত্বের বিকাশের জন্য দরকার শিক্ষার উন্নতি, গণ-মাধ্যমের বিস্তার, নগরায়ন এবং জাতীয়তাবাদের বিকাশ। এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী দাবি করে যে তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলি নিজেরাই নিজেদের অনুন্নতির জন্য দায়ী এবং যে সমস্ত বাহ্যিক কারণগুলি অনুন্নতির জন্য দায়ী সেগুলোকে তারা গুরুত্ব সহকারে বিচার বিবেচনা করা না। অধীনতা তত্ত্ব তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলির অনুন্নতির বাহ্যিক কারণগুলি অনুসন্ধান করে।

6.4.4 অধীনতা তত্ত্ব

১৯৬০"র দশকে Andre Gunder Frank অধীনতা তত্ত্বের জন্ম দেন। ফ্রান্সের মতে, তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দারিদ্রতার মূল কারণ হল তাদের অধীনতা। অধীনতা তত্ত্ব দাবি করে যে তৃতীয় বিশ্বের অনুন্নতির জন্য মূল দুটি কারণ হল উপনিবেশিকতাবাদ এবং পশ্চিমী পুঁজিবাদ। অধীনতা তত্ত্ব তান্ত্রিকেরা যুক্তি দেখিয়েছেন যে, তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলির ব্যাপক দারিদ্রতার কারণ হল শিল্পোন্নত দেশগুলির সঙ্গে অতিরিক্ত ঘনিষ্ঠ সংস্পর্শ এবং অর্থনৈতিক এবং রাজনৈতিকভাবে প্রভাবাধীন থাকা। তৃতীয় বিশ্বের অর্থনৈতিক সম্পদ এবং উদ্ভূত উত্তরের উন্নত দেশগুলির দিকে ওপনিবেশিক আমলে বাহিত হয়ে যাওয়ার কারণে তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলিতে শিল্পের বিকাশ সম্ভব হয় নি। অধীনতা তত যে সুপারিশগুলো করে থাকে সেগুলি হলঃ ক) তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলির উচিত পুঁজিবাদী উন্নত দেশগুলির সাথে সকল রকম সংযোগ ছিন্ন করা; খ) দেশের দালালদের সরিয়ে শ্রমজীবী মানুষেরাই আন্তর্জাতিক পুঁজিবাদের বিরুদ্ধে

চ্যালেঞ্জ জানিয়ে এই সংযোগ বিচ্ছিন্ন করবে; গ) আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রে তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলি নিজেদের মধ্যে একটি সংহতির পরিবেশ সৃষ্টি করবে যাতে নিজেদের মধ্যে সহযোগিতার ভিত্তিতে দক্ষিণের দেশগুলির মধ্যে এক কার্যকরী নির্ভরশীল শিল্পের ভিত্তি গড়ে তোলা যায়। অধীনতা তত্ত্ব ঘুরিয়ে ফিরিয়ে অনুন্নতির কারণ অনুসন্ধানেই ব্যস্ত ছিল এবং অনুন্নতি ও অধীনতার মধ্যে সম্পর্ক ব্যাখ্যা করেই একটি তত্ত্ব নির্মাণ করে ফেলে। এই তত্ত্ব যে সুপারিশগুলি করে তা অত্যন্ত মার্কসীয় কাঠামোবাদী তত্ত্ব ঘেঁষা এবং এই সিদ্ধান্তের উপর প্রতিষ্ঠিত যে বিশ্ব পুঁজিবাদ সহজাতভাবে জনগণের বাস্তব চাহিদার পরিপন্থী।

6.4.5 বিক্ষিপণবাদী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী

বিক্ষিপণবাদী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর সমর্থক হিসাবে মূলত Everett M. Rogers এবং R. S. Edar”র নাম বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখযোগ্য। বিক্ষিপণ হল একটি প্রক্রিয়া যার দারা নির্দিষ্ট সময়ে একটি সমাজ ব্যবস্থার সদস্যদের মধ্যে একটি চ্যানেলের মাধ্যমে পরিবর্তনের বার্তা দেওয়া হয়। তৃতীয় বিশ্বের উন্নয়নের প্রক্রিয়াকে ব্যাখ্যা করার জন্য ইডারি সংকীর্ণ অর্থে বিক্ষিপণের ধারণাকে ব্যবহার করেছেন। তিনি যুক্তি দেখিয়েছেন যে, তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলির উন্নতি সাধন ঘটবে যদিঃ ক) পশ্চিমের শিল্পোন্নত দেশগুলি খণ বা আর্থিক অনুদানের মাধ্যমে তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলির উন্নয়নমূলক কর্মসূচীতে বিনিয়োগ করে; খ) যদি তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলি কৃষি ও শিল্পের উৎপাদনের জন্য আধুনিক পদ্ধতি অবলম্বন করে; এবং গ) যদি পশ্চিমের শিল্পোন্নত দেশগুলির দ্বারা অনুসৃত মূল্যবোধ, দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি এবং আচরণের ধাঁচ তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলিও অবলম্বন করে। শিল্পায়নের মাধ্যমে অর্থনৈতিক প্রবৃদ্ধির প্রতি এই তাত্ত্বিকেরা জোর দিয়েছেন। অর্থাৎ তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলির উন্নয়নের সুস্পষ্ট পথ হল উন্নয়নের পশ্চিমী মডেলকে অনুসরণ করা। কিন্তু বাস্তবে তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলিতে যে সমস্যাগুলি প্রকট সেগুলি হল - দারিদ্র, অশিক্ষা, অপুষ্টি, দুর্নীতি, উপযুক্ত পরিকাঠামোর অভাব ইত্যাদি। এমতাবস্থায়, পশ্চিমী ধাঁচের উন্নয়নের মডেল অনুসরণ করে তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলির উন্নতি সাধন অত্যন্ত কঠিন কাজ।

6.4.6 মার্কসবাদী বা সাম্যবাদী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী

তত্ত্বগতভাবে উন্নয়নের সাম্যবাদী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি পুঁজিবাদী অর্থনীতিকে ভেঙ্গে ফেলার সুপারিশ করে। মার্কসীয় দর্শন অনুসারে, পুঁজিবাদই এশিয়া, আফ্রিকা এবং লাতিন আমেরিকার দেশগুলিতে অনুন্নতির জন্য দায়ী। পুঁজিবাদের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে অসম ক্ষমতা এবং সম্পদের পুঞ্জীভবন প্রকট হয়ে ওঠে এবং সমাজের সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ শ্রমজীবী মানুষ

শোষিত এবং নিপীড়িতই থেকে যায়। সুতরাং, পুঁজিবাদের বিনাশই প্রকৃত উন্নয়ন ঘটাতে পারে। এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী দাবি করে যে, মুষ্টিমেয় এলিট শ্রেণীর হাত থেকে ক্ষমতা ও সম্পদ ছিনিয়ে নিয়ে প্রলেতারিয়েত শ্রেণীর হাতে হস্তান্তরের মাধ্যমে সমাজের পুনর্নির্মাণ করতে পারলেই উন্নয়ন সাধন সম্ভব হবে। এলিট বুর্জোয়া শ্রেণীর মধ্যে দৃশ্যমান পুঁজিবাদই সমাজের প্রকৃত শত্রু এবং তা নিল করতে পারলেই হবে উন্নয়ন। বাস্তবে সফল হতে পারে নি। তবে চীনে শ্রেণীহীন সমাজ প্রতিষ্ঠিত না হলেও সাম্যবাদী ব্যবস্থাকে সচল রাখা গেছে। প্রকৃত প্রস্তাবে, পুঁজিবাদ আজ অচ্ছুৎ নয়; বিশ্বায়ন এবং উদারীকরণের মিলিত প্রচেষ্টায় বিশ্বের অধিকাংশ দেশই এমনকি তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলিও উন্নয়নে গতি আনার জন্য নীতি নির্ধারণ করছে।

6.4.7 বিকল্প উন্নয়নের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী

E. F. Schumacherএর লেখা Small is Beautiful (1973) থেকে বিকল্প উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর পরিচয় পাওয়া যায়। অন্যান্য দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর তুলনায় উন্নয়নের এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী একটু আলাদা কারণ এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী শিল্পায়নের বিকল্প পদ্ধতির সুপারিশ করে। এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী গণ-উৎপাদন অর্থনীতিতে গুরুত্ববাহী অব-শিল্পায়নের প্রসঙ্গ উত্থাপন করে এবং তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলিতে ছোট আকারের প্রযুক্তিগত ব্যবস্থার মাধ্যমে অর্থনৈতিক কর্মকাণ্ড পরিচালনার কথা বলে। স্কুমাচার গ্রামীণ এলাকায় ক্ষুদ্র শিল্পের বিকাশের মাধ্যমে কর্মসংস্থান সৃষ্টির পরামর্শ দেন। স্বল্প পুঁজি, শ্রমের প্রতুলতা এবং সীমিত সম্পদের কথা মাথায় রেখে তৃতীয় বিশ্বের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ক্ষতিকর প্রযুক্তির পরিবর্তে বাস্তবত্বের সঙ্গে সামঞ্জস্যপূর্ণ প্রযুক্তিগত কলাকৌশল অবলম্বন করে অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়ন ঘটানোই যুক্তিসঙ্গত।

স্কুমাচারের প্রস্তাবিত ক্ষুদ্র শিল্পের বিকাশের প্রসঙ্গ নিয়ে Andrew Webster ক্ষুদ্র শিল্পের প্রতিষ্ঠানে চারটি বৈশিষ্ট্যের উল্লেখ করেছেনঃ ক) কর্মক্ষেত্র সেখানেই তৈরি করা উচিত যেখানে মানুষ বসবাস করে; খ) কর্মক্ষেত্রগুলি পরিচালনার জন্য বড় পুঁজি বিনিয়োগ বা ব্যয়বহুল আমদানির প্রয়োজন হবে না; গ) উৎপাদন কৌশলগুলি মোটামুটি সহজ হওয়া উচিত, যাতে উচ্চ দক্ষতার চাহিদা কম থাকে; ঘ) উৎপাদন প্রক্রিয়া স্থানীয় উপকরণ ব্যবহার করার চেষ্টা করা করবে এবং তা স্থানীয় ক্ষেত্রে ব্যবহারের জন্য হতে হবে।

এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী শিল্পের বিকাশকে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করতে চায় এবং যুক্তি দেয় যে উত্তরের দেশগুলি থেকে নিয়ে আসা অনুপযোগী প্রযুক্তিগত কলাকৌশল গুলিকে প্রয়োগ করার প্রচেষ্টা থেকেই তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলিতে বেশিরভাগ ক্ষেত্রে উন্নয়নের সমস্যা সৃষ্টি হয়। সুতরাং, বিকল্প প্রযুক্তি প্রয়োগ করেই শিল্পের বিকাশকে ত্বরান্বিত করা উচিত। তবে সমালোচকেরা বলেন যে, বিকল্প প্রযুক্তির প্রয়োগ ঘটানোও কোন সহজ কাজ নয়। P. Harrison তার The Third World Tomorrow (1980) শীর্ষক গ্রন্থে মন্তব্য করেছেন যে, অন্তর্ভুক্তি প্রযুক্তির প্রয়োগে সাফল্য নির্ভর করে স্থানীয় জনগণের মৌলিক চাহিদা তা দিয়ে কতখানি পূরণ হল এবং তার গ্রহণযোগ্যতা কতখানি তার উপর। জনগণকে বৈষয়িক এবং প্রযুক্তিগত সহায়তা প্রদান করতে না পারলে বিকল্প প্রযুক্তির সাফল্য কামনা করা মুশকিল।

6.4.8 উৎপাদন কেন্দ্রিক থেকে জনকেন্দ্রিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী

উন্নয়ন প্রশাসনের তত্ত্ব আলোচনায় সাম্প্রতিককালে একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ধারা লক্ষ্য করা যায় সেটি হল -উন্নয়নের প্রশ্নে উৎপাদন কেন্দ্রিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি থেকে জনকেন্দ্রিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিতে উত্তরণ। উৎপাদন কেন্দ্রিক উন্নয়নের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী বিনিয়োগের মাধ্যমে সর্বাধিক মুনাফা অর্জনের জন্য পণ্য ও পরিষেবার উৎপাদনের উপর জোর দেয়। এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী যে সকল বিষয়ের উপর গুরুত্ব আরোপ করে সেগুলি হল - ক) কৃষির পরিবর্তে শিল্প, খ) গ্রামীণ উন্নয়নের পরিবর্তে শহরের উন্নয়ন, গ) মানব সম্পদের পরিবর্তে মূলধন গত সম্পদের ব্যবহার, ঘ) প্রাকৃতিক সম্পদের ধারণযোগ্য ব্যবহারের পরিবর্তে স্বল্পমেয়াদী লাভের জন্য পরিবেশের ক্ষয়ক্ষতি মেনে নেওয়া এবং ঙ) ক্ষুদ্র শিল্পের পরিবর্তে বৃহৎ শিল্পের বিকাশ। এই ধরনের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলিতে গ্রামীণ জনগণের মৌলিক চাহিদাকে অবজ্ঞা করে এবং সামাজিক-অর্থনৈতিক অসমতাকে বর্ধিত করে।

অন্যদিকে জনকেন্দ্রিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিতে উৎপাদন ব্যবস্থার চাহিদার তুলনায় জনগণের চাহিদাকে বেশি পরিমাণে অগ্রাধিকার দেওয়া হয়। এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিতে ব্যক্তিকে বিষয় হিসাবে বিবেচনা করা হয় না বরং কারক হিসাবে বিবেচনা করা হয় এবং সে এমন এক কারক যে নিজেই তার জীবনের লক্ষ্য স্থির করে, সম্পদের নিয়ন্ত্রণ হাতে রাখে এবং জীবনকে প্রভাবিত করতে পারে এমন সব প্রক্রিয়াগুলির নির্দেশক হিসাবে কাজ করে। জনকেন্দ্রিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী কেন্দ্রীয় ধারণা হলঃ ক) জনগণের ক্ষমতায়ন এবং খ) প্রশাসনিক প্রক্রিয়ার বিকাশ যা জনগণের চাহিদার প্রতি সাড়া দেয়। জনকেন্দ্রিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী মূল উপাদানগুলি হলঃ ক) মানুষের বিকাশ এবং কল্যাণ, খ) সাম্য, গ) স্বনির্ভরতা, ঘ) অংশগ্রহণ

এবং ঘ) ধারণযোগ্যতা। ধারণযোগ্যতা হল উন্নয়নমূলক কর্মসূচিতে স্থায়ী মানের একটি পরিমাপকরণের পদ্ধতি। উন্নয়নমূলক কর্মসূচী কয়েকটি পদক্ষেপের মাধ্যমে টিকিয়ে রাখা যেতে পারেঃ ক) কর্মসূচীর কার্যকারিতা সম্পর্কে সুবিধাভোগীদের মধ্যে অনুভূতি সৃষ্টির মাধ্যমে, খ) কিছু প্রতিষ্ঠান সৃষ্টির মাধ্যমে ক্রমাগত মানিয়ে চলতে পারে, গ) এলিট এবং সম্প্রদায়গত ভিত্তিতে গোষ্ঠী তৈরি করে। David C. Korten তার "Strategic Organization for People-Centered Development" (1984) শীর্ষক রচনায় দাবি করেন যে, জনকেন্দ্রিক উন্নয়ন হল আন্তর্জাতিক উন্নয়নের একটি পন্থা যা স্থানীয় জনগোষ্ঠীর স্বনির্ভরতা, সামাজিক ন্যায়বিচার এবং অংশগ্রহণমূলক সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণের উন্নতির দিকে মনোনিবেশ করে। এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী স্বীকার করে যে, অর্থনৈতিক প্রবৃদ্ধি মানুষের উন্নয়নে অন্তর্নিহিতভাবে অবদান রাখে না এবং সামাজিক, রাজনৈতিক এবং পরিবেশগত মূল্যবোধ এবং প্রথার ক্ষেত্রে পরিবর্তনের আহ্বান জানায়।

6.4.9 মানব উন্নয়নের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী

Amartya Sen “সক্ষমতা দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী” (Capability Approach) বিকাশিত করেছিলেন, যা উন্নয়নকে এমন একটি হাতিয়ার হিসাবে সংজ্ঞায়িত করেছিল যা মানুষকে কর্মের স্বাধীনতা, অর্থনৈতিক, সামাজিক এবং পারিবারিক কর্মের স্বাধীনতা ইত্যাদি প্রদানের মাধ্যমে তাদের সক্ষমতার সর্বোচ্চ স্তরে পৌঁছাতে সক্ষম করবে। এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী হিউম্যান ডেভেলপমেন্ট ইনডেক্স দ্বারা উন্নয়ন পরিমাপের একটি ভিত্তি হিসাবে পরিগণিত হয় যা জাতিসংঘ উন্নয়ন কর্মসূচী (UNDP) ১৯৯০ সালে নির্ধারণ করে। Martha Nussbaum জেন্ডার ধারণার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে সক্ষমতার দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীকে বিকশিত করেছিলেন এবং উন্নয়ন হাতিয়ার হিসাবে নারীর ক্ষমতায়নের উপর জোর দিয়েছিলেন। এই ধারণার বিপরীতে Jeffrey Sachs তার The Age of Sustainable Development (2015) শীর্ষক গ্রন্থের মাধ্যমে পরিবেশগত সম্পদের চাহিদা এবং বিশ্বের নাগরিকদের আগামী প্রজন্মের কথা মাথায় রেখে ধারণযোগ্য উন্নয়নের ধারণা প্রচার করেন যা বিশ্বব্যাপী নাগরিকদের জীবনযাত্রার মানোন্নয়নে প্রবৃদ্ধি এবং বিকাশে বিশ্বাস করে।

6.4.10 ধারণযোগ্য উন্নয়নের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী

ধারণযোগ্য উন্নয়ন (Sustainable Development) হল পরিবর্তনের একটি প্রক্রিয়া যেখানে সম্পদের শোষণ, বিনিয়োগের নির্দেশনা, প্রযুক্তিগত উন্নয়নের অভিমুখ এবং প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক পরিবর্তন সবই সঙ্গতিপূর্ণ হয়ে থাকে এবং মানুষের চাহিদা এবং আকাঙ্ক্ষা পূরণের জন্য বর্তমান এবং ভবিষ্যৎ উভয় সম্ভাবনাকেই উচ্চতর করে তোলে। ধারণযোগ্য উন্নয়ন হল উন্নয়নের এমন এক ধারা যা বর্তমান এবং ভবিষ্যৎ উভয় প্রজন্মের চাহিদার প্রতি যথাযথভাবে গুরুত্ব আরোপ করে। Brundtland Commission প্রদত্ত সংজ্ঞা অনুসারে এ হল এমন এক উন্নয়নের ধারা যা ভবিষ্যৎ প্রজন্মের চাহিদার সঙ্গে কোন আপোষ না করে বর্তমান প্রজন্মের চাহিদার প্রতি গুরুত্ব দেওয়া। ধারণযোগ্য উন্নয়ন অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের সাবেকি ধারণাকে প্রত্যাখ্যান করে এবং প্রচার করে যে অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়ন প্রয়োজনীয় কিন্তু সেইসঙ্গে পরিবেশের সুরক্ষাও অত্যাবশ্যকীয়। Partha Dasgupta এবং Karl-Goran Maler The Environment and Emerging Development Issues (1990) শীর্ষক রচনায় মন্তব্য করেন যে, দরিদ্র দেশগুলোর জন্য পরিবেশগত সম্পদ খুবই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের প্রক্রিয়ায় তারা তুচ্ছ ভূমিকা পালন করে। এই ধরনের সম্পদগুলি বিলাসবহুল পণ্য এবং যখন জনসংখ্যা বেশি হয় তখনই তারা জনসাধারণের চেতনায় গুরুত্বপূর্ণ হয়ে ওঠে। পরিবেশগত সম্পদ শুধুমাত্র একটি সমৃদ্ধ দেশের ব্যস্ততা। এগুলি অর্থনীতিবিদদের দ্বারা সৃষ্ট নিছক বিচ্যুতি যা দরিদ্র দেশগুলির দরিদ্রদের প্রকৃত চাহিদার প্রতি সংবেদনশীল নয়। ধারণযোগ্য উন্নয়নের মডেলকে পরিবেশ সংরক্ষণের আলোকে চিন্তা-ভাবনা করা হয়েছে এবং এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী দ্বারা বোঝানো হয়েছে যে দেশের জনসংখ্যা বৃদ্ধি পেলে পরিবেশের উপর চাপ সৃষ্টি হয়। পরিবেশের সম্পদকে যথেষ্টভাবে কাজে লাগিয়ে দেশের এক বিরাট সংখ্যক জনতা নিজেদের চাহিদার পরিতৃপ্তি ঘটায়। এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী সুপারিশ করে যে বর্তমান প্রজন্মের উচিত ভবিষ্যৎ প্রজন্মের কথা মাথায় রেখে পরিবেশগত সম্পদ ব্যবহার করা।

পরিবেশগত প্রশাসকরা যদি কয়েকটি লক্ষ্য অর্জন করে তবেই ধারণযোগ্যতা নিশ্চিত হবে। এগুলি হলঃ

- ক) বায়োস্ফিয়ারের কার্যকারিতার জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় বাস্তুতন্ত্র এবং সংশ্লিষ্ট পরিবেশগত প্রক্রিয়াগুলি বজায় রাখা, খ) সকল প্রজাতির উদ্ভিদ ও প্রাণীর প্রাকৃতিক আবাসস্থলের সংরক্ষণকে সুনিশ্চিত করে জৈব বৈচিত্র্য বজায় রাখা, গ) জীবন্ত প্রাকৃতিক সম্পদ এবং বাস্তুতন্ত্রের অনুসন্ধানে সর্বোত্তম ধারণযোগ্য উৎপাদনের নীতি অনুসরণ করা, ঘ) উল্লেখযোগ্য পরিবেশ দূষণ বা ক্ষতি প্রতিরোধ বা হ্রাস করা, ঙ) পর্যাপ্ত পরিবেশ সুরক্ষার মান নির্ধারণ করা, চ) পূর্ব মূল্যায়নের মাধ্যমে সুনিশ্চিত করা যে প্রধান প্রধান আইন, নীতি, প্রকল্প এবং প্রযুক্তিগুলি ধারণযোগ্য উন্নয়নে অবদান

রাখে কিনা, ছ) দেরি না করে দূষক, বিশেষ করে তেজস্ক্রিয় পদার্থের নিঃসরণ বা অন্যান্য ক্ষতিকর বা সম্ভাব্য ক্ষতিকর পদার্থের নিঃসরণ সম্পর্কে প্রাসঙ্গিক তথ্য প্রকাশ করা।

প্রসঙ্গত উল্লেখযোগ্য যে তৃতীয় বিশ্বের অধিকাংশ দেশ এখনো পর্যন্ত উন্নয়নের নিরিখে পিছিয়ে রয়েছে। এমনকি তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশগুলিতে প্রাকৃতিক সম্পদের প্রাচুর্যও লক্ষ্য করা যায়। কিন্তু প্রশ্ন হল যে বিপুল প্রাকৃতিক সম্পদকে কাজে লাগিয়ে অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়ন ঘটানো উচিত নাকি পরিবেশ সংরক্ষণে মনোনিবেশ করে শিল্পায়নের প্রক্রিয়া-পদ্ধতিতে নিয়ন্ত্রণ আনা উচিত, দেশের নীতি নির্ধারকরা বা নাগরিকরা কোনটি বেছে নেবে? প্রাকৃতিক সম্পদ ব্যবহার করে শিল্পায়নে গতি নিয়ে আসলে পরিবেশের ক্ষতি হবে এবং অন্যদিকে পরিবেশের সংরক্ষণের প্রতি অধিক গুরুত্ব দিলে শিল্পায়নে বাধা আসবে।

6.4.11 অংশগ্রহণমূলক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী

অংশগ্রহণমূলক উন্নয়ন জনমুখী উন্নয়নের জন্য একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ পন্থা যা স্বনির্ভরতা, ধারণযোগ্য উন্নয়ন এবং সামাজিক ন্যায়বিচার উপভোগ করার জন্য একটি পদক্ষেপ হিসেবে স্থানীয় সমাজে অংশগ্রহণের মান বাড়ানোর উপর জোর দেয়। অংশগ্রহণমূলক উন্নয়ন ১৯৭০ এর দশকে আবির্ভূত হওয়ার পর থেকে বিভিন্ন রূপে বিদ্যাবিষয়ক চর্চার মধ্যে এসেছে এবং এই ধারা উন্নয়নের “মৌলিক চাহিদা দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী”(Basic Needs Approach) একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ অংশ হিসেবে প্রবর্তিত হয়েছিল। যে ধারাবাহিক প্রক্রিয়ার মাধ্যমে মানুষের সচেতনতা, সংগঠন এবং ক্ষমতা ক্রমাগত বিকশিত হয় তাকে সম্মিলিতভাবে "স্থানীয় সমাজে অংশগ্রহণের প্রক্রিয়া" বলা হয়, কিন্তু আসলে এই প্রক্রিয়ায় অংশগ্রহণের অনেকগুলি রূপ বিদ্যমান। এই প্রক্রিয়ার সঙ্গে তিনটি উপাদান সম্পর্কযুক্ত; এই তিনটি উপাদান অংশগ্রহণের বিভিন্ন রূপ এবং বিভিন্ন উপাদানকে প্রভাবিত করার সময় একে অপরের সঙ্গে মিথস্ক্রিয়ায় লিপ্ত হয়। উপাদানগুলি হলঃ ক) মানুষ এবং স্থানীয় সংগঠন এমনকি কিছু উপদল যা সংগঠনের অংশ হিসাবে কাজ করে এবং অংশগ্রহণের এজেন্ট; খ) আনুষ্ঠানিক এবং অনানুষ্ঠানিক প্রতিষ্ঠান যেমন আইন, প্রশাসনিক ব্যবস্থা, বা আচরণগত নিয়ম যা অংশগ্রহণকারী সম্ভার সুযোগ এবং আচরণগত মডেল নির্ধারণ করে; গ) রাষ্ট্র এবং সরকারের জাতীয় কাঠামোই প্রতিষ্ঠানসমূহের কার্যকারিতার গ্যারান্টর এবং নীতিগত সহায়তার মাধ্যমে তাদের উন্নত বা শক্তিশালী করা

যেতে পারে। অন্যান্য চিরাচরিত উন্নয়নের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর সাথে তুলনা করলে দেখা যায় যে অংশগ্রহণমূলক উন্নয়ন কখনও কখনও ব্যয়বহুল এবং ধীর গতিসম্পন্ন হয়ে পরে। যেখানে জনসংখ্যা কম কেবলমাত্র সেখানেই এই ধরনের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর সঠিক প্রয়োগ ঘটানো সম্ভব।

T. N. Chaturvedi দাবি করেন যে, উন্নয়নের ব্যাপক কোন নির্দিষ্ট তত্ত্ব আমাদের কাছে নেই। সাম্প্রতিককালে তত্ত্বগতভাবে উন্নয়নের যে সকল দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী আমাদের সামনে উঠে এসেছে সেগুলি হলঃ ক) বহুত্ববাদী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী (Pluralist Approach যা উন্নয়নের বহু পথ আমাদের সামনে তুলে ধরে এবং খ) সংস্কৃতিগত দিক থেকে কম পাশ্চাত্য ঘেঁষা। সাম্প্রতিককালের উন্নয়নের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীসমূহে যে সকল উপাদানের কথা বলা হয় তা Rogers, Korten এবং Kalusর লেখায় এবং Bjur Bryant এবং White'র রচনায় খুঁজে পাওয়া যায়। উপাদানগুলি হলঃ ক) উন্নয়নের সুবিধা বন্টনে ব্যাপক সমতা, খ) জনগণের অংশগ্রহণ, জ্ঞানের আদান-প্রদান এবং ব্যক্তি, গোষ্ঠী এবং সম্প্রদায়ের আত্ম-বিকাশের প্রচেষ্টাকে সহজতর করতে ব্যাপক ক্ষমতা প্রদান, গ) উন্নয়নে আত্ম-নির্ভরতা এবং স্বাধীনতা সেই সঙ্গে স্থানীয় সম্পদের দক্ষতার উপর জোড় দেওয়া, ঘ) জনসংখ্যার বৃদ্ধিকে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করা, উ) উন্নয়নকে সহজতর করতে বৃহৎ আধুনিক প্রযুক্তিবিদ্যার সাথে যথোপযুক্ত প্রযুক্তির সংহতি সাধন।

6.5 উন্নয়নবাদের বিরুদ্ধে সমালোচনা

অর্থনৈতিক কর্মদক্ষতা, পুঁজিবাদী ব্যবস্থার সংস্কার, আমলাতান্ত্রিক কার্যপদ্ধতি এবং পররাষ্ট্র সংক্রান্ত জাতীয় উদ্যোগ ইত্যাদির পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে উন্নয়নবাদের ধারণা ব্যাখ্যা করা হয়েছে। কিন্তু এই উন্নয়নবাদও বহু সমালোচনার সম্মুখীন। বামপন্থীরা প্রায়ই অভিযোগ করেন যে উন্নয়নবাদের মূল ভিত্তি হল নয়া-উপনিবেশবাদের মতাদর্শ। উন্নয়নবাদ উন্নয়নের যে কৌশলগুলি প্রচার করে তা ইউরোপকেন্দ্রিক এবং ইউরোপীয় পদ্ধতিতে অ-ইউরোপীয় দেশগুলির উন্নয়নের জন্য প্রস্তাব দেয়। এইভাবে অ-ইউরোপীয় দেশগুলির উপর পশ্চিমী সভ্যতার মতাদর্শশত আধিপত্য কায়েম করার মাধ্যমে নয়া-উপনিবেশবাদের পথ প্রশস্ত হতে পারে। Naomi Klein উন্নয়নবাদের কৌশলকে 'Disaster Capitalism' অর্থাৎ 'বিপর্যয়মূলক পুঁজিবাদ' বলে মন্তব্য করেছেন কারণ উন্নয়নবাদের প্রস্তাবিত কৌশলে অর্থনৈতিক

স্থিতিশীলতা ফিরে পেতে জরুরী ভিত্তিতে মুক্ত বাজারকে বাধ্যতামূলক ভাবে খুলে দেবার মাধ্যমে অর্থনৈতিক সংকটজনক পরিস্থিতি মোকাবিলা করার কথা বলা হয়।

দক্ষিণপন্থী সমালোচকেরা দাবি করেন যে উন্নয়নবাদী কৌশল মুক্ত বাজারের স্বাতন্ত্র্যকে অস্বীকার করে। উন্নয়নবাদে বাজারের একটি স্বাভাবিক প্রকৃতি কেড়ে নিয়ে রাষ্ট্র নিয়ন্ত্রিত একটি বাজার অর্থনীতি গড়ে তোলার কথা বলা হয়। মুক্ত বাজারের স্বাধীনতার অভাবের কারণে এবং এর সংকীর্ণতার দরুন যথাযথ আর্থিক বিকাশ সম্ভবপর নাও হতে পারে বরং বিপরীত প্রতিক্রিয়া স্বরূপ পশ্চিমী হস্তক্ষেপের কারণে প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল সর্বাঙ্গিক শক্তি সরকারকে গ্রাস করতে পারে।

নামাজিক-নৃতত্ত্ববাদীরা উন্নয়নবাদকে বহিরাগত কোন গোষ্ঠীর দ্বারা প্রণীত সমাজ পরিবর্তনের একটি তত্ত্ব বলে বর্ণনা করেছেন। এই তত্ত্বকে 'উন্নয়নবাদী বহিরবয়ব' (Developmentalist Configuration) বলে গণ্য করা হয়। 'উন্নয়নবাদী বহিরবয়ব' শব্দটির ছারা সরকার, বেসরকারি সংগঠন, ব্যক্তিবর্গ এবং গবেষকদের প্রস্তাবিত তত্ত্ব-নির্দেশিকাকে (Paradigm) বোঝানো হয়। এরা বিশ্বজনীন আদর্শের মাধ্যমে সমাজ পরিবর্তনের দ্বারা কোন একটি দেশের উন্নয়নে অগ্রগতি নিয়ে আসার কথা প্রচার করে।

6.6 উত্তর-উন্নয়ন তত্ত্ব

উত্তর-উন্নয়ন তত্ত্বকে উন্নয়ন পরবর্তী বা উন্নয়ন বিরোধী বা উন্নয়নের সমালোচনা হিসাবেও চিহ্নিত করা হয়। এই তত্ত্ব বিশ্বাস করে যে উন্নয়নের সমগ্র ধারণা বা উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত চর্চা বিশ্বের অন্যান্য অন্যান্য অংশের দেশগুলির উপর কেবলমাত্র পশ্চিম এবং উত্তরের দেশ গুলির আধিপত্যের প্রতিফলন। উন্নয়নোত্তর সমালোচনা (Post-Development Critique) অনুসারে, আধুনিক উন্নয়ন তত্ত্ব হল অন্তর্নিহিত রাজনৈতিক ও অর্থনৈতিক মতাদর্শের সাথে মিল রেখে শিক্ষাবিদদের সৃষ্টি করা নতুন একটি ধারণা। বিদ্যাবিষয়ক, রাজনৈতিক এবং অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের প্রকৃতি মানে এটি নীতি অভিমুখী, সমস্যা-ভিত্তিক বিষয়াদির উপর মনোনিবেশ করে এবং শুধুমাত্র একটি নিদিষ্ট, পূর্ব-বিদ্যমান সামাজিক তত্ত্বের ক্ষেত্রে কার্যকর। উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত প্রচলিত ধ্যান-ধারণা বা তত্ত্বকথার বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিক্রিয়া হিসাবে উত্তর-উন্নয়ন বাদের জন্ম হয়। ১৯৮০'র এবং ১৯৯০'র দশকে Arturo

Escobar, Gustavo Esteva, Majid Rahnema, Wolfgang Sachs, James Ferguson, Serge Latouche এবং Gilbert Rist প্রমুখের রচনা থেকে উত্তর-উন্নয়নবাদের জন্ম হয়। উন্নয়নোত্তর বিদ্যাচর্চার পণ্ডিতদের মধ্যে নেতৃস্থানীয় যুক্তি দেন যে উন্নয়ন সবসময়ই ছিল একটি অন্যায় ছিল, কখনোই সঠিকভাবে কাজ করেনি এবং অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রেই স্পষ্টভাবে ব্যর্থ হয়েছে। Wolfgang Sachs দাবি করেন যে “বিকাশের ধারণাটি বুদ্ধিবৃত্তিক ভূখণ্ডে ধ্বংসের মতো দাঁড়িয়ে আছে” এবং “এই মানসিক কাঠামোকে ভেঙে ফেলার সময় এসেছে।” তার বেশিরভাগ লেখাই পরিবেশগতভাবে ধারণাযোগ্য উন্নয়নের উপর বিশেষভাবে আলোকপাত করে এবং এই ধারণা প্রকাশ করে যে উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত অতীতের ধারণাগুলি আমাদের এই সীমিত বিশ্বে স্বাভাবিকভাবেই অস্থিতিশীল বিদ্যাচর্চা। Majid Rahnema স্বীকার করেছেন যে এটা সত্য হতে পারে যে, অধিকাংশ মানুষ যাদের জীবন আসলেই কঠিন, তারা পরিবর্তন চায়। কিন্তু তিনি যে উত্তরটি প্রস্তাব করেছেন তা উন্নয়ন নয় বরং “উন্নয়নের সমাপ্তি। তিনি বলেছেন যে উন্নয়নের সমাপ্তি পরিবর্তনের নতুন সম্ভাবনার সন্ধানের সমাপ্তি নয়, বরং পরিবর্তনের জন্য অমানবিক এবং চূড়ান্তভাবে ধ্বংসাত্মক পন্থার সমাপ্তি ঘোষণা করা। এই প্রক্রিয়া সব জায়গায় ‘ভাল মানুষ! কে একসাথে চিন্তা করার এবং কাজ করার আহ্বানের অনুরূপ হওয়া উচিত। Arturo Escobar দাবি করেন যে উন্নয়নের সমালোচকগণ পরিবর্তনের প্রয়োজনীয়তা অস্বীকার করেন না। তারা এর পরিবর্তে যুক্তি দেয় যে সঠিক এবং কার্যকর পরিবর্তন আনতে হলে পরিবর্তন শব্দটিকে বিভিন্ন পরিমণ্ডলে ব্যাখ্যা করা উচিত। এসকোবার উন্নয়নোত্তর বা উন্নয়ন-পরবর্তী চিন্তাধারা এবং সামাজিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গির সাধারণ বৈশিষ্ট্যগুলি তুলে ধরেছে। এসকোবারের মতে, উন্নয়ন-পরবর্তী চিন্তাধারা উন্নয়নের একটি বিকল্প পথের অনুসন্ধানের সাথে সাথে “স্থানীয় সংস্কৃতি এবং জ্ঞান, প্রতিষ্ঠিত বৈজ্ঞানিক আলোচনার প্রতি একটি সমালোচনামূলক অবস্থান এবং স্থানীয়, বহুত্ববাদী তৃণমূল স্তরের আন্দোলনের প্রতিরক্ষা ও প্রচারের ব্যাপারে আগ্রহী।”

6.7 উত্তর-উন্নয়ন তত্ত্বের সমালোচনা

সমালোচকেরা বলেন যে উত্তর-উন্নয়ন সাংস্কৃতিক আপেক্ষিকতাবাদকে চিরস্থায়ী করে এবং এর পিছনে ধারণাটি হল যে, সাংস্কৃতিক বিশ্বাস এবং আচরণ কেবল তারাই বিচার করতে পারে যারা তাদের চর্চা করে। উত্তর-উন্নয়নের সমালোচকেরা যুক্তি দেন যে, সমস্ত সাংস্কৃতিক আচরণ ও বিশ্বাসকে বৈধ হিসেবে গ্রহণ করে এবং জীবনযাত্রার জন্য

সার্বজনীন মান ও জীবনকে বোঝার মানদণ্ডকে প্রত্যাখ্যান করে উত্তর-উন্নয়ন সার্বজনীনতার চরম বিপরীত অবস্থান গ্রহণ করে এবং চরম আপেক্ষিকতার প্রতিনিধিত্ব করে। Ray Kiely তার “Development Theory and Industrialisation: Beyond the Impasse” (1994) শীর্ষক রচনায় যুক্তি দেখান যে, উন্নয়নের জন্য একটি উচ্চ-নীচ, কেন্দ্রীভূত দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি প্রত্যাখ্যান করে এবং স্থানীয় উপায়ে উন্নয়নের কথা প্রচার করে উত্তর-উন্নয়ন চিন্তা নয়া-উদারবাদের আদর্শকে স্থায়ী করার চেষ্টা করে। কিলি মন্তব্য করেন যে, প্রথম বিশ্বকে তৃতীয় বিশ্বের প্রয়োজন এবং বিষয়টি উলটোভাবেও প্রযোজ্য এবং নয়া-উদারপন্থী ধারণাগুলি পুনর্বিবেচনা করে বলা হয় যে বিশ্ব একটি সমান খেলার মাঠ যেখানে সমস্ত জাতি রাষ্ট্রের সমানভাবে প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বিতা করার ক্ষমতা রয়েছে। তিনি আরও বলেছেন যে সমস্ত তৃণমূল স্তরের আন্দোলন প্রগতিশীল নয়। উত্তর-উন্নয়ন তত্ত্ব আধুনিকতা-বিরোধী মৌলবাদী শক্তি এবং ঐতিহ্যবাদী আদর্শকে ক্ষমতা প্রদান করে এবং কিন্তু সমস্যা হল যে এই প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শক্তিগুলিই অ-প্রগতিশীল এবং নিপীড়নমূলক মূল্যবোধ ধারণ করতে পারে।

6.8 উপসংহার

উন্নয়নের প্রশ্নে অসংখ্য যুক্তির অবতারণা করা হয় এবং মতাদর্শগত পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে উন্নয়নের বিভিন্ন মডেল উপস্থাপন করা হয়। কিন্তু উন্নয়নের মডেল স্থির করা প্রসঙ্গে অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রেই পাশ্চাত্য দর্শনের আধিপত্য লক্ষ্য করা যায়। তৃতীয় বিশ্বের উন্নয়নে পাশ্চাত্য জগতের মতাদর্শও গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা পালন করলেও কোন নির্দিষ্ট মডেলকে সার্বিক উন্নয়নের তত্ত্ব বলে গণ্য করা যায় না। উন্নয়নের কোন দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিই সমালোচনার উর্ধ্ব বলা যায় না। উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত প্রচলিত দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিগুলির প্রতি অবিশ্বাস থেকে উত্তর-উন্নয়নবাদের জন্ম হলেও উত্তর-উন্নয়ন তত্ত্ব ও সমালোচনা এড়াতে পারে নি। তবে উন্নয়ন প্রশাসনের আলোচনায় এই তত্ত্ব একটি সমালোচনামূলক রচনা হিসাবে বিশেষ গুরুত্ব বহন করে কারণ উন্নয়ন সংক্রান্ত কার্যধারার আধুনিক ব্যাখ্যা বিশ্লেষণ এই তত্ত্ব বিশেষভাবে পাওয়া যায়।

6.9 স্ব-মূল্যায়নভিত্তিক প্রশ্ন

- a) Write a detailed note on the theories of development.

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Contemporary Approaches: Public Choice, New Public Management, Critical, Feminist, Postmodern

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7.1 Objectives

After reading this Unit thoroughly you should be able to:

- Explain the various contemporary approaches to the study of Public Administration;
- Know the meaning and definitions of public choice
- Understand the importance and basic features of Public Choice Approach;
- Describe the context of emergence and various features of New Public Management and Public choice approach;
- Understand the various contemporary approaches like critical approach, Feminist approach and Post-modern approach to the study to Public Administration;
- Discuss the basic features of critical approach, feminist approach and post-modern approach to the study of Public Administration.

7.2 Introduction

Public Administration is one of the most dynamic and responsive disciplines of social sciences. Through constant changes, reforms, adoption of new ideas, response to socio-political context and changed scenario it has been re-shaped and re-designed time to time. The root of such paradigmatic changes has to be found in the context of the advancement in information technology. Revolutionary changes in the information technology and means of communication had a profound impact over public administration or public management system. The main economic as well as socio-political context for the advent of these new perspectives has been the LPG context (Liberalization, Privatization and globalization) in the wake of new liberalism. The wake to globalization brought about new form of dialogue and collaboration among public, private and civil societal organizations that enhanced transparency and accountability and created positive conditions for a fair and open competition while expanding access so that everyone can participate and benefit from newly emerged knowledge-based economy system led by new liberal policies. (Bhattacharya, 2013:330).

One of the important factors responsible for the introduction of these new perspectives like public choice approach new public management etc., it may be argued was the never-ending conflict between classical notion of bureaucracy (rigid, strict, order uniformity and hierarchical) and democracy (transparent, flexible, responsiveness) which have been discussed by numerous scholars and academicians. Bureaucracy, by the late 1960s, apart from facing criticisms

like antidemocratic in character also dubbed as ‘overpaid’, ‘overweight’, ‘coffee drinking-nonproductive government officials’ in USA and Europe (Coven, 2009:139). The growing dissatisfaction with the classical notion of bureaucracy exposed continuously in the academia as well as in day-to-day life by a host of phrases like ‘bureaucrat bashing’, ‘bureaupathology’, ‘bureaucratic culture’ and ‘bureau mania’. Even the politicians since late 1960s during their political campaign started to criticize bureaucracy and promised the voters to make government a more flexible rapid and responsive. George Wallace in his presidential campaign in 1968 curse bureaucrats as they were “overpaid, arrogant, non-responsive, lazy and pointly headed” (Quoted in Coven, 2009:142). Unlike the previous statement from Roosevelt to John Kennedy the former US Presidents who used to get widespread support for expanding the government’s size and scope, the political scenario and common perception got radically changed towards government – governed relationship since 1970s. Following George Wallace political personalities like Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan also criticized bureaucracy and over-government in 1976 and 1981 respectively. Reagan, in his inaugural presidential address stated, “Government is not the solution to our problems; government (itself) is the problem.” (Quoted in Coven, 2009:142). This anti bureaucratic antipathy of the common people inevitably created demands for more efficient, accountable, flexible, speedy and responsive administration and led to the re-invention of governance from newly emerging orientation. The bureaucracy – democracy conflict in the 1970s and 1980s in USA and broadly in the most parts of the world brought some profound changes in the realm of public service delivery as well as in governance.

7.3 Public Choice Approach: Meaning and Definitions

Public Choice Approach (henceforth as PCA) gained prominence during the late 1960s early 1970s. Originated as a profound response against the unproductive bureaucratic structure in public administration the PCA basically favored democratic, people oriented and decentralized administration. PCA ascribes huge importance to the economic aspect of political processes, institutions and public policy with an objective to focus on efficiency and rationality in service delivery. It believes in expansion of public choices through expansion of diverse decision making, institutional pluralism, devolution of power structure, flexibility in administration and popular participation.

The origin of PCA is generally attributed to Duncan Black who investigated the rationale

of group decision in any administrative system. However, Vincent Ostrom is popularly known as the chief exponent of PCA, who, in his seminal book *The Intellectual Crisis in Public Administration* claimed, “Bureaucratic structures avenues but not sufficient structures for productions and responsive public service economy.” (Ostrom, 1994 : 6 – 7)

Public Choice Approach is considered to be an application of economics to understand politics and administration. It presents individual as a rational, methodological and economic man who is basically a utility maximizer, whereas politicians and bureaucrats are vote-maximizers and self-aggrandizers respectively. Apart from Vincet Ostrom some prominent contemporary thinkers and administrators who had been subscribed to the basic notion of PCA were: Anthony Downs (1967), James Buchanan, Gordon Tullock, William Rikert, Olson, Niksanen, Mitchell and Openhiemer. The basic argument presented by these proponent of PCA is that an individual actor, be it a manager or a client, is a utility maximizer who is always in search of increasing net benefits. From such an argument Dennis Mueller defines PCA as “the economic study of non-market decision making, or simply the application of economics to political science: the theory of the state, voting rules, voter behaviour, party politics, the bureaucracy and so on. (Mueller, 1970)

7.3.1 Basic Features of Public Choice Approach:

Anti-bureaucratic Approach

The origin and development of PCA in the 1970s indicates that PCA, by nature is anti-bureaucratic. It sees bureaucracy as an unproductive, over-paid, self-centric, non-responsive and pointly-headed element of governance. Denouncing the very notion of existing bureaucratic culture during 1970s in USA and broadly in Western Europe it used vilifications to describe the nature of bureaucracy, like bureaucrat-bashing bureau-pathology, bureaucratic culture and bureau-mania etc.

Encouraging Institutional Pluralism

Public choice approach believes in ensuring as well as expanding institutional plurality for the sake of ensuring better service delivery system. It argues that institutional pluralism is the only mean to meet the multiple choices or preferences of the consumers, the common people.

Application of Economic Logic

Public choice theory in Public Administration applies economic logic of market and preferences regarding the problems of public service distribution. So far the question of efficiency and rationality in service delivery is concerned the PCA applies economic logics to the study of political processes, institutions and public policy. Thus, it promotes competition and economic logic of market in the delivery of public services.

Democratic Decision-making

Public choice approach to public administration stands for diverse democratic decision making system. Therefore, it promotes democratic decentralization and popular participation in administration. Unlike strict and centralized bureaucratic system PCA advocates structural decentralization within the decision-making bodies for the sake of better participation of people to the political as well as administrative structure. It firmly believes that decentralization or devolution of power within the administrative bodies will automatically reduce public monopolies to a minimum level, which ultimately will reduce the role of the state broadly.

Notion of Rationality

PCA considers the political actors as inherently and exclusively rational. According to the proponents of PCA people tend to do the best they can at any given situation. They try to be able to rank alternatives according to their references and ultimately choose the most desired alternative from among the given choices. In this connection the PCA claims that politics should not merely be seen from only a public interest perspective, rather it should be considered from a utility maximizing perspective. In other words, PCA argues that the major actors of state and society, being rational entities like policy makers, policy implementers, electors and all stakeholders— all tend to maximize their self-centric goal from a rational perspective.

Methodological and Rational Individualism

One of the basic premises of PCA is that each individual, being the primary entity is driven by self-centric interest. Being methodological as well as rational an individual whether he is a bureaucrat or politician, is guided by some general principles of rationality. This individual, as envisaged by Joseph Schumpeter is ‘methodological individual’ who should be regarded as the

basic unit of decision making as well as the primary unit for whom a decision is made.

Democratic Administration

The PCA advocates in favour of democratic administration in terms of devolution of power from center. Since it believes in expansion of choices to the individual it opposes any single centered or mono-centric administrative power based on hierarchical administrative structure of power. Since PCA considers, bureaucracy as antithetical to public interest it advocates for more democratic administrative system which can expand individual choices or preferences at any given situation. It believes in stimulating healthy and democratic competition in market to maximize efficiency from a consumer oriented approach.

The sum up, it may be argued that PCA emerged as a critical perspective against the role of state and its bureaucracy. Based on the idea of methodological and rational individual the PCA exposes the loopholes of government in terms of failure in service delivery, bureaucratic egoism or bureau-pathology. It explores the very relationship between the state, its administration and individual to conceptualize the role of government and market from economic perspective.

7.4 New Public Management

7.4.1 Meaning and Basic Assumptions, Emergence of NPM Movement

In response to the growing dissatisfactions to shortcomings of bureau-pathological nature of legal-rational authority in most parts of the world efforts have been made to find ways to deliver public service more effectively and efficiently to deal with the pathological and dysfunctional aspects of bureaucratic behaviour. This demands got huge impetus in 1980s due to the huge impact of globalization and new liberal economic policies which remarkably re-invented governance committed to the more responsive bureaucracy and accountable governance. This new face of public management system was known as New Public Management (or NPM paradigm). This NPM paradigm shifted the nature of governance from classical, hierarchical, bureaucratic management to new ways of governance in terms of New Public Management and its main engine known as e-governance (Chowdhry, 2003:157).

New Public Management, to be very specific is the most influential outcome of the new incarnation of public administration in the wake of globalization and liberalization since the last quarter of the last century. Based on the basic premises of new right theory the NPM emerged as a revolutionary movement in public administration which redefined and redesigned the traditional

public administration or public management system. Christopher Hood, one of the earliest proponents of NPM defined it as “new set of experiments in public sector management informed with the market principles of efficiency and economy to make ailing public sector effective” (Chakraborty, 2012 : 111). Contemporary administrative thinkers labeled NPM with various terms like ‘first wave of public sector management’ (Mark Bevir), ‘business type managerialism’ (Hood, 1991), ‘market based approach to public administration’ (Lan & Rosenbloom, 1992), entrepreneurial government (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992) and so on. Whatever may the name or phrase be, the point of unanimity among these scholars is that all of them have claimed NPM as a new revolution in public sector management that is based on an efficient and cost-effective system which emphasizes on performance appraisal, managerial autonomy and market based new liberal economy. According to Hood, “NPM may be regarded as a marriage of opposites, of which one partner being the new institutional economics, while the other is a set of successive waves of business-type managerialism.” (Hood, 1991)

The very emergence of NPM can be traced back to the measures of administrative reforms in the west in response to the ailing public sector and the utter failure of bureaucracy. It originated in the womb of new liberal or new right theory of mid 1970s that brought new challenges of liberalization, privatization and globalization popularly known as LPG paradigm in public administration. The conceptual root of e-governance can be traced back to Minnow-Brook-II (1988) paradigm of public administration in the context of globalization, and the revolutions in science and technology, that led to the revolutionary changes in the means of communication. Governing electronically is one of the many outcomes of New Public Management paradigm that favours decentralization, efficiency, rapid policy implementations and accountable governance. Since 1990s the world has witnessed this transition as a consequence of the profound impact of globalization throughout the world, which has drastically changed the service delivery system from a people oriented perspective. In this respect e-governance is coeval with good governance. In this contemporary era of 21st century the public service quality has been changed remarkable with the introduction of ICT in governmental sectors. Moreover, this ICT based governance, or the e-governance has underpinned an evolving process in the reconfiguration of the very nature of public and social policy, with implications for public administration, public management system and political power. (Henman, 2010: 3)

7.4.2 Salient Features of NPM –

3-Es

NPM paradigm ascribes most importance over 3Es, i.e. efficiency, effectiveness and economy. It strongly argues for ensuring effective and efficient service delivery in public sector management. At the same time it tends to make governance economic by taking different attempts for the sake of cost-cutting measures in service delivery.

Empowering the Citizens

Unlike traditional public sector the NPM paradigm promotes efficient and effective governance for the sake of making citizens empowered in terms of consuming the public services of different types. It sees citizens as the most importance consumer and argues to put citizens at the centre of each governmental service and policy domain. The chief focus of NPM paradigm is the people whom it embraces as the primary and most important client who, unlike traditional status of being passive recipients of governmental services, will become an active client or consumer.

Customer-Driven Governance

One of the basic features of NPM movement is lying in its objective of making public sector exclusively customer driven. It ascribes importance over ensuring multiple choices to the clients, the people in any matter related to service delivery. It advocates for a customer driven administration based on equity, skill, accountability and entrepreneurialship. Unlike traditional rigid bureaucratic structure the NPM paradigm elevates citizens to the centre of everything.

Market Oriented Governance

NPM adopts market mechanism in place of rigid bureaucratic mechanism. It believes in competition, goal orientation and customer-centered mechanism which it firmly believe can be the best remedy for ailing cash strapped public sector.

Contracting Out of Services

The quasi market mechanism of NPM promotes rampant privatization and contracting out

techniques to ensure better management in service delivery. Like private enterprise it argues for private sector managerial practices to replace traditional bureaucratic model with flexible market driven techniques. In other words, NPM through adopting tools of contracting out of public services tends to redesign ailing public sector as performance based organization. (Chakraborty, 2012 :120)

Competitive and Enterprising Government

NPM paradigm is basically the reconstruction of public sector that believes in earning money through revenue generation instead of mere spending. Like private enterprise it advocates for a competitive quasi market mechanism among service providers for better service delivery system as well as for protecting public sector from being bankrupt.

Anticipatory and Decentralized Government

The new orientation of market-driven management system emphasizes on anticipatory governance which, instead of being responsive to the problems will act proactively even before the occurrence of the problem. It will be driven by strategic and by visionary approach to anticipate any challenge even before it emerges.

Reinventing Government through downsizing

The NPM paradigm, in response to the growing dissatisfaction towards rigid bureaucratic management, known as ‘bureau-mania’ since 1980s tends to downsize government by reconstructing or reorganizing public sector through a quasi market driven entrepreneurial like management. It gained ultimate momentum due to the new policies initiated in 1980s and 1990s by Ronald Reagon in the USA and the then Prime Minister of UK Margaret Thatcher. In their seminal work *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Publi Sector* firmly argued for transforming the bureaucratic government into an ‘entrepreneurial government’ (Medury, 2016 : 169).

7.4.3 Drawbacks of New Public Management

The NPM movement, though attempted to create a new entrepreneurial or consumer-oriented approach in public sector management had been suffered with certain drawbacks in terms of

ensuring institutional values, universality, socio-cultural concerns and methodological issues. According to Christopher Hood (1991) the NPM paradigm could not go beyond superficial level with least remedial measures to the existing weaknesses in public sector (Chakraborty, 2012: 121). Even the claim of cost-cutting management system seemed only a ‘tall talk’ as it ultimately failed to ensure a proper cost-effective government so far the question of cost per unit is concerned. The major criticism against NPM is that in the name of promoting market friendly and client driven management system it actually served the elite group of new managerialism, like the top managers, officials, management consultants etc. (Chakraborty, 2012 : 121). Even NPM paradigm is often criticized for lacking any clear-cut policy guidelines for privatization initiatives and also for lacking any serious concern towards creation of new institutions and institutional values.

To conclude, it may be claimed that the NPM movement had been the ultimate response to the growing dissatisfactions and related disillusionment towards ailing bureaucratic state and economic failure. It emerged with an aim to reinvent government to make it more efficient and responsive. It has been that reform initiated with originated in west but in the wake of liberalization and globalization soon amplified around the world including the so-called developing countries. In response to the ailing and monolithic bureaucratic administration it propelled the state to embrace values of market, competition, emphasis on performance measurement, efficient, productive and cost-effective management system.

7.5 Critical Theory in Public Administration

The critical theory in social science has its root in the works of famous Frankfurt School established in 1920s in Germany. Being developed as a philosophical and practical discipline it ascribed huge importance over the humanization of public organizations which used to mark huge impact on socio-economic life of individual (Bhattacharya 1998 : 19). Among the notable members of this school some are: Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Jurgen Habermas.

The ‘Critical theory of Society’ had been developed by the Institute of Social Research (the Frankfurt School). Initially it had largely been ignored in Public Administration. Subsequently, it got notable momentum for the application of critical social theory in Public Administration. In the study of public administration the critical theory can be discussed through the lens of ‘legitimacy

crises' doctrine envisaged by Jurgen Habermas, one of the leading members of Frankfurt School. The basic assumption of Habermas's argument lies in the unequal distribution of wealth across society. He argues that a form of legitimacy crisis may appear in advanced capitalist societies due to the existing fundamental contradiction between the capitalist interest and the interests of the nation as a whole. Legitimacy crisis in advanced capitalist democracies increase because the public policy makers use to get plunged between two conflicting imperatives, i.e. from one hand they are expected to serve the interests of their nation as a whole; but when they try to prop up the economic system (market) it ultimately benefits the capitalist wealthy class at the expense of most workers (Knox, 2010). According to Habermas public policy makers use to avoid a legitimacy crisis by engaging people and political actors through various symbols, ideologies, narratives and language, which "not only manipulate the common people into desiring what has been manufactured for them, but also leaves them feeling unfulfilled and alienated." (Knox, 2010).

Habermas is of view that the over-bureaucratization in any capitalist society ultimately causes serious concern about the social responsibility of the public bureaucrats. This has to be taken into account from a critical perspective. The paradox remains in the conflicting relationship between the interest of bureaucrats as a "self-aggrandizing form alienated from public" and the common people's interest (Bhattacharya, 1998). The critical perspective tends to focus on this fundamental contradiction with public management. The expanding role of public bureaucracy is the result of the common belief that any organization as well as management aims to produce predictable results by manipulating human beings and materials. Moreover, the endless search for efficacy and efficiency use to expand organizations and its bureaucratic system, which according to Mohit Bhattacharya (1998: 21) lead human being in any public organization separated from one another due at the operative level. The over emphasis on ideas of control, regulation, superior-subordinate, efficiency etc. ultimately alienated the fellow workers from basic work force and create forms of organizational distrust and occasional hostility to the working of public bureaucracy (Bhattacharya, 1998). The critical perspective of public administration ascribes importance over providing best remedy to this inherent contradiction in the formal superior-subordinate relationship embedded in hierarchical structure of public bureaucracy. It firmly believes that a proper-democratic ambience towards bureaucratic structure and management free from rigid hierarchical impediments can only improve the organizational life.

7.6 The Feminist Perspective

7.6.1 In search of a Feminist Discourse on Public Administration

Feminism in western political theory has a long tradition of rigorous thought and movement. But in the realm of public policy and public administration it became significant only in mid-1970s as a part of new social movement. It is basically the outcome of the symposium on “Women in Public Administration” held in 1976 organized by the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA), which ascribed permanent importance on gender sensitive issues and tried to uphold the wretched or subjugated condition of women in public administration and governance (Chakraborty, 2012). The basic objective of feminist perspective to public administration is to promote the condition of women in public administration as well as in broader political sphere. It raises serious questions against the existing realm of public policy and administration which, according to the protagonists of feminism has systematically and structurally excluded women from public sector. Therefore, the basic aim of feminists is to engender administration as well as the entire public space for the sake of a gender-neutral administration based on the ideal of equality.

The notable thinkers as well as activists who contributed to the development of feminist approach to public administration are Camilla Stiver (2002, 2005), Lorraine D. Eyde (1973), Judin Mohr (1973), Robert B. Denhardt (1976), Jan Perkins (1976), C. Pateman (1986), Kathy Ferguson, Georgia Duerest lathi and R. Kelly.

The feminist approach in public administration is based on three fundamental factors, i.e. (i) the inclusion of women-friendly governance or the socio-political inclusion of women in decision making bodies; (ii) enhancing and ensuring political participation of women in public administration; and (iii) reconstructing the stereotypical mind-set on the issue of gender in administration (Bagai, 2016 : 125). So far the question of particular discourse on feminist approach to administration is concerned, it may be claimed that feminist perspective in public policy has been highly contextual and lacks any uniform component or dimension. But the only point of unanimity among scholars is lying in its very objective that advocates for the need of affirmative actions to ameliorate the status of women in the broader arena of public administration. Generally, there are two discourses of feminisms in public administration, namely– descriptive discourse and conceptual discourse (Chakraborty and Chand, 2012: 152). The former focuses on the manifestation of underlying gender inequalities in public administration, whereas the later category emphasizes on the need to re-conceptualize the existing dominant

philosophy of public administration.

The fundamental claim related to the feminist approach to public administration is that until and unless women become one of the real stakeholders of the decision making process or political institutions the goal of gender equality can never be achieved. It strongly argues for the just and due inclusion of women in the decision making institutions and institutions of public bureaucracy. Viewing through a gendered lens the descriptive discourse has tended to expose the underlying gender-discriminations in the institutions of public bureaucracy as well as in the process of public policy making. Such discourse has been followed by the conceptual discourse on feminist perspective very recently, especially since 1990s, which is popularly getting familiar as gender-governance.

7.6.2 Contributions of Camilla Stiver to the Feminist Perspective of Public Administration

Among the chief exponents of feminist approach to public administration the most influential is Camilla Stiver who in her book *Gender Images in Public Administration : Legitimacy and the Administrative State* (2002) argues for the equal inclusion of women in public agencies, gender representation, gender empowerment through changing the stereotype male-dominated mindset and gendered leadership. She, quite indignantly exposed the male dominations in public sphere which has made women subjugated in the pretext of biology and gendered psychology which are socially and culturally embedded. (Stiver, 2002 : 134). According to Stiver the public domain, specifically the public institutions, agencies, bureaucracy – are influenced and shaped by the existing power relations in society, which is basically associated with masculinity quite structurally as well as systematically. (Stiver, 2002:3). Thus, she criticizes classical liberal ideas which have always been moved around the dichotomy between public sphere and private sphere. In the pretext of quality or neutrality its market ideology, specially the public sector activities have always been structurally masculine.

7.6.3 The Leadership Discourse

Any literature related to the issue of feminism in public administration takes a critical approach towards existing narratives on leadership based on patriarchal culture. Leadership is an important parameter to understand the issue of gender governance as well as women empowerment in any system. According to Georgia Duerst Lathi and R.M. Kelly the feminist discourse on leadership

ascribes importance over three important factors, viz. (i) the concept of gender power in understanding leadership and governance; (ii) the conceptual as well as empirical researches on the role of gender in public domain; (iii) to examine gender power in a spectrum of leadership and governance discourse (Bhattacharya, 1996 : 356). The feminists strongly argue in favour of gender inclusive policies for greater women representation in administrative structure so that an alternative leadership pattern under women leaders may replace the existing masculine gender biased structure of in administration. The contemporary debate over ‘politics of ideas’ and ‘politics of presence’ can be cited in this context, in which structural arrangements for the inclusion of women in public institutions may be ensured. For example the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts in India in 1990s can be noted here, which ensured one-third women representation in local democratic institutions (both Rural and Urban). However, after three decades of such revolutionary attempts it has notoriously been found that in the name of women representation the core power of decision making use to enjoy by the male member of family of the women representative, specially by her husband or any other close relative. Thus the much desired women leadership gets impeded in terms of proxy representation, pradhan-pati etc. The leadership discourse on such issue, therefore strongly ascribes paramount importance over enhancing leadership quality as a decision maker.

The sum up, it may be argued that the feminist approach to public administration exposes and questions the structural discriminations in the existing administrative bodies. It advocates for sensitive administrative values and attempts to ameliorate the subjugated status of women in the decision making arena in the public domain. The basic objective of such argument is to eradicate the culture of instrumental and systematic exclusion of women from public domain like decision making bodies, public institutions, bureaucracy etc.

7.7 Post Modern Approach to Public Administration

The Modern and Post-Modern Conditions in Public Administration

The basic crux of post modern approach is inspired by an understanding that the organization of science matters, which has been developed by Rosenau (1992) and Hollinger (1994) to a good

extent. The conditions of post modernity tend to distinguish between the conditions in society and in social research. The modernity and the post-modern conditions in advance western democratic nations mark enormous impact over every aspect of different human civilization. In the realm of public administration the post-modern conditions have created new orientations, new norms and new forms of reasoning as well.

To understand the postmodern approach to public administration a sharp borderline between modernity conditions and post-modern conditions is needed to be drawn which due to its immensely complex nature as well as cross-disciplinary nature of public administration in social science has become almost impossible to draw. However, from a broader perspective it can be claimed that modernity may be characterized by rationalization, centralization, specialization, industrialization and bureaucratization. These are the basic outcomes of modernity conditions which have directly influenced the study of public administration. Moreover, the advancement of science and power has created the basic hallmark of modernity in terms of industrial corporations, integration and bureaucratic corporate state.

On the other hand, the postmodern conditions are characterized by fragmentations where new trends towards decentralization, individualization and internationalization are seen (Bogason, 2005 : 236). Bogason (2005) has distinguished these two as:

Modern Rationalization	Postmodern Reasoning
Global Politics	Particular Interest
Production	Consumption
Mass Production	Flexible Specialization
Integration	Differentiation
Interest Organization	Social Movements
Party politics	Personality Politics
Bureaucracy	Spontaneity
National Culture	Imagination
Reason	Fragments

Source: Bogason, 2005: 236

In the context of public administration basic trends towards postmodern conditions to focus on state and polity are quite challenging and complex as well. Broadly the post modern

approach to public administration believes in de-bureaucratization and unlike traditional Weberian paradigm it ascribes importance over flexible specialization and differentiation of many categories. It believes in micro-level analysis without any predetermined set of tool or norm. In other words, post modernism in public administration attacks the basic ideas and norms developed by modernity or enlightenment. In some cases the post modernists use to deny or oppose the major products of modernity like– increased industrial production, comprehensive representative democracy and massive bureaucratic governments. Instead, the post modernism in public administration tends to judge everything through deconstructing existing norms by a contextual thinking and inductive reasoning. In this regard it denies any sort of preoccupied generalization projected by modernity and tends to judge the feasibility and applicability of various theories of public administration from a contextual analysis.

7.8 Self-Assessment Questions

- a) What is meant by public choice theory? Discuss the major features of public choice approach to Public Administration.
- b) Critically discuss the salient features of New Public Management.
- c) What is Frankfurt School? Elaborate the critical theory in the study of Public Administration.
- d) Discuss in details the Feminist perspective of Public Administration.
- e) What is post modernism? Discuss the basic arguments of Post Modernism in the study of Public Administration.

7.9 Suggested Readings

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Concept of Governance: Good Governance, Gender and Governance, Green Governance, E-Governance and Corporate Governance

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8.1 Objectives

The main objective of this unit is to familiarize the learners with various forms of governance. Learners will also be able to know about the features and working of these various forms.

8.2 Introduction

Since the last decade of twentieth century the ideas of Good Governance, Gender-Governance, Green Governance, e-governance and Corporate Governance have emerged as the remarkable outcomes of new paradigm of public administration. The idea of ‘governance’ gained its prominence in the wake of neo-liberal economy and in the rise of pluralist democracy which replaced the monopoly of state with growing market-centric administrative system. The enormous impact of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG) over public administration, which in fact had been the main outcome of neo-liberalism also made the distinction between government and governance more prominent as the LPG paradigm used to undermine the state monopoly, or in other words, declined the sovereign nation state and replaced that with plurality of power structure. The expression ‘good governance’ has become a buzzword in the new *Avtar* of public administration in post-globalization world in the twenty first century. But the central questions that may be posed here are: why do we need to conceptualize ‘good governance’ especially when we already have an existing conceptual genealogy of the idea of governance? In which respect does the idea of good governance different from that of the pre-existing idea of governance? What may be considered as ‘good’ in the idea of good governance? So far the question of its objective or effectiveness is concerned, it may be claimed that it had been conceptually existed since the very dawn of organized political system doing good for its subjects.

8.3 Concept of Governance

The word ‘governance’ had been derived from the Greek word ‘*Kubernau*’, which means ‘to steer’ and in an allegorical sense it was first used by Plato. Having interpretations in different languages including Latin and English, it denoted and symbolized ideas like ‘supremacy’, domination, power, authority and control. (Kumar, 2013: 19). According to Bidyut Chakrabarty and Prakash Chand (2012 : 124) the idea of governance indicates the emergence of a more plural political world which declined the monopoly of Nation State, which they argued had been a clear shift from government to governance.

In their renowned book *Governance, Politics and the State* (2000) Pierre and Peters claimed that the term ‘Governance’ had its etymological root in the Fourteenth century France, where it referred to as a seat of the Government. But during the late twentieth century the term ‘governance’ had been, for the first time, used by the World Bank in its report on debt-ridden sub-Saharan Africa in 1989 (Mishra, 2016:262). The World Bank in its Report on ‘Governance and Development’ (1992) elaborated the idea of Governance from three different approaches– (i) the form of a political regime; (ii) the process by which authority is exercised; and (iii) the capacity of governments to design and implement their policies. The early use of the term ‘Governance’ may also be traced back to the well known Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of the early 1980s, where the idea of governance has been used as a mean of implementation of developmental policies for a sound economy.

Actually the new paradigm of public administration, as an outcome of the remarkable impact of globalization since the last two decades of the last century intended to pose a new narrative in governmental sector, which is directly arguing for a more open, more accountable and more responsible administration and as a consequence, remarkably argued for good governance from this perspective. This new paradigm, from one hand deepens the democratic culture in governance by arguing for a more transparent and more accountable government. On the other hand, it tends to redesign the government–governed relationship from the perspective of market and entrepreneurship, which is also one of the basic consequences of new liberal economy and LPG paradigm since the last quarter of twentieth century. These remarkable shifting of the perspectives from government to governance and from governance to good governance have to be understood from this new orientation.

8.4 Good Governance: Meaning and Definitions

The concept of good governance emerged in 1990s to compare ineffective economies or political structures with the viable economies and political structures. This comparisons have usually been done in terms of governance indicators identified by the long-standing Research Programme of World Bank, such as: voice and accountability, political stability, lack of violence, governmental effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law and control of corruption. One of the major findings of this research programme was that good governance is the key factor for development and the link between good government and development has stimulated demand for ensuring the quality of governance across countries worldwide.

According to the World Development Report of World Bank (1992: 29) Good Governance is epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policy-making, a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos acting as furtherance of the public good, the rule of law, transparent processes and a strong civil society participating in public affairs. On the basis of this above discussion the idea of good governance can be understood by a range of factors including openness, transparency, responsibility, accountability, rule of law and people's participation. In another World Bank Report on sub-Saharan Africa (1989:18) the concept of good governance was defined as a public service that is efficient, a judicial system that is reliable and an administration that is accountable to the public.

Historically the idea of good governance emerged on the basis of comparison to poor governance or mal-governance. According to the World Bank Report titled 'Government and Development' (1992: 9) some of the basic indicators of poor governance are– inability to consistent development, non-transparency, arbitrary rules, corruption and misallocation of public resources. In response to these impediments to the successful operation of developmental processes and effective institutional arrangements for the sake of vibrant people oriented administration or, in other words, effective governance the idea of good governance came into limelight with the positive commitment of the government keeping 'people' at the centre of all developmental affairs.

The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) identified five key elements of good governance to combat the curse of mal-governance. These five key elements are– (i) equity, which denotes sustainability and gender equality; (ii) Effectiveness that refers to efficiency, and strategic vision; (iii) Accountability which refers to the ideas of transparency, rule of law and responsiveness; (iv) Participation which includes civic engagements in developmental projects and (v) Security, that includes conflict resolution and human security (UNCHS, 1996:

18).

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its report on ‘Re-conceptualizing Governance’ (1997: 19) identified eight basic characteristics of good governance, namely – participation, Rule of Law, Consensus orientation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusiveness. The World Bank definition of good governance also indicates some of the important features of good governance like openness, enlightened policy-making, responsive bureaucracy, civic engagement participation, transparency and accountability.

8.4.1 Salient Features of Good Governance

Accountability

Any idea, illustration or theory of good governance starts with the idea of accountability. Accountability refers to the process of responsible governance committed to the welfare of the governed. The origin of the term ‘accountable’ may be traced back to English Literature in 1583 to describe the nature of financial accountability. Generally the idea of accountability denotes a sense of responsibility to some higher level of authority by a person or group of persons in an organization (Singh, 2007:3). In the sphere of public administration or specifically in the concept of good governance this authority lies in the hands of people who directly or indirectly through institutional framework use to enjoy this authority of superior position in a vibrant democratic system. It advocates a specific form of mechanism where both– the political authority as well as administrative authority are liable to answer to, directly or indirectly, people for their public deeds, actions related to the use of public office and public resources. This sense of accountability promotes the process of democratization and responsibility and makes the whole administration people oriented.

Transparency

Transparency ensures good governance. If accountability is regarded as ‘end’ then transparency is one of the basic ‘mean’ of it. Unlike traditional government the concept of transparency in the new paradigm of public administration has become one of the essential elements since 1990s. A transparent government refers to that process of governance where information can be easily

accessible. Ideally it ensures the reduction of corruption in governance in one hand and also strengthens the process of democratization by ensuring responsible government.

Participation

Participation of the subjects to the governmental affairs has always been regarded as one of the most significant preconditions for the success of democracy. Since democracy, development and good governance are having common goal the level of participation has always been regarded as most essential precondition of these. Participation of people is one of the important parameters of democracy which ensures good governance in any system. Broadly political participation refers to a wide range of activities including voting in elections donating time or money to political campaigns, running for offices, writing petitions, boycotting or calling strikes, organizing in unions, demonstrations, carrying out sits-in, blockades and even physical assaults on the force of orders (Kitschelt and Rehm, 2008:446).

Rule of Law

One of the most important and inalienable ingredients of good governance is the prevailing of rule of law. The idea of rule of law though bears a long tradition, its impartial application to governance has been given paramount importance by World Bank and UNDP in their reports (World Bank, 1992b: 27 – 28). The idea of rule of law includes fair and impartial legal framework, equality before law, impartial and independent judiciary, responsible government and equal protection by law irrespective of caste, sex, colour and possession.

Responsiveness

Another significant feature of good governance is responsiveness. The idea of responsiveness denotes the institutional duty to the governed. In a complex and heterogeneous society the structural devices are also complex and well-designed having particular mission and vision. These public institutions can only be meaningful if they act in accordance with the public need in a meticulous and sustained manner. Good governance, hence, is all about response to the popular needs in any society.

Equity and Inclusiveness

Good governance always ensures the ideal of equity and inclusiveness. In a diverse and multi-layered society where socio-cultural as well as economic cleavages are so rampant the threat of exclusion always be there as one of the major problems. In these societies the threat of social exclusion remains high. Only governance based on the principles of good governance can ensure an ambience in the society where all can regard themselves as an integral stakeholder of it and never feel excluded from the process of development. The principle of equity is closely related to the ideal of inclusiveness. Good governance therefore ascribes most importance over the ideals of equity and inclusiveness.

Consensus Orientations

Good governance aims at consensus orientations. It is directly related to the ideal of the inclusiveness and equality. In a heterogeneous society (like India) where so many castes, religious communities, linguistic groups, cultural groups exist together the issue of consensus always matters much. Good governance, therefore, use to take the role of a mediator of the different interest groups prevailing in the society in a feasible and sustainable manner.

Effectiveness and Efficiency

Good governance tends to make the process of governance an effective and efficient one by which desired objectives can be achieved in a just manner. Therefore, efficiency and effectiveness irrespective of all hierarchical levels of public institutions as well as all public personnel have been ascribed most importance among all principles and benchmarks of good governance. Unlike traditional governance the new paradigm of public administration ascribes most importance to efficiency and result orientation in public sectors as well as in private sectors.

Strategic Vision

Good governance is always based on right strategy. Without a proper and well articulated strategy the desired goal of any public institution and the government would never be achieved. According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB) “Governance has to do with the institutional environment in which citizens interact among themselves and with government agencies and officials.” A proper strategic vision needs to be followed for ensuring such institutional environment which ensures popular participation to politics, fair, and transparent decision make process, accountability of all institutions as well as public personnel; effectiveness and efficiency of the public institutions, independent judiciary, inclusive policies of the government and most importantly the rule of law.

Predictability

Since good governance is all about implementing welfare policies for ensuing better governance the government as well as the private sector should have a clear vision for the prediction of future challenges. Anticipating those challenges or predicting the probable consequences of any of the policies a good government may take necessary measure, which in most of the cases are pre-aim steps.

Good governance, thus, encompasses a wide range of features and criteria for the sake of ensuring people oriented governance, human rights, socio-political cohesion, compassionate feelings of equity and social justice, rule of law, accountability, transparency and inclusive development. Unlike traditional governance which were led by ‘helping the governed policy’, good governance tends to ensure ‘working with the governed policy’.

8.5 Gender and Governance

8.5.1 Introduction

The new paradigm of public administration since 1990s has basically been known for three basic major notions of governance, viz. gender governance, green governance and e-governance. Among these the reciprocity of good governance and gender equity has been at the focal point of development debates in contemporary public administration. The fundamental argument related to

the notion of gender-governance is the claim that until and unless women becomes one of the real stakeholder of the decision-making process or political institutions the goal of gender parity can never be achieved.

8.5.2 Meaning & Objective

Governance theory in the 21st century is basically known for ensuring or creating opportunity for gender equity which is the cornerstone of inclusive growth. Gender governance refers to the presence of women's voice in shaping and executing public policies related to any developmental policies. It aims at providing equal access to political and socio-economic opportunities to both men and women to accomplish a more sustainable economy as well as social justice. It advocates for fair representation and equal participation of men and women in public life, political institutions and all forms of decision making bodies for the sake of equitable service delivery.

8.5.3 Parameters of Understanding Gender in Governance - Political Representation, Leadership, Inclusive Public Policies

The debates on understanding gender in governance have been evolved mainly on the question whether mere politics of presence ensures gender equity or not so far the question of the political empowerment of women is concerned. Though lately, it has become one of the major concerns for gender governance that the true representation of women in any patriarchal social structure needs more attention rather than mere politics of presence of 'adding in' women in decision making institutions. However, the major parameters of gender in administration are:

Political Representation:

Political representation of women in decision making institutions is one of the chief concerns of gender governance. Throughout the centuries women have largely been under-represented around the world. Globally speaking, between 1954 and 1999 only 24 women Presidents and 30 women Prime Ministers had been seen. Out of 187 countries 48 countries had never been any women in ministerial position ever; moreover, in the Asia-Pacific region and Eastern Europe, the percentage of women ministers had been under 5% so far. (Jayal, 2003: 109-110) In India, women representation in the both Houses of the Parliament remained below 13% since Independence till date. Such statistics of under-representation of women have been ascribed most importance around the world since the last two decades of last century.

Leadership

Leadership is another important parameter to understand the issue of gender governance. The stereotype patriarchal mindset used to dub women as poor leaders whereas regards men imbued with better leadership quality. That is why despite of ensuring reservation systems or quota system for the sake of fair representation of women in various countries, it has notoriously been found that in the name of women representation the core power of decision making used to enjoy by the male member of the family, especially by her husband or any other close relative. Gender governance, in this context ascribes paramount importance over enhancing leadership quality as a decision maker as well as representative by ensuring opportunities through a more just and engendered governance.

Inclusive Public Policies

An important parameter of gender governance is inclusive public policies formulated and executed through the lens of gender equality and inclusiveness. Hence it becomes as the chief critique of ‘administrative man theory’ and argues for an alternative model of organization based primarily on the experiences of women movements and socio-political inclusions.

8.6 Green Governance

Green governance or Environmental Governance has become one of the major issues of governance especially in the last few decades. It is basically governance for ensuring better environment. Green governance is a response to the most alarming contemporary challenges that human being as well as other species of bio-diversity are facing in terms of environmental degradation and rapid climate change. Green governance advocates to enact appropriate laws and execute them to keep balance in environment through tools of sustainable development and responsive governance.

8.6.1 Context of Emergence

The present world is going through an age of economic globalization where environmental ethics have often been compromised to have rapid economic growth and industrialization.

Compromising the basic principles of safe environment the unscientific use of natural resources, uncontrolled carbon emission in the name of rapid industrialization and modernization, the contemporary world is facing the menace of environmental plunder in terms of global warming, which in every aspect is questioning the basic preconditions of bio-diversity. Global responses to this crisis have also been found through various summit, conferences and round of talks to protect human civilization. In response to the unprecedented climate change various initiatives have been taken through international conferences by the international agencies, among which, perhaps the most common point where unanimity among the scholars is found, is on the point of sustainable development. It is the most unanimous response to the most familiar conflict between industrialization, development and the protection of environment for the sake of bio-diversity.

8.6.2 Meaning and Definitions

Green governance denotes organized and well designed governmental initiatives to protect and promote environment through a series of public policies, green projects, enacting laws and executing those in a best possible ways. According to the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN, 2014) Green governance is a multi level interactions among local, national and global actors like state, market and civil society to formulate and implement policies in response to the environment hazards and environment related inputs from societies for the purpose of attaining sustainable environmental goals.

8.6.3 Key Principles of Green Governance

The key principle of green governance, broadly speaking, is the principle of sustainable economy and development. Such principles tend to integrate environment towards economic concerns into all aspects of decision making process. Three basic principles in the context of attaining sustainable developmental goals are: i) sustainable development and collaboration principles; ii) collaborative governance principles between state, market and civil society; and, iii) universal paradigmatic principle of integration and systemization (Kusis et. al., 2017: 257). These principles of green governance ascribe huge importance over awareness raising campaigns, environmental education infrastructure, proper policies from local governments, active civil societal participations, and knowledge based methods regarding dissemination of best practices for better implementation of green governance projects. Hence, needless to say, due to such wide dimensions of environmental issues green governance has become one of the major components as well as preconditions of good governance paradigm around the world irrespective of developed,

under-developed or developing one.

8.7 E-governance

The New incarnation of public administration in the context of globalization has brought come remarkable and drastic changes in the process of governance since the last quarter of last century. Among those changes the most revolutionary change is e-governance (Electronic Governance) or digital governance, which has redefined and re-designed the nature of governance. The enormous impact of globalization and liberalization coupled with revolutionary changes in the realm of information technology and means of communications the traditional mode of governance has broadly been replaced with e-governance throughout the world. The basic objective of e-governance is to ensure efficient, cost-effective and transparent governance. It is the engine to reach the desired goal of good governance, or in other words, it may be claimed that the best vehicle to reach the destination of good governance is e-governance.

8.7.1 Meaning and Definitions

In the broader discipline of public administration e-governance is of recent origin. Basically e-governance refers to the application of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) like computer, interact, webpage, digital tools to deliver public services to citizens. Unlike traditional governance it denies the essentiality of the so-called principles of public administration, such as hierarchy, unity of command, span of control and scalar chain in one hand and in the other hand it promotes exchange of information, communications through websites and digital transactions between government and the governed through internet. It aims to bring about transparent and accountable governance. The fundamental essence of e-government is 3p, i.e., policies, procedures and people, which are related indispensably with each other by the world-wide-web. The European Union (EU), in its digital agenda views e-governance as a digital tool and system to provide better public services to citizens and business. According to EU “an effective e-government can provide a wide variety of benefits including more efficiency and savings for governments and businesses, increased transparency, and greater participation of citizens in political life.” (EU Digital Agenda, <http://ec.europa.eu/digital-agenda/node/1033>).

According to the World Bank, “e-government refers to the use by government agencies of information technologies, such a WAN, the Internet, and mobile computing that have the ability to

transform relations with citizens, businesses, and other arms of government. These technologies can serve a variety of different ends: better diversity of government services to citizens, improved interactions with business and industry, citizens' empowerment through access of information, or more efficient government management. The resulting benefits can be less corruption, increased transparency, greater convenience, revenue growth and / or cost reduction.” (World Bank, 2001:2)

The ‘Working Group on E-government in the Developing World’ defined e-government as: “e-government is the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) to promote more efficient and effective governments facilitate more accessible government services, allow greater public access to information and make government more accountable to citizens. E-government might involve delivering services via the internet, telephone, community centers, wireless devices or other communications systems.” (www.pacificcouncil.org)

On the basis of such definitions, it may be claimed that e-governance is all about application of information and communication technology tools to the delivery of public services. It focuses on rapid governance with a view to ensure better interaction between government and citizens.

8.7.2 Stages of Development:

Information

This is the incipient phase which deals with launching of websites. It is just the initial stage of web presence with limited as static information. In this stage people use to derive information from websites of different departments and offices which may include the mission, vision, compositions, functions and contact details to a certain extent.

Interaction

This is the second stage of interaction between the government and the governed. Despite of the fact that all forms of interactions in this phase is basically ‘one way’ or ‘same directional’ but most of the countries till date are going through this interaction phase. People in this phase can access the benefits of e-governance by downloading forms, complaints online; fill up various forms by logging through interactive websites with various governmental agencies.

Transaction

The third phase is the advance phase where only a few states have reached till date. This is a both-way transaction where the access to e-governance use to happen in almost all works like – online payment of taxes, bill, fees, registration, renewals of licenses and certificates etc. In this phase governance becomes almost paperless or digital. (Satyanarayana, 2014:20). Needless to say governance in this phase becomes most transparent, most open, flexible and 24×7 basis.

Integration

The final stage of e-governance is integration phase which is is too difficult to reach. None of countries has reached this phase as it envisages complete electronic or digital governance from both end – the government and the governed.

8.7.3 Types of E-governance:

On the basis of initiatives taken by various countries to introduce e-governance four types of interactions can be identified, viz., government to citizen (G2C), government to business (G2B), government to government (G2G) and government to employee (G2E).

Government to Citizens (G2C):

This is the most common form of e-governance where government, for the sake of service delivery to citizens uses information technology and communication tools to ensure rapid, efficient and transparent governance. It not only widened the choice of public to avail the public services but also created a responsive governance which is available on the 24×7 basis (being available 24 hours a day and 7 days a week). Here, government becomes citizen-friendly by providing all services electronically and sophisticatedly.

Government to Business (G2B):

The benefits of e-governance are also availed by the commercial sector or the business community, the providers of goods and services through interactions with government. The basic objective is to combat the problem of red-tapism and rigidity in public and private sectors. It also promotes cost-reduction and rapid delivery of services. It includes several strategies like Online Rulemaking Management (ORM), Electronic Tax Products for Business (ETPB), One Step Business Compliance Information etc.

Government to Government (G2G):

When electronic interactions use to happen between two or more than two departments, agencies or entities of government then it is called Government to Government (G2G) interactions. This is most common form of interaction which may both, horizontal or vertical.

Government to Employee (G2E):

Government being the largest employment sector use to interact with its employees electronically. The employees can also interact with government, the employer by using tools of information and communication technology. Such electronic interaction may be of different forms like – communicate through emails sending faxes, electronic database, biometric presence, e-training, e-complaining, e-clearance, e-payroll for strengthening of service delivery, e-authentication, e-recruitment, on-line interview, e-assignment, integration human resource, e-tax and return submission and so on.

8.7.4 Features of E-governance:

The basic features of e-governance in this changed context may be recognized in following points:

Use of ICT in Service Delivery: E-governance is all about application of information and communication technology to government functioning. It, for the sake of better service delivery tends to use tools of ICT like, WAN (Wide Area Network), Internet, computer, websites, electronic mails and mobile computing which has remarkably transformed governmental relations with citizens, business sector, employees and between various governmental and non-governmental agencies– within and beyond.

SMART Governance :

E-governance is SMART Governance, which denotes: Simple, Moral, Accountable, Responsive and Transparent governance.

- **Simple Governance:** E-governance tends to make governance simple and accessible to all. Governance in any country irrespective of size of territory, population, ideological standpoint and nature of political system is basically a complex and difficult work. Moreover, a heterogeneous society based on plurality of issues and multi-cultural communities often makes governance too complex to implement its policies in a uniform manner. Unlike traditional governance e-governance desires to implement a simple and

easy governance so that all services delivered by the government may become easy to access by the citizens.

- **Moral Governance:** The smart governance or e-governance may also ensure a moral and ethical governance better than traditional governance as it ensures, to some extent, a corruption free and transparent governance. Downsizing the government, it can make it faster which enables the recipients of governmental services to access information easily that sometimes reduces the scope of bribes and other forms of corruptions as well as criminalization, patronage and discriminations.
- **Accountable Government:** Since e-governance is one of the important pre-conditions of good governance it, through the use of ICT makes Government more open, simple and transparent. ICT based systems have all capabilities to make the executive, both political as well as administrative to drill down the most subtle and most minute details of performance even of the lowest level functionaries through designing, developing and implementing a sophisticated system like Management Information System (MIS), Performance Evaluation System (PES), Enterprise Information System (EIS) etc. Such ICT based systems infuse⁷ a high sense of accountability in the governance. (Satyanarayana, 2014:3).
- **Responsiveness:** The ‘R’ in ‘SMART’ denotes the ideal of responsiveness. The new incarnation of the idea of governance in the globalizing world is basically citizen-centric and efficient. This citizen-centrism as well as efficiency can only be materialized through a sound governance which is simply responsive.
- **Transparency:** Transparency is the most important and inseparable feature of e-governance, which ensures good governance. Transparent government means a clear, open and simple government. It basically arises out of the rights to information of the citizens. Transparency in governance leads to the ideal of accountability. An e-government use to appear as transparent by providing all information to its citizens via electronic tools like websites, internet and other communication kits. The service delivery, thus become a simple, open and transparent operation of government.

E-democracy: E-governance, in theory and practice, can be replaced with the idea of e-democracy as well. Since the basic objective of e-governance is to ensure transparent, accountable and effective governance, it ensures people-oriented governance that strengthens democracy as well. In other wards democracy is the end while e-governance is the best mean to ensure

democracy. Clift (2003:p1) has rightly observed, “e-democracy builds on e-governance and focuses on the actions and inventions enabled by ICTs combined with higher levels of democratic motivation and intent.” Thus, e-democracy is the application of electronic means to ensure an open and responsive interaction between government and citizens and business sectors, as well as in internal government operations to simplify and improve democratic government and business aspects of governance (Kettl, 2002:21).

Cost-effective Governance: E-governance is essentially cost-effective. It, through the application of internet or broadly ICT provides public services to the citizens in such a manner that reduces the cost of service delivery remarkably. Unlike pre-NPM traditional governance e-governance is efficient enough to reach almost to all strata and all corners in society electronically which reduces cost and time both. For example availability of information in the websites of all public as well as private agencies, downloading form for particular reason, submission of forms or application electronically, payment of bills, taxes etc., participation in any meeting, seminars, conferences or doing any on-line courses– all may be done by spending less money in comparison to traditional governance in any society.

Wider Scope:

Governing electronically has so many conveniences in terms of rapidity, cost-effectiveness, transparency, accountability and responsiveness. Apart from these, another distinctive feature of e-governance is lying in its wider-scope. It is the e-governance that can reach the citizens through the use of ICT tools whatever may the location be. The central governance can reach its people through a single portal or a single web link to its all provinces in the country.

Citizen Empowerment :E-governance or broadly e-democracy empowers people by providing them access to all information, services and most of all, by making them capable of controlling mal-governance. Availability of information and an ICT equipped citizens always act as deterrence to the government. People, through the access to data related to decision making, process of implementation, rules and regulations and implication of governmental projects may act as an informal controlling agency in 24×7 basis.

To sum up, it may be claimed that the incarnation of the new *avatar* of public

administration in the context of LPG and revolution in information technology has redefined and redesigned the idea of governance. The new avatar of public administration as well as governance is known as good governance which relies mostly on e-governance. In other words, good governance is that vehicle whose engine is e-governance or digital governance.

8.8 Corporate Governance

8.8.1 Definitions and Evolution of the Concept around the World

Corporate Governance refers to the process of governing a corporation which aims at ensuring a healthy practice of managing business on the basis of principles like transparency, accountability, social responsibility and innovation orientations. The term ‘Corporate Governance’ has been defined by the Cadbury Committee Report (1992) entitled ‘The Financial Aspects of Corporate Governance’³ as “the system by which companies are directed and controlled.”⁴ (Paragraph 2.5, The Cadbury Report, 1992). This is the classic and most commonly cited definition of Corporate Governance. Since the publication of the Cadbury Report in 1992, the growth of interest towards corporate governance throughout the World irrespective of developing or developed nations during the last three decades has been changed dramatically and drastically. A close scrutiny of the Cadbury Report would unfold three important themes to understand corporate Governance, viz. the definition of corporate governance; adoption of the codes and ethics and the ‘comply or explain’ approach. (Napier & Shah, 2016:2). The very economic context in which Cadbury Committee had been preparing its report was the suddenly collapse of gigantic corporate sectors in Britain like Bank of Credit and Commerce, Coloroll, the Polly Peck Group and Maxwell Communication Corporation in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This decline of such big names posed formidable challenges to the integrity and reputation of the city of London which had been the chief financial hub for global trade. (DuPlessis & Low, C.K., 2017).

In USA, the most notable move towards good corporate governance was the Blue Ribbon Committee’s (1998) effort on the New York Stock Exchange. Through various important recommendations this committee intended to strengthen US-corporate governance by improving the mode of performances of Audit Committee through ensuring quality of service, independent and impartial works, ensuring accountability and transparency of the audit system, remuneration disbursing of members, directors and management (Raju, 2003: 223). In Japan the issues and concerns over corporate governance too were developed remarkably in late 1990s due to the

economic bankruptcies and almost a decadal downfall posed a challenge to the stability in the economic sector. Like USA and UK the problems of corporate scandals, scams, and bankruptcies especially in the corporate sector became explicit in Japan which led to an ultimate demand for reforms and controlling of private enterprises through vibrant corporate governance. The first commercial code in Japan was enacted in 1899, which has been radically revised and amended in 2003 in order to ensure a more effective, transparent and accountable corporate governance to fight misuse of power, corruptions, and bankruptcy of enterprises. (Yoshimori, 2008:173 – 75).

8.8.2 The OECD Principles

In the evolution of the concept of Corporate Governance the role of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is too significant to deny. Basically it was the continuation and endorsement of the ‘comply or explain’ principle of Cadbury Report (1992). The OECD published its ‘Principles of Corporate Governance’ in 1999 that provided a sound template upon which the various codes of Corporate Governance across jurisdictions could be harmonized and attained. The OECD principles had been revised and updated in 2004, 2008 and 2015 respectively, in order to respond to the new developments in the corporate sector as well as the emerging global economic scenario in the post 9/11 world. (Duplessis & Low, 2017:5). In the contemporary world economy it is the search for good corporate governance that led the OECD to formulate some inalienable principles for good corporate governance. Despite the fact that the unanimous and uniform single model of good corporate governance is almost impossible to formulate as it differs in terms of country, time and nature of governance, the OECD, being backed and endorsed by the Ministerial level, tried to envisage a global standard principle for ‘good’ corporate governance. These principles of OECD, since 1999 (Meeting held on 27 – 28 April, 1998) have become an international benchmark for policy makers, investors, corporations and other stakeholders worldwide. Sir Donald J. Johnson, the Secretary General of OECD in the foreword of revised OECD principles published in 2004 noted that “The Principles are a living instrument offering non-binding standards and good practices as well as guidance on implementation, which can be adopted to the specific circumstances of individual countries and regions.” (OECD Principles of Corporate Governance, 2004:4). The six principles adopted by OECD are:

First, Ensuring the basis for an Effective Corporate Governance Framework : According to OECD the corporate governance framework should promote a transparent and efficient market,

be consistent with rule of law and clearly articulate the division of responsibilities among different supervisory, regulatory and enforcement authorities. It tends to build a corporate governance framework which should be developed with a view to its impact on overall economic performance, market integrity and incentives. (OECD 2004:17)

Second, The Rights of shareholders and key ownership functions : The second principle of OECD is all about the rights of shareholders in any corporate house. It tends to provide a guideline that an protect and facilitate the exercise of shareholders rights which include – secure methods of ownership registration; convey or transfer shares; obtain relevant and material information on the corporation in a timely and regular basis; participation and voting rights in any shareholder’s meeting; right to elect or remove members of the Board and most importantly, share in the profits of the corporation. (OECD, 2004:18)

Third, Equitable Treatment of Shareholders: It intends to secure equal treatment of all shareholders including minority and foreign shareholders of the same category. Moreover, this principle tries to ensure opportunity to all shareholders to obtain effective redress for violation of their rights in any circumstances. It claims that “Within any series of a class, all shares should carry the same rights. All investors should be able to obtain information about te rights attached to all series and clauses of shares before they purchase. Any changes in voting rights should be subject to approval by those classes of shares which are negatively affected.” (OECD, 2004:20)

Fourth, the role of stakeholders in Corporate Governance : The corporate governance framework tends to recognize the legal rights of stakeholders and encourage active co-operation between corporations and stakeholders in creating wealth, job, and the sustainability of financially sound enterprise (OECD, 2004:21). It envisages an ambience in any corporate house which nurtures mutata respect among all it’s stakeholders and their rights should be protected by law. It also intends to ensure that all stakeholders, including the individual employees and their representative bodies can be able to freely communicate their concerns about illegal or unethical practices to the Board, so that their rights may not be compromised.

Fifth, disclosure and Transparency: The OECD, ascribes huge importance over the principles of disclosure and transparency. It wants to make such provisions in the corporate governance framework which can ensure timely and accurate disclosure on all matters related to the corporation, such as financial situation, all transactions, performance of the corporation, ownership and governance of the company. The corporate governance framework also emphasizes on the disclosure of material information which include company’s objectives, foreseeable risk

factors, all related party transactions, major share ownership and voting rights, remuneration policy for Board members, key executives, all information about the members including their qualifications, section process and such other similar information that all the stakeholders know. (OECD, 2004: 22 – 23)

Sixth, the Responsibilities of the Board of Directors : The most important principle of OECD framework is the responsibility of the Board of Directors and the executives to all its shareholders, clients and overall company. The success and excellence of any corporate house, according to the OECD framework depend on these principles of responsibility and accountability. It notes, “The Board members should act on a fully informed basis, in good faith, with due diligence and care, and in the best interest of the company and the shareholders.” (OECD, 2004:24).

8.8.3 Major Components of Corporate Governance: Leadership, Accountability, Boardroom Appraisal, Transparency, Developing the Board, Code of Ethics

Leadership

Leadership is the fundamental criteria in any endeavour dealing with people, workers, employees and team-mates. It is the inherent quality of authority that leads an enterprise or any joint endeavour to the desired goal. In corporate governance leadership is always regarded as the most important precondition upon which the reputation, quality of services, image and most importantly, the success of the corporation depends. Good leadership includes – an anticipatory vision, deep introspection, realization of all probable situations, capable of foreseeing socio-psychological factors of the employees – shareholders and stakeholders and tolerance.

Accountability

Accountability is one of the central ideals in the new paradigm of public administration since 1990s. It is the crux of good governance. Accountability, as professor Mohit Bhattacharyya states is the “answerability for one’s action or behaviour” (Bhattacharyya, 2013:264). In the study of corporate governance accountability has two basic components– answerability and consequences. While answerability refers to the sense of responsibility and duty of public officials to justify one’s conduct; the consequences denotes the predictable meaningful outcomes that appear from that conduct (Chakraborty and Chand, 2012: 169 – 70).

Boardroom Appraisal:

Boardroom appraisal is one of the significant components of good corporate governance. It

provides an opportunity to assess the functions of the board, the CEO and high profile executives in a periodical interval. This boardroom appraisal, in other words works as a monitor to assess the function of all with a parameter to measure how far the actions or performances have been complying with the model code of governance; and therefore, it facilitates an opportunity to understand the causes and lacunas of any failure. Doing so it can make the CEO, the Director or any official to be able to perform better in future for the sake of enterprise as well as all stakeholders (Chakraborty and Chand, 2012: 170). By means of boardroom appraisal the Director in any corporate house gets a chance to introspect their actions individually as well as whole. It is one form of self-evaluation system that gives the opportunity to learn from failure.

Transparency:

Transparency is the basic parameter and inalienable part of good governance. In corporate governance the ideal of transparency has always been treated as the foremost precondition. The OECD principles of Corporate Governance ascribed enormous importance over the ideal of transparency in private enterprises. Transparency means fair, timely and cost effective flow of so that, everyone can access such information at one go. Transparency, as an ideal also includes the process of independent audit and disclosure of all materials that matter. Starting from Cadbury Report (1992) all endeavours to the study of corporate governance have assigned paramount importance over the ideal of transparency so far. The World Bank has also conducted a good number of empirical studies on the practice of good corporate governance between 2002 and 2003. These studies had been conducted on corporate governance practices in more than 40 countries including more than 20 developing economics on the basis of OECD guidelines as template. (McGee, 2009:43)

Developing the Boards:

The Board of management is the primary component of corporate governance. It is of crucial importance as the Boards are the main sources of leadership and strength of enterprise (Medury, 2003: 240). The development of the Board members is important because of the multifarious, illustrious and complex functions of the Board and therefore, it is important for the Director and Board members to possess deep knowledge, experience and orientation for the betterment of the enterprise.

Code of Ethics:

Ethics, broadly the moral ground is the most crucial component of corporate governance. Ethics in

corporate Governance became significant in the wake of various scandals, unethical activities and bankruptcies of various gigantic corporate houses during late 1980s and early 1990s, which followed by various formal initiatives like Cadbury Report (1992) in the wake of Maxwell Scandal, and many in Britain, Sarbanes – Oxley in USA in the wake of various scandals like Enron, Worldcom, Adophia, Tyen and so on, which, only in the preceding two years lost billions of dollars and become bankrupt (Duplesis and Low, 2011:5). It was in that economic context which made the world think of bringing about formal initiatives to restore the public confidence which had been eroded due to these massive scandals and fraudulent activities of enterprises that got exposed. But the question that can be posed here is – can ethical activities be ensured through legislation?

To sum up, it may be argued that business ethics is a set of professional standards which includes principles of transparency, committed, fairness, integrity broadmindedness, moral flexibilities, accountability and importance towards human esteem and self-respect. But the problem is lying in the rival relationship between business profit, interest and ethical activities in any corporation, which led to the introduction of corporate governance since 1990s. ethics in business refers to a code of standard comprising of fairness, integrity, commitment of agreements and accountability to the stakeholders.

8.9 Self-Assessment Questions

- a) What do you mean by Governance? Discuss the major features of Good Governance.
- b) What is meant by Gender-Governance? Elaborate its major components and parameters.
- c) Discuss the meaning, context of origin and the key principles of Green Governance.
- d) What is e-governance? Discuss its major features.
- e) Define e-governance. Discuss its stages of Development and types of interactions.
- f) What is Corporate Governance? What are the major components of Corporate Governance?
- g) Write if short note of the OECD Principles related to corporate governance.

8.10 Suggested Readings

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- p) World Bank, 1992. *World Development Report*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- q) Yoshimori, M. (2008), "The Japanese National system of Corporate Governance" in Naciri, A. edited *Corporate Governance Around the World*, , New York: Routledge