

ADMINISTRATIVE THINKERS

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

The Course on **Administrative Thinkers** familiarises you with all the viewpoints of thinkers and administrators on the working of organisations, as well as their impact on workers and environment. It analyses the perspectives of Early Thinkers and Philosophers like Kautilya, Mahatma Gandhi and Woodrow Wilson before discussing the Classical, Behavioural, Systems, Socio-psychological, Policy and Management thinkers. Under the **Indian Thinkers**, that is Block 1, the discussion on administrative system of 'Arthashastra' by Kautilya is the highlight of the Course, as very few Courses on Administrative Theory bring forth the views of Kautilya in such detail. Kautilya visualised the importance of the values and attitudes, merits and qualities of the people engaged in the organisational tasks. His focus on the principles of probity, integrity and honesty holds relevance even today. Gandhi's Theories of Swaraj and Trusteeship are also discussed in Unit 2 of Block 1. Experiments such as Panchayati Raj and Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Movement that empirically tested Gandhi's ideologies are described.

Block 2 on **Classical Thinkers** has five units. It explains the relevance of Wilson's Politics-administration Dichotomy in Unit 3. The unit lays focus on Wilson's views of administrative questions being different from political questions, and the need for curbing the tendencies of politicisation of public administration and bureaucratisation of politics. Unit 4 in the Block discusses Taylor's methodology of Time and Motion Study, Shop Floor Management, Differential Piece Rate System, Soldiering, Functional Foremanship, and Mental Revolution in standardising the working of organisations. Unit 5 is on Henri Fayol, which examines his Theory that is largely based on the principle of Unity of Command, Rational Design and managerial empowerment. The Unit describes the *fourteen* principles of Fayol, which are meant to be used in planning and developing organisational structures and processes.

Unit 6 tiled 'MaxWeber' explains the bureaucratic model of Weber. By categorising authority into traditional, charismatic and legal-rational, Weber formulated certain characteristic features of bureaucracy such as formalised, rules and regulations, which till date hold relevance. Unit 7 in Block 2 is on 'Mary Parker Follet'. It introduces you to some of the major contributions made by Mary Parker Follet in the field of organisation and management. In particular, her concepts of Conflict Resolution, Orders, Power, Authority and Control, Planning and Coordination, and Leadership are dealt with.

Unit 8 on 'Elton Mayo' in Block 3, which is titled **Behavioural and Systems Thinkers** brings forth the outcome of Mayo's studies that mark the emergence of an important management style contributing to industrial productivity. The Unit deals with the features of interpersonal skills and humanistic approach to organisations by elucidating his Hawthorne Experiments of Great Illumination, Relay Assembly, Interviewing Programme and Bank Wiring. 'Chester Barnard' is Unit 9 of the Block. Chester Barnard has made phenomenal contribution towards recognising organisation as a social system and using Systems Approach in analysing it. The Unit explains Barnard's concepts of Fiction of Authority, Zone of Indifference, Cooperation and Contribution-Satisfaction Equilibrium. Unit 10 is on 'Herbert A. Simon', who is considered as the major proponent of Behavioural Approach. The Unit explains Simon's views on 'Administrative Behaviour', 'Bounded Rationality', 'Satisficing Behaviour', 'Role of Intelligence, Design and Choice Activities'.

Block 4 is on **Socio-psychological Thinkers**. It examines the contributions of Abraham Maslow, Rensis Likert, Fredrick Herzberg and Chris Argyris. These theorists have made a significant impact on the way Motivation is looked at in the organisations. In



Unit 11, Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory is examined. His progression of needs from physiological, social, security, esteem to self-actualisation is analysed. 'Rensis Likert' is Unit 12. It explains the role of organisational actors, their interactions with each other and their influence on overall workplace practices. Likert's concepts of Likert Scale and System 5 are examined in this Unit. 'Fredrick Herzberg' is Unit 13. It deals with the importance that Herzberg attached to individuals' preferences and desires in an organisation. The Unit describes his Two-Factor Theory of 'Hygiene' and 'Motivators', which improvised on the already available basket of motivators linked with human needs at different individual and organisational levels. Unit 14 is titled 'Chris Argyris'. This Unit examines Argyris' concepts of Immaturity-Maturity, Improving Interpersonal Competence, Alternative Organisational Structures, T-Group and Organisational Learning.

Block 5 on Management and Public Policy Thinkers brings to light the developments in the areas of New Public Administration, Management by Objectives, Learning Organisations and Policy Sciences. Unit 15 of the Block brings forth Waldo's call for developing a theory of development administration, his focus on the conflict between bureaucracy and democracy, and value-laden public administration that is change-oriented, goal-oriented and ethical bear resonance even today. Unit 16 examines Peter Drucker's writings that have predicted many of the major developments of the late twentieth century, including privatisation and decentralisation, the decisive importance of marketing; and the emergence of the Information Society. His concepts of Management by Objectives, S.M.A.R.T Management, Restructuring Government, Delegation are elucidated. Unit 17 is the last Unit of the Block that deals with Yehezkel Dror's adoption of best policy by a judicious evaluation of goals, values, alternatives, costs, benefits based on maximum use of available information and scientific technology. Dror's use of Policy Analysis, Behavioural Science and Systems Approach and his multi-disciplinary approach to Policy Sciences is also discussed.



BLOCK 1 INDIAN THINKERS



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UNIT 1 KAUTILYA*

Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 About Kautilya and Arthashastra
- 1.3 Principles of Public Administration
- 1.4 Organisation and Structure of Administrative Machinery
- 1.5 Personnel Administration
- 1.6 Financial Administration
- 1.7 Conclusion
- 1.8 Glossary
- 1.9 References
- 1.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

1.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain Kautilya's ideas on the principles of administration;
- Examine the structure and pattern of government machinery in Kautilya's time;
- Discuss the views of Kautilya on the aspects of financial and personnel administration; and
- Bring out the relevance of Kautilya to the present day study of public administration.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Arthashastra is the oldest treatise on the composite governmental affairs. The Book has been described as a masterpiece, which covers a wide range of topics like Statecraft and the issues of public administration encompassing politics, economics, and administration. The principles of governance and Statecraft evolved and established in Arthashastra were followed by various rulers of India like Ashoka and Shivaji. The greatness of Kautilya, as has been observed by many scholars, is that he made the principles contained in his Arthashastra so applicable that even today they find pertinence and utility. This Unit will focus on Kautilya's key principles of administration and examine their relevance in the contemporary context.

1.2 ABOUT KAUTILYA AND ARTHASHASTRA

Kautilya also known as Chanakya as well as Vishnugupta, has attracted the attention of a number of scholars from political science, economics, management, public administration, psychology, defense studies and strategic sciences. He is known for his seminal work called the *Arthashastra*. He had written this great thesis at a time when Monarchy was the form of government and Kings were expected not only to defend

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

their territories, but also pursue the expansion of the boundaries by way of waging wars and winning wars. In the process of his analyses of the State and its machinery, Kautilya focused on several dimensions of running a State/government. He favoured the idea of a strong State, which could be possible only if the ruler or the King, was strong. For this to happen, he prescribed a number of prerequisites – physical, social, political, cultural, moral and administrative.

But before discussing *Arthashastra* in detail, it would be in order to at least know about some of the debates and controversies related to Kautilya. There are *two* main contentions about him and his work. One relates to the age and the other to the authorship. To put it differently, the debate refers to the originality of the work and whether it reflected the real system of government and administration of the time it was assigned to. Many historians have varied opinions about whether *Arthashastra* was actually written by Kautilya or he merely compiled the Book. However, the purview of this Unit does not allow us to go into this debate over here. The main focus of this Unit is to majorly familiarise you with what *Arthashastra* stood for. As far as the composition of the Arthashastra is concerned, it contains nearly 6000 *sutras* that are divided into 15 Books, 150 Chapters and 180 Sections. If one attempts a serialisation of the 15 Books, it can be put in the following order:

- Book 1 is on the fundamentals of governance and management, while economics forms part of Book 2 followed by Books 4 and 5 on law and Books 6, 7 and 8 deal with the subject of foreign policy.
- Defence, war and warfare form part of discussion in Books 9-14 and Book 15 is on the methodology and devices used in writing the Book.

As stated earlier, there are varying opinions regarding the originality of the Book, i.e., whether Kautilya was the first to write the Book. Though a common agreement still eludes, it can be concluded that Kautilya never claimed that no one had written on the subject earlier to him. Kautilya himself refers to a number of other writers including *Bhardwaj*, *Visalaksa Parasara*, *Manu* and *Kaunapadanta*, but it does not mean that he did not make any original contribution to the field of governance, management and Statecraft. We can deduce that Kautilya wrote a *Magnum Opus*, by the way of *Arthshastra* and let us now discuss the principles and concepts explained by him.

1.3 PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

It would be pertinent to point out right in the beginning that Kautilya did not discuss any principles of administration separately in any of his Books forming part of *Arthashastra*. Therefore, the discussion relating to the principles would be confined to those that are inferred from his work. It is well-known that the classical thinkers are credited with finding the science of public administration that was based on certain universally applicable principles. For instance, Luther Gulick and Lyndal. Urwick insisted that economy and efficiency could be achieved only when an organisation is guided by some prescribed or pre-determined norms and standards of functioning. There is a famous list of *fourteen* principles attached with the name of Gulick and *seven* principles with Urwick. This Unit considers some of them in some detail in order to understand the principles given by Kautilya:

• Division of Work

Division of work or what is known as division of labour is one of the principles that has a bearing on the efficiency and effectiveness of an organisation. Kautilya also divides the work into several departments denoting the importance of assigning different roles

Kautilya

to different persons according to their specialisation and knowledge, so as to enable him to perform his task in a prudent and profitable way. The structure of governmental machinery shows that Kautilya divided the work into 34 departments and each was headed by a designated officer.

• Hierarchy

The administrative structure in *Arthashastra* depicts a bureaucratic type of administration that is hierarchical in character. On the apex of the organisational pyramid was the King who was the repository of all authority. The subordinate levels were manned by the officers known as *Mahamatya*, *Amatyas*, *Adhyakshas* or superintendents. However, the system of hierarchy within the subordinates has not been very clearly discussed or mentioned in the Book. For example, the superior-subordinate relationship between the *Mahamatya* and the *Senapati* or the *Ashwadhyaksha* are not established explicitly. Yet, it needs to be underscored that the promotion within the hierarchy was guided by merit and suitability for the positions.

• Unity of Command

All the employees of the empire were to seek orders only from one authority, the King. There was no confusion at any level of the government that the King alone had the power to issue orders to the subordinates working in any department or in any position. Whether communication of such an order was direct only or through other officer is also not established in a clear language. For instance, the question whether the king used to be in direct conversation with the head of the department of elephants or was communicating through the *Senapati* or the *Mahamatya* has not been addressed by Kautilya.

Centralisation

Factually speaking, all powers — legislative, executive and judicial — were vested in the office of the King. Centralisation was indeed the organising principle of administration. However, for the purpose of smooth execution of the policies and decisions framed at the centre, the administration was also organised under close supervision of the centre at the grassroots. The empire was administratively divided into provinces, and provincial administration was divided into the district and village and municipal administration. *Pradeshtha* was the head of the provincial administration whereas *Sthanika* headed the *Sthaniya* (District) and *Nagar* (City) administration was looked after by *Nagarika* assisted by a number of *Gopas*. The rural administration was under the charge of an employee known as *Gopa*.

For Kautilya, centralisation of power and decision-making was imperative for the reason of safety, security and prosperity of the empire and for administrative loyalty to the King. Promotion of agriculture, collection and maintenance of data, promotion of manufacture and mining and building of marketplaces also led to the acceptance of the concentration of authority. Kautilya attached significant value to stability and order, social well-being and material prosperity which, in his opinion could be achieved through a centralised system of governance.

The King had to arrive at a correct decision appropriate to a situation prevailing at the lower echelons of government like the province or the district while sitting at a distance in a huge empire. This was possible through participatory rule-making by the King. Two steps were part of the process of decision making. *One*, the King was supposed to consult the officials like the council of ministers before reaching a conclusion and *two*, the King was to have inputs from below, i.e., information relating to the matter

under his consideration for disposal. This arrangement existed in order to have a realistic understanding of the issue to be decided.

• Authority and Accountability

Authority and responsibility go hand in hand. That seems to be the reason why the King is not only vested with all powers of the State, he is also made responsible for the progress and happiness of the subjects. He is supposed to pursue the goal with appropriate use of authority. Kautilya believed in a system of authority and prescribed a number of punishments for a number of offences on the part of the people as well as of government servants.

The fact that the public official should be answerable to the law as well as to the institution they belong to has been emphasised by all administrative thinkers and practitioners alike. However, responsibility for an officer's work or actions is not to be seen merely in a legal framework, it has to be judged in a perspective of professional conduct and ethics including the extent to which an employee's action or behaviour promotes or hinders the values of justice, equity and morality in and among the subjects.

Keeping this aspect of accountability in mind, one finds that Kautilya attached great importance to the legal, moral and ethical dimensions of administrative role dispensation. He clearly laid down the methods and procedures of performing one's duties beginning from the king to the other heads of departments. In his view, the work performance should be judged on the basis of whether the officials employed the just process of discharging their work, while aiming at achieving the results and meeting the ends determined at the highest level.

The King and his subordinates must clearly postulate the costs and benefits of a policy before acting upon it, said Kautilya. The King must exercise the ultimate control over the officers of the State so that every one of them discharges his duties diligently, efficiently and effectively. For that to happen, he prescribes a system of spies and watchdogs. For those engaged in administration of financial matters, for example, a system of accounting and auditing was in place to subject them to close scrutiny. Accountability in administration, one further observes, was to be enforced at all levels from top to the bottom. It was the duty of the King to punish the people for violation of the orders of the State or for non-observance of the commands issued by the King. The punishment was varied from imposition of fine, removal from service or any other punitive action as the nature of offence committed by the official required.

However, it was incumbent on the King that the punishment should be just and fair, that is, it should be in proportion to the quantum and character of the offence, neither more nor less. It should neither be harsh nor mild, as a King with a mild rod is despised; the King just with the rod is honoured. It implies that the King was also not spared of his reasonability to exercise his authority judiciously without giving any space to his whims and fancies. The King was to observe the canons of *Dharma*, while discharging his role. If he failed in his duties as the guardian of right conduct or any of his actions were not in sync with the norms of dharma, the people had a right to question the King.

Therefore, only a just King could conquer the whole world. Book 4 on the removal of thorns provides a list of some other officials who were to be held accountable for any administrative lapses including misbehaviour, concealing offences of merchants, failure to ensure safety of travelers on roads between settlements, permitting protected spies to be trapped, injured or killed etc. Thus, one can conclude that there was adequate arrangement to enforce accountability in administration from the higher to the lower level personnel engaged in the performance of the defined and allocated roles pertaining

Kautilya

to their office. The Head of the department was held responsible not only for being negligent, irregular and none or low performance but also for the contravention of rules and regulations.

Precedence of Organisational Interests over Individual

One of the principles of administration finding place in the list of 14 principles enunciated by Fayol is that organisation is above the individual or to put it differently, organisational interests subsume sectarian interests too. For Kautilya, the interests of the King were to keep above every other interests. Loyalty to the King and the kingdom was the first and the last condition for anyone to enter and remain under the service of the State. King in the *Arthashastra* represents the organisation, the State and not the person. Hence, inference says that every individual is to be the upholder of the State's interests while keeping the personal interests in the background.

• Discipline

This is the prerequisite for any organisation, State being no exception, to work with a sense of unity of goals if it has to be successful. *Arthashastra* attaches great importance when it refers to the need for strict observance and compliance to the orders and rules issued and enacted by the King. Any laxity on the part of any employee on that point was to invite punishment.

• Coordination

The principle of coordination involves efforts to integrate the efforts of all departments and groups in order to establish harmonious and integral working of the governmental machinery. Though it is clear from the Book that this principle also is only implicit in the organisation and functions of administration, the emphasis on it is evident from the statement that chariot can be pulled only with two wheels, not one. So, it is not only the duty of the King to act as the chief coordinator, but it seems imperative for each Head of the Department or Section to command and coordinate the functioning of his subordinates.

• Direction

Directing is taken as an important activity in management and administration. Directing involves a number of attributes to have effective performance from the employees. Directing is a multi-task concept that includes the matters pertaining to leadership, motivation, supervision and communication. Kautilya recognised the relevance of good and effective leadership for the smooth running of the government. Direction, among other things, involves complete engrossment of the leader in the work of the organisation and the working of the employees.

Leadership

The execution of the direction too is quite often dependent on the qualities of the leader who issues directions. This becomes evident when one notes the traits which Kautilya ascribed to a good leader. Kautilya believed in 'like King, like citizenry'. A good leader is one who keeps the interests of the people and the kingdom above personal interests. This explains vividly the relationship that should exist between a leader and his followers. Referring to the qualities of a transformational leader Kautilya says, "An ideal King is one who behaves like a sage monarch (*Rajrishi*), who is ever active in promoting the *Yogakshama* of the people and who endears himself to the people by enriching them". The word *Yogakshema*, according to Hindu belief, is a combination of *Yoga* (successful accomplishment of an objective) and *Kshema* (peaceful enjoyment of prosperity). An

effective leader brings to his subjects and to him material gain, spiritual good and pleasures (Jain and Mukherji, 2009).

• Supervision and Control

This principle has been a part of the theory of administration developed by many Classical thinkers. Kautilya was not oblivious of the importance of supervision and control in an organisation.

• Value-based Administration

Kautila brought in the concept of value-based management and administration, when he identified a number of values in a leader (administrator) and observed that in order to achieve the primary goal of the organisation, a leader should be virtuous, truthful and free from vices. He should also invoke reliability, gratefulness, liberality, promptness, and long-term vision, with the advice of the elders.

| Ch | Check Your Progress 1 | | |
|----------|-----------------------|---|--|
| Note: i) | | Use the space given below for your answer. | |
| | ii) | Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit. | |
| 1) | | rate some of the main principles of public administration as implicit in shastra. | |
| | | | |

1.4 ORGANISATION AND STRUCTURE OF ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

This aspect of administration and governance receives the closest attention in the work produced by Kautilya. For the purpose of governance, Kautilyan State was a centralised system of government, but for the purpose of administration, it could be termed as a decentralised one. So, in the *Arthashastra*, one finds that the government was organised at three levels: the centre, the *pradesh* and the *sthaniya* (local).

• The Institution of the King

As has been observed in the introductory part of the Unit, the centre was the epicenter of authority and the government was constituted in the form of a pyramid at the apex of that was the King. All powers of the state-legislative, executive and judicial – were vested in him. One can see the operation of a unitary monarchical system of government in existence. King was the source of law; he was responsible for the execution of the decisions in letter and spirit and he was the ultimate source of justice.

However, he was not an unrestrained power. His role and the methods of discharging that role were clearly defined along with the provision of punishment, which he was supposed to undergo in case he was found wanting in being just and fair in the use of his authority. He has to use the rod/danda/punishment for purpose of spiritual good, material well-being and pleasures of his subjects and for him. If he fails to perform his duties as

Kautilya

per prescription, he is bound to invite peoples' wrath and even rebellion. Clarity of communication and content in the laws, policies or order and edicts vis-à-vis his officers was necessary for their timely and responsive compliance.

There was to be no ambiguity in either the decision or the communication language thereof. A King to be effective and successful must be free from greed, arrogance, anger, lust, conceit and foolhardiness and avoiding overindulgence in all pleasures of senses (Rangarajan, 1992). Besides being self-disciplined, a wise King shall seek knowledge continuously in all branches of knowledge and avoid extravagance, capriciousness, day-dreaming, falsehood, and in all, should not cross the boundaries of good conduct.

As far as the functions and duties of the King are concerned, he had a time schedule within which the listed duties were to be performed. Within a defined time span of one and a half hours during the day and night, he was supposed to discharge what may be termed as routine administrative functions like receiving reports on defence, revenue and expenditure, hearing petitions of people, receive revenues and tributes writing and dispatching letters, receiving secret information from spies, spending time in personal recreation and contemplation and confer with councellors etc.

Even time for his personal use was a part of the schedule. His top-most functional duty however, was to work for and ensure the well-being of his subjects by being ever active in managing economy and following productive economic endeavour to guarantee continuing prosperity and future economic growth (*Ibid.*). This is the only function that should make a King happy. Besides the chief executive (The King), one also finds a mention of a number of officers occupying higher position under the kingdom such as the Purohit and the chief priest, the *Mahamatya*, the *Senapati* and *Amatyas* and *adhyakshas*. Whether these officers were tied in the hierarchically ordered system or it was a flat organisation based on horizontal relationship with the king is not very clear in *Arthashastra*. One thing that is unambiguously established is that all officers in higher positions were accountable to the King in individual as well as collective capacity. They were under the direct control of the King.

Bases of Organisation / Department

Another important aspect of the administrative system worth attention of a student of public administration is that the bases of organisation of work during Mauryan times resemble some of the principles of organisation in the modern age. It can be inferred from various chapters of Arthashastra that the organisation of departments was according to people, purpose and process. Department of prostitutes, the department of defence, revenue and agriculture and departments of elephants, horses, jails, jewels and mints among others can be cited as indicative of these bases. Kautilya provides a detailed account of the departments in his Second book which is the lengthiest of all other Books.

The Book mentions 34 *Adhyakshas* each heading one department or unit within a department. These Heads were: *Nagavanadhyaksha; Koshadhyksha; Akaradhyaksha; Lohadhyaksha; Lakshanadhyaksha; Khanadhyaksha*, apart from the *adhyaksha* of the departments of Salt, Metals and Jewellery, Warehouses, State Trading, Forest Produce, Ordnance, Weights and Measures, Surveyor and Timekeeper, Customs and Octroi, Textiles, Crown Lands, Alcoholic Beverages, Animal Protection and Animal Slaughter, Entertainment, Shipping, Ports and Harbours, Crown Herds, Cavalry, Elephant Corps, Chariot Corps, Infantry, Passport, Pasture lands, Gambling, Private Trade, Jails and Temples.

When one examines this division of work a little closely, it would appear that some of the departments were in fact the divisions of a department. For example, The *Adhyaksha* or the chief superintendent of Textiles, Mining and Metallurgy, Mines and Metals, Mint and Salt, Coins, Precious Metals and Jewellery etc.; can be easily taken as a part of the department of Industries.

Likewise, the activities falling into State Trading, Private Trade, Weights and Measures, Customs and Octroi, and Chief Surveyor and Timekeeper can be put under the Department of Trade while Shipping, Ports and harbours and ferries can be taken as constituents of the Department of Shipping or the Department of Agriculture could be taken as a combination of divisions like Crown Lands, Productive Forests, Crown Herds, Protector of Animals and Controller of Animal Slaughter. Another inference that can be drawn from this description is that the departments were organised in a more or less hierarchical order. Another important aspect to be noted here is that the Book 2 does not merely describe the duties of the functional heads in details, but also prescribes the qualifications for each Job holder apart from the punishments for the violation or non-observance of the rules and regulations by the Head of the department are extensively given.

The Department of Treasury and Revenue Administration received a special treatment at the hands of Kautilya as he was of the firm view that the strength of the State and of the King lies in the strength of the Treasury. The Head of the Treasury was the Treasurer-General known as *Samnidhatra* assisted by the chief Superintendent of the Treasury and the Chief Superintendent of the Warehouses. The qualifications and the responsibilities of these officials have been clearly mentioned in different chapters of the Book 2.

The functional division of work implies that the heads of these departments were chosen on the basis of the special knowledge in the subject they were supposed to deal with. However, a student faces a state of ambiguity when he notes that Kautilya did not favour permanent stay of an officer in one position or place. Implication is that officers must keep on changing posts/roles. If that was so, the principle of special knowledge in the area of management becomes redundant and one can easily conclude that organisation was working on the principle of generalist administration. As well, it could be the situation to avoid possibility of lethargy, routineness, corruption, inefficiency and indifference overtaking the department.

Other Officials: Besides the above named departments and officials, Arthashastra also refers to a number of other officials with a specific responsibility to perform. For example, the temple and holy places management is to be looked after by the Chief Superintendent of the temples and holy places; the superintendent of Jails or Bandhanagaradhyaksha was entrusted with the task of supervising and controlling activities relating to Lock-ups and Prisons; Adhipala or Protector of Deposits incharge of looking after unclaimed pledges and deposits.

Administration at the Local Level

However, the administrative units were also set up at the local level for the purpose of administrative convenience. The Municipal administration was headed by the chief administrator known as *Nagrika* and was assisted by a number of *Gopas* in charge of each of the wards into which the city was divided. The task of the *Nagrika* was to ensure security and safety of the people and property, regulate the places of entertainment and prostitution, the lodges run by the private individuals and the charities, regulation of movements of the people, especially the strangers, the matters pertaining to weights

and measures, provision of civic services and construction of infrastructure, roads and transport, regulation of city trade and business and implementation of everything that came as orders or as instructions from above.

The rural administration was divided into *Sthaniya*, equivalent to modern day district, headed by the official of the name of *Sthanika*. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order besides having a close supervision over the local level treasury and collection of revenue. The management of pasture lands and security was the responsibility of Chief Controller of Pasture lands. There were a number of Gopas for the smooth handling of the administration of a group of 5-10 villages. Mention has also been made about four more servants at the village level as *Gramakutam*, *Gramaswamy*, *Gramika* and *Gramabhritaka*.

Another institution that played a significant role in the rural areas was the *Gramavriddhah* (the village elders) who were treated as the trustees of the temple property and the minor's property, helping resolve boundary disputes between villages, acted as judges in disputes pertaining to fields besides being witnesses to the sale and purchase of property. *Gramika* was the village Headman performing the tasks of constructing boundaries of the village; make proper arrangements for regulating cattle grazing; collection of revenue for the village for the charges levied on grazing in common land, prescribed fines and the fines levied by the State.

| Check Your Progress 2 | | |
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| Note: i) | Use the space given below for your answer. | |
| ii) | Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit. | |
| | ass the organisation and structure of administrative machinery at the centre scribed in the <i>Arthashastra</i> . | |
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1.5 PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

'A good administration is characterised by the quality of persons who run' it, this is the old saying. The ancient administration as depicted by *Arthashastra* was no exception to this in so far as the details about the public servants in *Arthashastra* are concerned. Kautilya underlines the fact that the State achieves its socio-economic and political aims through the people engaged in the task of administration of decisions, policies and projects. The personnel administration was also important because the scope of the activities of state was wide and varied, which in turn implied the wide and varied scope of public administration.

State was the major source of public employment, besides the fact that the State was basically a Welfare State, wherein the smaller fish had as much right to live as the bigger fish and wherein the subjects were to be treated by the King as his children. It was the responsibility of the State machinery to maintain the orphans, the destitutes, the helpless and the aged. The State policy was to take account of the duty of the State toward the protection of the society, maintenance of law and order, security and safety of the

territories and promotion of the well-being of the citizens. But it is also true that Kautilya does not cover each and every aspect of personnel administration in the modern sense of the term. It is clear from reading the Book 5 that he was conscious of the importance of the methods of selection as well as the improvement of the employee-capacities.

The *two* basic qualities to be discerned in a public employment seeker were the loyalty and commitment to the King and the kingdom that overshadowed any other qualification. In other words, Kautilya was focusing on three types of qualifications in an applicant to be recruited under the State, viz., moral/ethical, technical or professional and loyalty to the ruler and the country. He should be free from *Kaam, Kroadh, Maya* and *Loabh*. Freedom from greed and allurement is a precondition as only such officer would be able to serve the interests of the ruled and of the ruler in the most effective and satisfactory way. The safety and security of the State and of the people is linked with the high moral and ethical character of the employees of the state. For this to happen, Kautilya prescribes a number of tests of the scale of *Kaam, Kroadh, Mada* and *Loabh*.

Some of these tests, though, were termed as utopian. Another point to be noted here is that officers of the higher ranks only got the attention of Kautilya, the lower level employees seem to have bypassed his eyes or he might have thought that everything in administration is dependent on the quality and capability of the persons sitting at the top. The followers, i.e., the subordinates would generally copy the behaviour of their boss/master. To some extent this seems to be a case even in modern times as the performance of an organisation is more often than not is linked with the type of the organisational leadership significantly. Out of the elements of personnel administration, the following have found a detailed description:

Recruitment, Promotion and Transfer

Recruitment is a process to find and select the best or to weed out the incompetent, sometimes referred derogatively as 'rascals', for the performance of the defined administrative tasks/functions. There was of course no open recruitment system nor an independent recruitment agency as one finds today, yet the King was responsible for the selection of the higher level officials himself. The source of recruitment is not very clearly mentioned or identified. The inference could be that it was some sort of a closed model of recruitment. Secondly, the requisite qualifications for different functional responsibilities were generally defined on the basis of which a person could find entry or could be either rejected or given a low level task. Even the King was supposed to fulfill a number of eligibility conditions to become the King. So was the case in relation to the Prince or the priest or other heads of the departments mentioned earlier.

The civil servants were subject to a number of tests before being placed in any post or office. There comes a reference, for example of the tests such as *Dharmopadha*, *Arthopadha*, *Bhayopadha* and *Kanopadha* for testing the qualities of the applicants on the scale of freedom from greed, fear, in addition to purity on morals, ethics, integrity and commitment. Those who passed the *Dharmopadha* test were to be placed as *Dharmasthiya* and *Kantakshodhak*, whereas the candidates passing the test of freedom from allurements should be appointed as *adhyakshas* of the Department of Revenue and Warehouse. Persons with proven character should be placed in charge of the Department for Women and King's Harem. The post of Prime Minister should go to persons having stood all the tests of character and freedom from all allurements. Moreover, Kautilya seems to have recognised the importance of not only the knowledge of the subject or only technical qualifications, but also the importance of practical experience. This comes closer to the present day practice of laying down eligibility conditions for a number of posts under the State (Shamasastry, 1967).

The list of the eligibilities of *Amatyas* for selection included the following:

- He should be a citizen of the country.
- He should be from a high family and should be influential.
- He should be well- trained in Arts.
- He should possess foresight, boldness, wisdom, intelligence, enthusiasm and energy, strong memory, purity of character, dignity and endurance, affability, strength, health and bravery.
- He should be skillful, eloquent, firm in loyal devotion, endowed with excellent conduct.
- He should be free from fickle mindedness, procrastination and from such qualities that excite hatred and enmity (*Ibid.*).

Promotion and transfer of the officers were totally the discretion of the King. He was to decide on the basis of performance evaluation decided by following observation method, and the feedback. One does not find a detailed discussion on the transfers of the civil servants except when he says that Heads of Departments shall not remain permanently in one job and shall be rotated frequently. Some of the employees were not subject to transfer at all—Guards of royal buildings, forts and country parts, while others could be transferred only as a precaution or remedy against corruption.

Pay and Salaries

When it comes to the issue of salaries and pay, one finds that the officers were getting fixed amount as salary/pay, which could be raised or reduced at the discretion of the King depending on the achievement or failure of the official to achieve the desired goal/s of the state. Moreover, there was no pay-scale or assured increments as is the case today. The discussion in the *Arthashastra* shows that the grade of pay differed from 48000 *panas* to the lowest of 60 *panas*. The *Mahamatya* (Prime Minister), the *Purohit*, the *Senapati*, the *Yuvaraj*, *Acharaya*, the *Ritwik*(Sacrificial priest), the Queen and the Rajmata were entirled to the salary of 48000 *panas*, whereas the *Dauvarika*, *Antarvamsika*, *Prasastra*, *Samaharta* and *Samnidhata* were in the category of 24000 *panas*.

These grades go upto 12 in number; the lowest being of the personal attendents and musical staff etc. who were given a salary of 60 panas. It comes out that the salaries were commensurate with the post/position, experience and merit or knowledge. The total salary of public servants was determined on the basis of the principles of:

- 1) The capacity to pay to the countryside and the city.
- 2) It shall not be more than one fourth of revenues of the State.
- 3) The salary should be enough to meet the bodily needs of the employees and shall not be in contradiction to the principles of *Dharma* and *Artha*.
- 4) Salary should be fixed in such a manner that right people with right merit are attracted so as to attain the objectives of the State.
- 5) The salary could be paid either in cash or in kind or both depending on the adequacy of cash available with the Treasury (Rangarajan, *op.cit.*).

Similarly, one does not come across a clear statement about the system of pension or retirement benefits on the lines an employee is entitled for today. Even so, the dependents

of the State servants dying in the service of the State were entitled to the care of the State. On occasions such as funerals, births or illness, the families of the deceased government servant shall be given presents of money and respect. The inference is that, though no explicit scheme of old age pension existed at that time, the employee's family was the responsibility of the State after the death of the public servant on duty. The second inference is that the service under the State was a lifetime.

Training of Civil Servants

Training of the highest level officers of the government attracted Kautilya's mind the most, as this was the only issue that was given explicit and exclusive in depth treatment by the author of *Arthashastra*. His ideas on the need and importance of training can be properly traced and understood through Book 1, on the topic of 'Training' containing 500 *sutras*, 21 chapters and 18 sections. He deals with several aspects relating to training of the officials like the selection of the right persons with right aptitudes and the contents to be transferred or remitted to them.

In a way he emphasised on the training only of the trainable, that is, training should be open not for everyone, but to those who are willing to improve and reform their thought and actionable capacities and capabilities. Therefore, *Arthashastra* maintains that such candidates only should be chosen for training, who had the desire to learn and were endowed with the qualities of a good listener apart from the qualities of retention, reflection, understanding, rejection of the wrong or the false and intentness on truth and not on any other person. The focus on the desire to learn underlined the quality of inquisitiveness and motivation to add to his previous knowledge and expertise.

It would be pertinent to note here that Kautilya was not for the training in theory alone; he was interested in imparting practical training as well. Kautilya seems to have emphasised purposive training in the sense of inculcating discipline among the civil servants. In other words training was considered by him as a fit instrument to promote discipline in an organisation. Even in the modern management era, it cannot be denied that training will produce the desired results if the candidates for training are chosen cautiously with a view to bring about a change in the psychological, professional, and cultural personality of the chosen ones. The organisational efficiency and culture would only then be affected and productivity will improve. Kautilyan principles of training are relevant in the present context of administrative development for making a difference to the wellbeing of the people/subjects. Strangely, the training needs of the lower level employees did not receive much attention in *Arthashastra*; it was mainly concerning the prince, the King, and the other high officials.

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| Note: i) | Use the space given below for your answers. |
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| 1) Discu | ss the views of Kautilya on recruitment of civil servants under the State. |
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| 2) | Explain the ideas of Kautilya on training of the civil servants. |
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1.6 FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Kautilya assigned high value to the financial health of the State. He was of the firm view that the power of the State rested in the strength of the treasury. That is why he pays special attention to the management and administration of treasury along with the issues of collection of taxes and enhancement of resources of the State. The other area relating to finance that attracted the attention of Kautilya were Budget, Agricultural Taxation, Audit and Accounts.

Treasury was considered to be the most vital part of the administrative system of Mauryan times. The King was to devote his best attention to Treasury; on it as all the activities of the State depended. It is a truism to say that without wealth or money, it is difficult if not impossible to run the administration. Therefore, it has been stated that a King with depleted treasury eats into the very vitality of the citizens and the country. It was the duty of the officers concerned to raise, strengthen and increase the resources, but that was not to be done in any arbitrary, undue and unfair manner. They should impose and collect only such taxes that were due and reasonable.

Kautilyan scheme draws a list of the taxpayers and those exempted from tax payment. Similarly, the villages also were divided into taxpaying and non-tax paying ones. Even today, there are persons and institutions that are tax-exempt. One of the *Amatyas* was appointed *koshadhyaksha* or chief superintendent of the Treasury, known as *Samnidhatra* or treasurer-general, besides the two more officers in charge of all the stores, one was known as chief superintendent of the treasury and the other as the Chief Superintendent of the Warehouses. The King was supposed to exercise direct control over the treasury and the *Koshadhyaksha* was accountable to him. He cautioned about the ways the harm could be caused to the *Kosh* like misappropriation by chiefs, remission of taxes, scattered collection, false accounting and loot by the enemies of the cash collected before it reached the treasury (Rangarajan, *op.cit.*).

The sources of revenue of the State have been accounted for in details and included revenues from Crown agricultural lands, from mines and metallurgy; from Animal Husbandry; from irrigation works; forests, from Industries like textiles, Alcoholic Liquor, Salt; from courtesans, Prostitutes and entertainers, betting and gambling apart from transaction tax, customs duties. octroi, fees and charges on services provided by the State to the citizens and tax on trade etc (*Ibid.*).

Budget, Accounts and Audit

Budget, as we understood in the traditional sense, is a statement of revenue and expenditure for a fiscal year. It naturally is an estimated amount of revenue likely to flow from all sources and the total expenditure to be incurred on different items. This form of budgeting has been in vogue even now despite the adoption of several new forms and principles of budget formulation and implementation. The budget depicted a detailed

account of income – current, transferred and miscellaneous. Miscellaneous income included the following:

- Debts and dues recovered.
- Fines paid by government servants.
- Surcharges, compensation received in lieu of loss or damage, gifts, confiscated property and treasure trove.
- Income due to profit on sales.

The expenditure was shown separately under different Heads: Allocated Day to Day Expenditure, Unallocated Day to Day Expenditure and Foreseen Periodic (Fortnightly, monthly or annual) expenditure apart from the expenditure on worship and charity, the palace, the administration, the foreign affairs, maintenance of granary, ordnance depots and warehouses, manufacturing, labour, defence, cattle, forest and game sanctuaries, and consumables like firewood and fodder (*Ibid.*, p. 276).

Financial accountability forms an important part of the administration of fiscal affairs. Proper maintenance of accounts of the income and expenditure is one of the most significant steps aiming at probity, honesty and responsibility of officials involved in the administration of budget, collection of revenue and making expenditures. Even at the time of Kautilya, proper maintenance of account books in proper form was mandatory. It was also the responsibility of the accounts officers to submit on time the accounts every month failing which they were punished.

Accounts officials were to observe a sort of code of conduct. They were to present themselves for audit at the appointed time bringing with them their account books and the income to be remitted to the Treasury; They shall be ready for audit when the audit officer calls them; They shall not lie about the accounts when questioned during audit and they shall not try to interpolate an (omitted) entry as if it was done inadvertently. Failure to observe these prescriptions was punishable. All high level officers were responsible to submit their respective accounts in full without any contradiction or lies. In case they did commit any such act, they were subject to pay the highest level standard penalty (For details see Rangarajan, *ibid.*, pp. 278-80).

It can be made out from this account that audit was separate from accounts which is one of the features of financial administration in modern India. Discipline and efficiency formed part of the managing of financial affairs of the State. Indifference to work, dereliction of duty and causing financial loss by the Inspectors attracted punishments as prescribed under the rules. For example, the loss caused because of the failure of the inspector in his duty was to be made good by fellow officials, subordinates, sureties, sons, daughters, and wifeetc. The officials causing loss to the Treasury because of their ignorance, laziness, timidity, negligence of duty, corruption, short temper, arrogance or greed were imposed penalty in accordance with the gravity or seriousness of the offence.

Cheating the government, i.e., misappropriating the public money or exploiting the public by government servants were the acts that were treated as serious financial misbehaviour. Kautilya lists 40 ways of embezzlement, fraud and stealing by the public servants. Out of this list 10 methods related to the fraudulent behaviour, while the rest were related the types that included obstruction, using government property for personal work, falsification of date, collecting less than prescribed revenue or incurring more than allocated expenditure, misappropriation acts inclusive of non-delivery of revenue to the treasury, misrepresenting income received, favour shown for money, payment due to one paid to another etc. Punishment was to be awarded only after proper investigation and trial

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| | ii) | Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit. |
| 1) | | ce and financial administration is at the centre of everything Kautilya writes the State and its machinery'. Discuss. |
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1.7 CONCLUSION

Now what are the lessons one can draw after going through the details of the principles and framework of administration as drawn in the *Arthashastra*, especially with reference to the features of Kautilyan administration and in relation to the relevance of his thoughts on administration in the present times? In the case of the first, one may identify the main features of the administrative system in the ancient times in which Arthashastra was written as follows:

- It was a centralised system.
- It was a bureaucratic system.
- It was organised on the principles of administration; later expounded by a number of the administrative thinkers belonging to the administrative management school.
- It was a welfarist administration. It could be termed as an example of benevolent authoritarian system.
- It was careful of the needs of a good administration.
- It was a government by consultation as one finds an elaborate mention of the consultative mechanism for decision making in the form of a council of ministers (*Mantri Parishad*). Though the advice and the method of consultation by the King with them were not binding on him, it was necessary to reach a well-reasoned decision.

One finds that many of his administrative thoughts were not only relevant to his times, they are as much relevant even today. For example, his penetrating analysis of the causes and remedies of corruption in administration and his emphasis on good governance are still relevant. "The *Arthashastra* of *Kautilya* shows that the ancient system of governance and administration was quite contemporary in operational guidelines when dealing with corruption. It also quite convincingly demonstrates that corruption is not an exclusive feature of modern times alone. The fact that the menace has survived and thrived through the ages speaks volumes about its endurance. Governments of all historical eras have recognised its illegality and devised legal instruments to tackle the problem, but they have not been able to overcome its spread as well as its acceptability in society".

However, the structural dimensions as depicted in *Arthashastra* are of no value in the modern day Indian context, but there are a number of countries that prefer centralised system over the decentralised ones. The monarchies in different global locations are

may or drawing from the theory expounded by Kautilya. Similarly, his views regarding the importance of finance and financial administration in the establishment of a strong State still holds good as do the thoughts on the principles of administration. His ideas about the leaders and the necessary qualities required in a leader cannot be overlooked by a modern day student of administration and management.

Furthermore, Kautilya visualised the importance of the values and attitudes, merits and qualities of the people engaged in the organisational task for an efficient, effective and people centric performance of their organisation. Focus on the principles of probity, integrity and honesty continue to be of perennial importance and concern in public administration, irrespective of the type of regime. Even in relation to the global influence of a country, his views seem to be path making as the financial and military strength of a country still plays a deterministic role in community of nations. However, it still remains to be recognised that any author, Kautilya is no exception, is influenced by the environment of his times. Yet it can be safely stated that Kautilya in many ways outpassed his time for having looked into the administrative needs of the future societies and the States.

1.8 GLOSSARY

Adhyaksha : Superintendent

Amatya : Mantri

Bandhanagaradhyaksha : Superintendent of Jails

Dharma : Ethics and Duty

KhanadhyakshaSuperintendent of MinesKoshadhyakshaHead of the Treasury

Mahamatya : Prime Minister

Nyaya : Justice

Samaharta : Collecter General

Samnidhata : Treasurer- General

Sthanika : Disrict Superintendent

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1.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - You should draw upon the material contained in part 1.3 of the Unit. The answer should begin with and introduction followed by the narration of the principles as inferred from the discussion on the organisation and working of the machinery of government in the *Arthashastra*.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Your answer should include a discussion on the institution of the King as well as of other departments and their Heads. You may refer to the matter mentioned in Section 1.4 of this Unit.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - He should be from a high family and should be influential.
 - He should be well- trained in Arts.
 - He should possess foresight, boldness, wisdom, intelligence, enthusiasm and energy, strong memory, purity of character, dignity and endurance, affability, strength, health and bravery.
 - He should be skillful, eloquent, firm in loyal devotion, endowed with excellent conduct
 - He should be free from fickle mindedness, procrastination and from such qualities as excite hatred and enmity.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Training should be open not for everyone, but to those who are willing to improve and reform their thought and actionable capacities and capabilities.
 - Such candidates only should be chosen for training, who have the desire to learn and have been endowed with the qualities of a good listener apart from the qualities of retention, reflection, understanding, rejection of the wrong or the false and intentness on truth and not on any other person. The focus on the desire to learn underlined the quality of inquisitiveness and motivation to add to his previous knowledge and expertise.

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - The contents of your answer should include: a) the importance of finance and financial management of the strength and authority of the state, b) discussion of the measures necessary for effective financial management and c) conclusion. You may consult the matter given in Section 1.6 of this Unit.

UNIT 2 MAHATAMA GANDHI*

Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Gandhi's Idea of Swaraj
- 2.3 Gandhi's Views on Trusteeship
- 2.4 Trusteeship in Practice
- 2.5 Conclusion
- 2.6 Glossary
- 2.7 References
- 2.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you would able to:

- Identify the core principles underlining Gandhian concept of *Swaraj*;
- Explain Gandhi's views on Trusteeship; and
- Analyse Gandhi's ideas from an empirical perspective.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) was an unparallel charismatic leader of modern India. He was not only a leader but also a thinker, editor, writer and social reformer. Born in traditional merchant family in Gujarat, he took his formal training in Law from South Africa. He implemented his beliefs in non-violence, freedom of speech and movement, equality and autonomy in the form of satyagraha and non-violent protests in South Africa itself from 1896 to 1914. His major achievements against the Apartheid regime there include his Indian Ambulance Corps effort during the Boer War, experiments at Phoenix and Tolstoy Farms and Campaign in Transvaal. Known as the father of nation, he is considered one of the champion figures of Indian freedom struggle movement, he has attracted the whole world through his unique style of non-violent methods or *Satyagraha*.

Gandhi wrote prolifically on many subjects of philosophy and social sciences. His ideas were theological and interdisciplinary in nature. His pen touched subjects including law, social reforms, civilisation, economic and social order and nationalism. In his speeches, writings, monographs and editorial works, one can see his command and scholarly diversification over many a subject. He wrote on problems of then existing socioeconomic structure with erudition. His ideas were interconnected with one another. 'Hind Swaraj', 'Panchayati Raj', 'India of My Dreams', 'My Experiments with Truth' are his more important writings. Besides, he has given his views on various aspects through his editorials in newspapers like 'Young India', 'Harijan' and 'Navjeeevan'.

His journalistic approach towards understanding the social problems makes him different from other scholars of social sciences. He was not just a theoretical scholar but also an

^{*} Contributed by Dr. Vijay Srivastava, Assistant Professor, Mittal School of Business, Lovely Professional University, Phagwara, Punjab.

empirical thinker. He adopted and practiced each and every theory, which he propagated in his real life, in the form of constructive programmes. In this Unit, we will discuss Gandhi's major ideas and philosophy. In particular, his viewpoints on *Swaraj* and *Trusteeship* will be explained. We will also try to relate them with contemporary social and political scenario.

2.2 GANDHI'S IDEA OF SWARAJ

Gandhi was a firm believer in the philosophy of *Swaraj* and democratic values, but his conception towards democratic republic is different from the western thinkers. We need to understand that the Gandhian idea of *Swaraj* is not the outcome of Gandhi's writings alone. The Gandhian activists and scholars have contributed more towards this conception after the demise of Gandhi, particularly in the post-independence era.

Gandhi really wanted *Swaraj* or 'self-rule' by the people of India who represent the rural masses to become a reality. Gandhi observed that "the soul of India lives in its villages". He wanted that power structure should begin from below. Gandhi wanted true democracy to function in India. He, therefore, observed, "true democracy cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the centre. It has to be worked from below by the people of every village".

He dreamt of 'village republics' in free India. Gandhi (1962) observed, "Panchayat Raj represents true democracy realised. We would regard the humblest and the lowest Indian as being equally the ruler of India with the tallest in the land. Mahatma Gandhi advocated *Panchayat Raj*, a decentralised form of government, where each village is responsible for its own affairs, as the foundation of India's political system. The term for such a vision was *Gram Swaraj*. Gandhi wanted political power to be distributed among the villages of India. Gandhi preferred the term *Swaraj* to describe what he called true democracy. This democracy was based upon freedom. Individual freedom in Gandhi's view could be maintained only in autonomous, self-reliant communities that offer opportunities to the people for fullest participation (Roy, 1984).

According to Gandhi (1962, *ibid.*), "my idea of *Gram Swaraj* is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbour for its own vital wants and yet interdependent for many in which dependence is a necessity". Gandhi's *Gram Swaraj* is a human-centred, non-exploitative, decentralised, simple village economy providing for full employment to each one of its citizens on the basis of voluntary co-operation with an object of achieving self-sufficiency in its basic requirements of food, clothing, and other necessities of life.

Gandhi's dream was that democracy through people's participation could be ensured only by way of *Gram Swaraj*. He wanted *Gram Swaraj* in villages, where there will be a village republic and management of affairs would be done by the people themselves. According to Gandhi, in *Gram Swaraj* "every village should be a democracy in which they will not depend even on neighbour for major needs". No one should be without food and clothing. Everybody should get sufficient work to meet one's necessities. This ideal can be achieved only when the means of production to meet the primary needs of life are in control of the people (Joshi, 2002).

The vision of an 'ideal village' or 'village republic' is central to Gandhian concept of *Swaraj*. This ideal village will be based on the Gandhi's non-violent social and economic order, where production of necessary items will be done by the small-scale and cottage industries. It means that "Without decentralised order of production, construction of Gandhian ideal village is not possible". In other words, "Ideal village is an important

part of decentralised economic order" (Gandhi, 1958). Political structure under Gandhian ideal village can be constructed only on the basis of production of economic structure.

Gandhi (1958, *ibid*.) averred, "my ideal village will contain intelligent human beings. They will not live in dirt and darkness as animals. Men and women will be free and able to hold their own against anyone in the world. There will be neither plague, nor cholera, nor smallpox, no one will be idle, no one will wallow in luxury. Everyone will have to contribute his quota of manual labour..." It is possible to envisage railways, post and telegraph...the like...In simpler words, Gandhi's ideal village should be basically self-reliant, making provision for all necessities of life such as food, clothing (*khadi*), clean water, sanitation, housing, education, and other requirements, including government and self-defence

Gandhi strongly advocated decentralisation of economic and political power through the organisation of Village *Panchayats*. In simpler words, the fundamental concept of *Gram Swaraj* is that every village should be its own 'republic'. Gandhi proposed to work from bottom upwards. He said Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village will be a Republic or *Panchayat* having full powers.

Gandhian *Gram Swaraj* is not the renewal of old village panchayats but the fresh formation of independent village units of *Swaraj* in the context of the present-day world. Gandhi believed that independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village will be a Republic or *Panchayat* having full powers. It follows therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world. It will be trained and prepared to perish in the attempt to defend itself against any onslaught from without. Thus, ultimately it is the individual who is the unit.

Gandhi envisioned for independent India a 'polity' that would be based on the principle of democratic self-government or self-rule. In this polity' transcendence of self-centeredness and selfish interests would be an automatic process. Socially responsible and morally disciplined citizens of such a polity may not ideally require a State. Thus, a non-statal polity was what was closest to Gandhi's view of 'Swaraj'...Gandhi opted for 'ordered anarchy' under which citizens enjoyed maximum freedom consistent with minimum necessary order" (Parekh, 1989, *cited* in IGNOU Material, 2011).

The guiding principles of Gandhi's Modern Polity:

- Non-violence.
- The autonomy of the individual.
- Sense of power among its people.
- Strong and vibrant local communities.
- Cooperation among people.
- Literacy Requirement.
- Regeneration of Indian culture.
- National unity
- Self-governing local communities organised in the form of a central government but not creating a centralised structure of authority (*Adapted from* IGNOU Material, *ibid*.).

Gandhi believed that the village community would over time build up a 'strong sense of local strength and solidarity', Provide 'meaningful' interpersonal relationships, encourage a sense of social responsibility and the spirit of cooperation, and act as a nursery of civil virtues'. Beyond the relatively self-sufficient villages the country was organised in terms of 'expanding circles'. The villages were grouped into talukas, the latter into districts, the districts into provinces, and so on, each governed by representatives elected by its constituents units. All the different levels were autonomous yet bound by a strong sense of community. Thus, every province had the option of drawing up its own Constitution in conformity with the country as a whole (Cited from Parekh, IGNOU Material, *ibid.*).

The political philosophy of Gandhi rests primarily on this concept of 'Swaraj'. In the opinion of several scholars, 'Swaraj' is a more basic concept than non-violence since non-violence is only a means to 'Swaraj' whereas 'Swaraj' is an individual's state of being (Cited from Parel, 1997, IGNOU Material, *ibid*.). We find Gandhi invoking the concept of 'Swaraj' in varied senses in different situations:

- 'Swaraj' carrying the context of independence of the country from alien rule.
- Assertion of the political freedom of the individual.
- Assurance of the economic freedom of the individual, and
- Attainment of spiritual freedom or autonomy of the individual. (IGNOU Material, ibid.)

In the political sphere the notion of sovereign independence gives meaning to Gandhi's 'Swaraj'. However, qualifications were attached by him to this independence. He wrote in Young India (6th August, 1925): "Self-government means continuous effort to be independent of government control, whether it is foreign government or whether it is national. Swaraj government will be a sorry affair if people look up to it for the regulation of every detail of life". Gandhi strongly advocated the use of pure means for attaining sovereign independence. He was unequivocal in his recommendation of only the nonviolent means "Violent means will give violent Swaraj. That would be a menace to the world and India herself" (Gandhi in Young India, 17 July 1924 cited in IGNOU Material, *ibid.*).

| Check ' | Your Progress 1 |
|----------|---|
| Note: i) | Use the space given below for your answer. |
| iì | Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit. |
| 1) Exp | ain Gandhi's vision of Swaraj. |
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2.3 GANDHI'S VIEWS ON TRUSTEESHIP

Trusteeship originated from three fundamental Gandhian concepts: Non-violence, *Swaraj* and equality, which are all interlinked with one another. The Theory of Trusteeship

talks about exploitative economic cycle. Gandhi wanted to change this violent economic cycle into non-violent economic system. According to Gandhi, there is not only conflict between labour and capital in capitalist system, but conflict exists between necessities and luxuries.

The Theory of Trusteeship is Gandhi's novel contribution in the sphere of political philosophy. It is, in fact, an economic extension of his political philosophy. The main thrust is on treating resources as a public trust with man being the trustee, so that the riches of nature and society are equitably used. The Theory was intended to combine the advantages of both capitalism and communism, and to socialise property without nationalising it.

Gandhi was of the view that all material property was a social trust. The owner therefore was not required to take more than what was needed for a moderately comfortable life. The other members of society who were associated with the property were jointly responsible with the owner for its management and were to provide welfare schemes for all. The owner and the rest of the people were to regard themselves as trustees of the property.

The idea of Trusteeship occupies an important place in Gandhi's thinking and State's role. The roots of Gandhi's Theory of Trusteeship are deeply related to the Gandhian ideas of Exploitation and Inequality. In other words, it explores the Gandhian views of equity, justice and conflict. In the Gandhian political economy (Ramesh and Lutz, 1980), this idea of Trusteeship plays crucial role to establish a non-exploitative society. It also deals with the concept of *Aprarigraha* (non-possession). Trusteeship is regarded as one of the alternative to capitalist order. The basic reason behind the conflicts between labour and capital is increasing economic inequalities in society. These economic inequalities are generated due to unequal distribution of resources and income between labour class and capital class. This unequal distribution becomes the root cause of exploitation of unprivileged sections of society.

Gandhian concept of Trusteeship has deep philosophical base. It was not a new idea which Gandhi gave to the world, but he presented this idea in a new form. In every religion of humankind, there is a concept of non-possession and simple lifestyle. Even Gandhi's concept of spiritual man in non-violent economy can be seen in writings on Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. In the verse of *Shrimad Bhagwat Puran*, it is clearly mentioned that man should not earn more than what is needed for the fulfillment of his necessity. Luxurious life is the root cause of generational economic inequality and it also leads to exploitation of one by another. "Men are entitled to regard as their own just what would suffice to satisfy their hunger. Whoever would appropriate more to himself is a thief, and should be punished as such".

Gandhi himselfadmitted that his concept of non-possession originated from the teachings of *Bhagwad Gita*. Not only *Aprigraha* but *Samabhava* (equability) also came in to his mind due to philosophical study of *Bhagwad Gita*. Gandhi has said in his autobiography that the study of *Gita* illuminated the meaning of 'trustee', and the word, in its turn solved for him the problem of non-possession. Not only Gandhi influenced but Vinoba Bhave; known as the spiritual successor of Gandhi and Acharya of the Bhoodan Movement drew from the *Bhagwad Gita*. He uses the word '*Vishwastavritti*' in his philosophy of *Sarvodaya*.

To Vinoba Bhave (2007), "the conclusion is that whatever talents, physical strength, wealth or other capacities a person might possess, he should take them as having given to him as a trustee for the benefit of the world. This is a noble idea of Trusteeship. But

selfish people have so debased the word that it seems nearly impossible to restore it to its pristine purity. I have, therefore substituted it with another word, *Vishwastaviritti*, i.e., the attitude of confidence – a word which is free of any undesirable associations".

Possession over knowledge, power, glory and finance creates decay in human society. Trusteeship principle teaches us that how to transform the feeling of 'Main' (I) into 'Hum' (We). K.G Mashruwala has rightly observed that "the theory of Trusteeship makes no distinction between private and non-private property. All property is held in trust; no matter who possesses it ... Indeed the Theory of Trusteeship applies not only to tangible and transferable property, but also to places of power and position and to intangible and non-transferable property such as the muscular energy of a labourer and the talents of a Helen Keller. Every human being not mentally deranged is only a trustee of all that is within his control' (Mastruwale, 2007).

It is very important to mention here that in Gandhian non-violent socio-economic order, equality and free growth can be achieved through the establishment of modern factory type small-scale industries or labour intensive industries. Gandhi was not in the favour of modern-industrialisation or heavy industrialisation, instead he gave much more importance to rural industrialisation, which is also a key component in idea of 'Trusteeship'. The harmonic relationship between labour and capital is possible only in the non-mechanical or human friendly mechanical type of industrial world.

In the Theory of Trusteeship, Gandhi wanted to establish a non-mechanical relationship between labour and capital class. Unlike Karl Marx, he did not want to destroy capitalism or bourgeoise. With the help of the feeling of trust, he wanted to transform the evil nature of capitalism into a good one. In high capital intensive type of firms, it is very difficult to harmonise the relationship between capital and labour due to 'alienation'; a term coined by Marx. Gandhian idea of Trusteeship tried to resolve the problem of alienation through non-violent means. It is also noticeable that in highly technological industry, this alienation process starts due to the exploitation of labour by the capitalist class.

In this context, Gupta (1996) has a similar kind of view. He asserts that 'while the capitalists tried to get maximum work from the employees, paying them only as much as they had to, the workers hit upon all sorts of tricks to put in as little effort as they could get away with'. Satisfaction of both classes, labour as well as capital, have an important place in Gandhian philosophy. In the existing system of capitalist order due to greed and profit orientation, capitalists do not satisfy and workers due to exploitative nature of their owners do not feel satisfied (Gandhi, 1921).

Gandhi knew very well that for the running an institution like a trust, it is very important to manage it in a proper way without the involvement of any kind of violence and extremism. In the Gandhian framework of just society, Industrialists are friends of workers instead of owners. The management of firm or mill should be in a non-violent or co-operative environment to avoid the evil circumstances, and emphasis on cooperation, rather than conflict between labour and capital" (Dasgupta, *op.cit.*).

Another aspect of Gandhian Theory of Trusteeship relates to economic inequality in the area of labour-capital conflict. Concentration of wealth in the fewer sections, mainly capitalist, aggravates these inequalities and are the root cause of violence. Addressing the problem of capital-labour conflict and its relationship with economic inequality, Gandhi asserted that "economic equality is master key to non-violent independence. Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour...It means the leveling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated

the bulk of nation's wealth on the one hand, and the leveling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other" (IGNOU Material, *op.cit*.).

Co-operative management of industrial units is an integral part of Gandhian Trusteeship. Gandhi believed in the decentralised system of management of wealth and property. In the area of labour-capital relations, he was very clear that how to include labourers in management process as well as in the part of production. Cooperative management of profit and wealth means getting rid of the concept of private ownership and exploitive economic system, where alienation occurs due to the distance between capital class and labour class. In the words of Gandhi, "it is vital to the well-being of the industry that workmen should be regarded as equal with the shareholders and that they have, therefore every right to possess an accurate knowledge of transactions of mills" (Gandhi, 1921, op.cit.).

Sethi (1978) in his work 'Gandhi Today' has described Trusteeship as 'The Grand Alternative'. Describing as Trusteeship as political instrument to approach the industrial problem and conflict between labour and capital, he said that "Trusteeship is both a bulwark against oppression by State power and against the alienation of worker ,just as it provides a temporary role for those capitalists who want to play a responsible social role".

It is reported that the Theory of Trusteeship had excited the attention of a group of socialists who had a long discussion with Gandhi regarding its nature and implications. The result was the writing of a draft. This draft was also amended by Gandhi to strengthen its egalitarian thrust. The final text of the draft was as follows:

- Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order or society into an egalitarian one. It is not critical of capitalism, but gives the present owning class a chance of reforming itself. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption.
- It does not recognise any right of private ownership of property except in so far as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare.
- It does not exclude legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth.
- Under State-regulated Trusteeship, an individual will thus not be free to hold or use wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interests of society.
- Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum living wage, even so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that would be allowed to any person in society. The difference between such minimum incomes should be reasonable and equitable and variable from time to time, so much so that the tendency would be towards obliteration of the difference.
- Under the Gandhian economic order the character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal whim or greed (Cited in Parekh, 1989, IGNOU Material, *op.cit.*).

2.4 TRUSTEESHIP IN PRACTICE

Owning property in Gandhian economic system is prohibited and greed towards property and wealth creates violence in social system. Vinoba Bhave, the champion of land reforms in India applied Gandhian theory of Trusteeship in practical world and got success in eradicating property based on economic inequality to some extent. Bhave (1967) felt that "acceptance of Trusteeship ideal will transform our entire thinking in regard to wealth and the relationship between the individual and society".

It is also noticeable that Bhave did not agree with Gandhi on the use of word Trusteeship, he called it *Vishwastvratie* (In the Sanskrit language it is *Vishwashvratie*) it means faith (*Vishwash*) of public on merchant class (*Vanik*). During the period of *Bhoodan Aaandolan*, his focus was not only in the area of land reforms but simultaneously he was looking towards solving the problem of social unrest and inequality. To him, Trusteeship as a philosophy of non-possession is a medium which can tackle the issue of social unrest. He said that "if we want to build up a non-violent society, we have to keep non-possession in mind i.e., those who have large property should become it's trustee in a real sense. Only then will non-violence be realised, otherwise there will be increasing unrest" (Bhave, *ibid.*).

Application of Trusteeship principle as a *Bhoodan-Gramdan* movement can be looked at within the framework of redistribution of resources from rich to poor and between have and have-nots. In Gandhian economic philosophy, any transformation or change is acceptable only when it is based on principle of non-violence. Similarly, Trusteeship principle denies ownership of any kind. If there are many parties in any issue than cooperation should be from every side. Similarly, for the construction of non-violent economic order, Vinoba Bhave sought voluntary cooperation from rich as well as poor. Like Gandhi, he was against the forced cooperation and legalising of the principle of Trusteeship. Voluntarism has a unique place in his ideas. To him, 'voluntary surrender of the individual ownership of land is the foundation of *Gramdan* (Choker, 2011). Eradication of poverty was the main agenda of Vinoba's *Gramdan* movement. It is Vinoba's firm belief that surrendering the ownership rights can be an important tool to fight with the chronic or generational poverty.

Gramdan as an empirical experiment of Trusteeship Theory could do better in this area and feeling of non-possession should live in the hearts of both excluded and non-excluded sections of society. "If the poor do not surrender their ownership rights first, then who else will? The ownership of the rich will go automatically; the poor will have to give it up voluntarily. It is India's good fortune that a few rich also come forward to surrender their ownership. But one cannot rely so much on that. Hence, we should gain as much sympathy of the rich as possible, but focus on seeing the poor give up their ownership; that is the best way for the dissolution of ownership" (Deshpande, 2011).

Interpreting Bhave's idea of abolition of private property in wealth and land with Trusteeship, (Tickers, 1970) has a sound argument. She has stated that "the doctrine of Trusteeship seems to be the source of Vinoba's call for his altogether abolition of private property in wealth and land. During his pilgrimage on foot for the 'Gift Land and Village Movement', he asked people to donate all land and wealth to society.

Dissolution of ownership is justifiable distribution of resources. In Gandhi's non-violent economic order, property does not belong to any individual, but to the whole society. Entire village community can use the land for welfare and ethical development of village. If there is no master and everybody feels like a servant then there is a very rare chance of birth of violence. This is a perfect Gandhian technique to tackle several land and property related issues.

Check Your Progress 2

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

- ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.
- 1) What do you understand by Gandhian Theory of Trusteeship?

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| 2) In what sense has Vinoba Bhave contributed towards Trusteeship? | |
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2.5 CONCLUSION

Gandhi was the greatest visionary of his times. He propagated ideas that sounded 'utopian' in early 1990s, but were emancipatory and progressive. He not only led the freedom struggle against the colonial rule but gave us all a sense of simple living and high thinking. Gandhi's idea of 'Swaraj' occupies a very important place in the domain of political science and public administration. Gandhi's dream for Gram Swaraj has been translated into reality with the introduction of three-tier Panchayati Raj System to ensure people's participation in the democratic decentralisation at grass-roots level. The main objective of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) is to provide good governance to people by bringing government at their doorsteps and ensuring rural people's participation in Indian political system. His views on Trusteeship bespeak of his idea of a polity entailing the principles of equality and ethics. Vinoba Bhave practiced the Gandhian Trusteeship through his Bhoodan Movement. It shows that Gandhi's thoughts are very relevant in the contemporary context. He was a great philosopher whose ideologies have been empirically tested. This Unit highlighted Gandhi's major ideas on Swaraj, Non-violence, Equality, Freedom, Trusteeship and Decentralisation.

2.6 GLOSSARY

A state of isolation in the literal sense. Karl Marx describes it as estrangement of people from aspects of their 'essence' as a result of living in a stratified and unequal society. Apartheid : A system of institutionalised racial segregation and discrimination. It existed in South Africa from 1948 to 1994. Boer War : This War was fought between the British Empire and the two Boer States; the South African Republic and Orange Free State over the British influence in South Africa.

village should be its own republic with self-reliance in food, clothes and education.

Satyagraha : It is a form of non-violent resistance. The word is coined by Gandhi. It means insistence on truth.

Village Republics : In Gandhi's view, every village that has attained Swaraj is a Republic. A self-sufficient and autonomous village is a Republic.

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2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Village Republics.
 - Self-rule.
 - The autonomy of the individual.
 - Sense of power among its people.
 - Strong and vibrant local communities.
 - Cooperation among people
 - Self-governing local communities
 - Gandhi's dream of gram swaraj has been translated into Panchayati Raj.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Gandhi's Trusteeship is deeply related to his ideas on end of exploitation and inequality.
 - Trusteeship plays an important role in establishing a non-exploitative society.
 - It has its bases in *Bhagwad Puran* and *Bhagwad Gita*.
 - It means non-possession.
 - Service and non-selfishness are key concepts in Trusteeship.
 - It is a means of transforming the present capitalist order or society into an egalitarian one.
 - It does not recognise any right of private ownership of property except in so far as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare.
 - It does not exclude legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth.
 - Under State-regulated Trusteeship, an individual will thus not be free to hold or use wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interests of society.
 - In Trusteeship, just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum living wage,

even so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that would be allowed to any person in society.

- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Gandhi's Theory of Trusteeship was translated into reality by Vinoba Bhave.
 - Bhave called it Trusteeship *Vishwastvratie*. It means faith (*Vishwash*) of public on merchant class (*Vanik*).
 - Bhoodan or *Gramdan* Movements of Bhave achieved some degree of Trusteeship.
 - Eradication of poverty was the main agenda of Vinoba's *Gramdan* movement.
 - In Bhave's views, wealth is not the creation of a single individual.
 - He believed in land reforms and distribution of surplus land to the poor.
 - Ownership of goods is minimum and largely collective or belonging to community as a whole.





BLOCK 2 CLASSICAL THINKERS



UNIT 3 WOODROW WILSON*

Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Important Developments in Wilson's Era
- 3.2 Woodrow Wilson's Views on Public Administration
 - 3.2.1 Administration and Politics as Two Distinct Domains
 - 3.2.2 Method of Administration
- 3.3 Conclusion
- 3.4 Glossary
- 3.5 References
- 3.6 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

3.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Bring out a brief sketch of Wilson's career graph;
- Discuss Woodrow Wilson's views on politics-administration dichotomy; and
- Explain Wilson's views onthe distinctness of public administration.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) served as the 28th President of the United States of America (USA) from 1913 to 1921. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1919 for proposing the League of Nations with an aim to establish equitable peace in Europe. During his second term as the President, women's Right to Vote was legalised through the 19th Amendment to the American Constitution (Cooper, 2017). Born as Thomas Woodrow Wilson to Presbyterian parents, his upbringing was influenced by religion and British history and literature. When Wilson was almost 2 years old his family left Staunton (Virginia) for Augusta (Georgia). After sometime, they shifted to Columbia (South Carolina) and thereafter to Wilmington (North Carolina). In the course of his residence in different Southern cities of the US, he witnessed significant economic, political and social upheavals especially, reconstruction and poverty and destruction of Augusta, American Civil War and sufferings of wounded soldiers.

He received his initial education at home from his father, Reverend Joseph Ruggles Wilson. Wilson joined the College of New Jersey (later renamed as Princeton University) and the Law School at University of Virginia in 1875. He was awarded doctorate degree from Johns Hopkins University in 1886. In 1902, he became the president of Princeton University (Ambar, 2008). In 1910, he was elected as the Governor of New Jersey. This gave him the power to implement reform programmes against corruption, push through workers' compensation law to help families of workers killed or injured on the job, and bring accountability through daily press meets. His work made him a suitable candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. In 1912, he won the

^{*} Contributed by Dr. Sanghamitra Nath, Assistant Professor, Bajkul Milani Mahavidyalaya, Vidyasagar University, West Bengal.

presidential election with 435 votes from the Electoral College and only 42 per cent of the popular vote. After the Civil war, Wilson was the first Southern-born president (Cooper,2017).

Twice in the role of the President, Wilson brought about significant legislations as part of Progressive Reforms. These were the Underwood Act (a system of graduated Federal Income Tax), the Federal Reserve Act (permitted greater elastic money supply to the State), Anti-trust Legislation (established a Federal Trade Commission to curb discriminating business practices), Child Labour Prohibition Law, and a Law that stipulated a maximum of 8-hour work-day to railroad workers. In foreign matters, he believed in building a new world order that were safe for democracy. Firm on this belief, he led America into World War I in 1917. In 1918, he proposed Fourteen Points intended to return peace and create a community of nations based on mutual respect for each other's political sovereignty and territorial integrity (Wilson, 1887).

3.1 IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS IN WILSON'S ERA

In order to understand Wilson's views on public administration, it is necessary to follow the developments that saw the U.S through the World War I, under his stewerdship. These developments are:

New Freedom Campaign

This was Woodrow Wilson's presidential campaign. In his New Freedom Campaign, he spoke of limited government. Later the tenets of this Campaign were also published in the form of a Book by Wilson.

League of Nations

It was an international organisation founded as a result of Paris Peace Conference in 1920, following the end First World War. The primary objectives for which the organisation came up included preventing wars through collective security and disarmament, settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration and maintain world peace. This was the direct consequence of Treaty of Versailles that ended the World War between Germany and the Allied powers.

Wilson's Fourteen Points

These were principles of peace formulated by Woodrow Wilson at the end of First World War. These were framed specifically for ending the said War. The objective was to secure a just and secure peace and not just a new balance of power. These points are:

- 1) Open covenants of peace and no private international understandings.
- 2) Complete freedom of navigation upon seas.
- 3) Removal of all economic barriers.
- 4) Reduction of national armaments.
- 5) Openminded adjustment of colonial claims.
- 6) Evacuation of all Russian territory.
- 7) Restoration of Belgium after evacuation.

- 8) All French territory should be freed.
- 9) Readjustment of frontiers of Italy.
- 10) Opportunity of autonomous development for people of Austria and Hungary.
- 11) Romania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated and their territories restored.
- 12) Secure sovereignty for Turkish position of Ottoman Empire.
- 13) Erection of independent Polish State.
- 14) Formation of a general association of nations under specific covenants.

Wilson's second term in Office was dominated by World War I, where he got a chance to observe the functioning of administrative offices from very close quarters. There were many domestic issues before him. He was responsible for many important legislations such as Prohibition and Women's Adult Franchise. Wilson believed in neutrality and wanted administration to be free from political interference. He was of the view that politics did not have answers to all administrative questions. He aimed at making public administration efficient and technically sound. Let us now discuss his views on public administration.

| Check Your Progress 1 | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|---|--|--|
| No | te: i) | Use the space given below for your answer. | | |
| | ii) | Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit. | | |
| 1) | What | are the developments associated with Wilson? | | |
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3.2 WOODROW WILSON'S VIEWS ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

For Wilson, an important arena in serious need of reforms was American Public Administration. He developed his doctoral thesis into his first book, *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics* (1885), comparing the American presidential form of government with parliamentary form of government. He concluded that only reforms could instill greater efficiency and accountability in the American system. (Cooper, *ibid.*) In 1887, the Political Science Quarterly published Wilson's *The Study of Administration*, reputed to be a classic text on public administration. Wilson began this Article citing a keen observation – the practical science of administration found its rightful place in college curriculum only recently. This late realisation "to know more about administration" could be attributed to the ubiquitous feeling of "taken for granted among us" for years (Wilson, *op.cit.*). The on-going civil service reform movement,

therefore, aimed to get rid of systemic inefficiency and mounting costs through improvement in government organisation and methods, and government personnel. Hence, the objective of administrative study was "to discover, first, what government can properly and successfully do, and, secondly, how it can do these proper things with the utmost possible efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or of energy" (*ibid.*).

Administration may be expressed as government in action. Being the most inevitable part of government, it is as old as government itself. It represents the executive branch characterised by ever growing responsibilities both complex and cumbersome. Successful execution of government functions depends on: (1) prior wisdom, knowledge, and experience, (2) robust planning, (3) professionalism, (4) strong organisation devoid of corruption, and (5) sense of duty. Given the vast expanse and sheer complexity of government work, Wilson opined the science of administration was the need of the hour like never before (*Ibid.*).

The science of administration did not originate in the US. In Wilson's words, "[i]t is not of our making; it is a foreign science, speaking very little of the language of English or American principle. It employs only foreign tongues; it utters none but what are to our minds alien ideas. Its aims, its examples, its conditions, are almost exclusively grounded in the histories of foreign races, in the precedents of foreign systems, in the lessons of foreign revolutions" (*Ibid.*).

The roots of this science were traced to Europe, particularly France and Germany. Rule by the government had been a recurrent political norm in Europe for mainly 2 reasons. *Firstly*, government could be wide-spread because it was independent of popular consent. *Secondly*, monopolists wishing to keep a monopoly over government used such means that would attract least resistance. Even if 'government' were a defining feature of Europe, Wilson argued that a government passed through *three* periods of growth: (1) absolute rule by absolute rulers with an administrative system (2) constitutional government formed by the people (abolishing absolute rulers) and a much neglected administrative system, and (3) sovereign government contingent upon administration construed on the basis of the new constitution that was the source of its power (*Ibid.*).

The science of administration, wherever adopted, was tailored to the needs of respective states run by highly centralised forms of government. In the US, the science was customised to meet the demands of a complex and multi-form State and extremely decentralised forms of government. The science had to be Americanised in terms of language, thought, principle, and aim so that "[i]t must learn our constitutions by heart; must get the bureaucratic fever out of its veins; must inhale much free American air" (*Ibid.*).

3.2.1 Administration and Politics as Two Distinct Domains

Wilson's most important contribution to the study of administration was the distinction between administration and politics. According to him, "[t]he field of administration is a field of business. It is removed from the hurry and strife of politics". Matters of administration were different from matters of politics. Though politics determined administrative duties, it should not interfere in the discharge of administrative functions. Since administration was often found tangled with politics, he believed that civil service reform in particular and administrative reform in general could ensure separation of administration from politics. Administration, devoid of politics, would help to improve methods of appointment and carrying out executive functions, as well as establish the sanctity of public office and restore public trust (*Ibid.*).

We can conclude that Wilson's essay of 1887 on 'Study of the Administration'. was

Woodrow Wilson

beginning of the pertinent debate on the domain of public administration for Wilson, political science was much older than public administration. All this while, we were concerned with Constitution, legislation, political theories; who makes, laws, never who implements laws and policies and who facilitates them. Wilson wanted administration to be business-like administration, he thought should not be subjected to political interference. His approach to public administration was scientific.

He delinked politics and administration and focused on administration as distinct from political science. He was the first to bring in comparative analysis into the domain of administration. He initiated the concepts of checks and balances and political neutrality. Even the effective bureaucracy concept and business like approaches to administration can all be attributed to Woodrow Wilson.

The Wilsonian view embracing politics-administration dichotomy represented the orthodox ideology that developed between early 1900s and late 1930s. This ideology was founded upon assumptions: (1) efficiency/ bureaucracy and democracy were poles apart and irreconcilable, (2) politics-administration dichotomy may be expressed through decision- execution dichotomy, (3) administration, akin to execution, could be conceptualised as a science built upon purely technical and applicable principles, and (4) government administration could be run like business grounded in values and practices of management. The orthodox model of public administration remained popular prior to World War II (Carroll and Fredrickson, 2001). Politics-administration dichotomy had its roots in the Progressive Reformism of the Western cultural history (Marini, 1993).

Wilson introduced his readers to another distinguishing aspect of administration and politics. He referred to administrative and constitutional matters, which cannot be easily compartmentalised into respective categories, "No lines of demarcation, setting apart administrative from non- administrative functions, can be run between this and that department of government without being run uphill and down dale, over dizzy heights of distinction ... until they become altogether lost to the common eye not accustomed to this sort of surveying, and consequently not acquainted with the use of the theodolite of logical discernment" (Wilson, *op.cit.*).

Even then, administrative issues are concerned with the means to adjust to varying situations and purposes, while Constitutional matters deal with essential governmental adjustments to the Constitutional principles. Administration entails meticulous and methodical implementation or application of public law, for example, tax assessment and collection, capital punishment to criminals, mail delivery, and army and navy recruitment and equipment modernisation. However, the general laws, which govern the mode or technique of administration come under Constitutional matters. The Constitution involves itself with general law and governmental mechanisms that facilitate control over the same. Simply put, conceptualisation of comprehensive action plans of the government belongs to the Constitutional sphere, while the detailed execution of these plans belongs to the administrative sphere (*Ibid.*).

Nevertheless, administrative and Constitutional matters intersect at one point. The philosophical study of administration coincides with Constitutional issues on the subject of 'suitable' distribution of Constitutional authority. If the former proposed appropriate principles for distribution of authority, it would benefit the latter greatly. If administrative study could provide 'the best principles' for proper division of authority and responsibility, it would help to resolve Constitutional concerns. Wilson suggested trust to be the core principle and recommended both offices of the Constitutional reformer and administrative organiser to produce conditions of trustfulness and ensure trustworthiness. He believed

distribution of power to many would obscure responsibilities, therefore, the principle of sharing power with heads of services and heads of branches of services would prevent irresponsibility and consequent abuse of power (*Ibid.*).

3.2.2 Method of Administration

Is American public administration adequate? Wilson argued, "We have been on our feet too long to study now the art of walking. We are a practical people, made so apt, so adept in self- government by centuries of experimental drill that we are scarcely any longer capable of perceiving the awkwardness of the particular system we may be using, just because it is so easy for us to use any system". These were straightforward comments that called for an introspection of the current practice of governance and rectify shortcomings of the American public administration. They were also critical introduction to the systematic approach to administration. A prudent approach to administration would involve: (1) a philosophical study of administration, (2) organisation of administration based on modern ideas and conditions, and (3) historical comparative studies in government. Such an approach would strengthen democracy, build structures of policy on majority will, ascertain a universal rule of good administration for all governments, and preclude administrative blunders (*Ibid.*).

Wilson urged Americans to acknowledge the science of administration without prejudice. The borrowed science could be filtered or amended to suit the American constitutional, administrative, and political disposition. Most importantly, the eventual science of administration for America should be established upon the principles of democracy (*Ibid.*). The performance of public administration is best adjudged by public opinion.

According to Wilson, public opinion referred to views expressed by intelligent critics (of government) produced by political science departments of reputed colleges. While it was encouraging to note the rapid spread of political studies in the country and the creation of a multitude of informed critics educated in the general principles of government, he observed it was equally important to prepare a class of executive officials "conducting government". Improved public opinion rested upon well-trained civil service personnel demonstrating good behaviour. He defined good behaviour as firm and whole-hearted allegiance to government policies, and direct and inescapable responsibility to public opinion. Civil service or bureaucracy committed to the service of all could, therefore, be possible only if it were removed from State and organisational politics (*Ibid.*).

A bureaucrat's motivation to serve may emerge from *esprit de corps* or undying loyalty to a superior (including ministers). In reality, a bureaucrat's duty to serve the general public was often overshadowed by the tendency to offer obeisance to supreme authority. This represented a typical occasion for the confluence of administration and politics which Wilson loathed a lot. For Wilson, it posed *three* unavoidable bureaucratic dilemmas:

- 1) How to serve the interests of the community without jeopardising benevolence of or favours to superiors.
- 2) How to achieve sustenance in abundance and further ambitions of a lucrative career without losing honour and character.
- 3) How to provide service, despite best efforts and talents, at the local as well as the national level?

If answers could be found, Wilson believed America would lead the world again (*Ibid*.).

| Check Your Progress 2 | | |
|-----------------------|-------|---|
| Note: i) | | Use the space given below for your answer. |
| | ii) | Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit. |
| 1) | Expla | in the contribution of Woodrow Wilson to administration. |
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3.3 CONCLUSION

Wilson will always be remembered for his presidency and contribution to the field of public administration. Building upon Theodore Roosevelt's aspirations, Wilson tried to make the American presidency the most dominant branch of government. He wished to conduct his office on the lines of the Prime Minister of England in the British Parliament. He also came to be regarded as a central figure in the Progressive Movement which intended to separate politics and administration. Of course, the detailed institutional arrangements to attain this separation changed over the years with his more mature intellectual works. Interestingly, his idea of separation made politics less authoritative, while administration received increasing emphasis. He perceived administration as the domain of scientific experts in the bureaucracy while political persons or institutions lacked such expertise (Ambar, *op.cit*.).

Wilson advocated administration should remain free from political pressures. He believed administrative questions were different from political questions and often tendencies of politicisation of public administration and bureaucratisation of politics should be strictly precluded. He observed that the Congress unnecessarily invested too much energy on the details of legislation when it could delegate aggregate responsibility to the administration. He underwent rigorous study of administration relying mostly on European sources, especially German science of politics, and strongly recommended a firm division of Constitutional politics and administrative discretion. Little wonder, the Wilsonian perspective or Progressivism received immense appreciation unlike the earlier American thinkers of national administration (Ambar, *ibid.*; Pestritto, 2012).

Thus, Wilson did maintain politics-administration dichotomy, but never desired to divorce one from the other. He actually treated politics and administration as two sides of the same coin. This Unit brought forth Wilson 's views on politics and administration in some detail.

3.4 GLOSSARY

League of Nations

: An international organisation founded in 1920 to maintain World Peace through collective security and disarmament and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration.

Presbyterian

: It is a part of the reformed tradition within

Protestantism. It refers to churches that derive their origin from the Church of Scotland.

American Civil War

: It was fought in the United States from 1861 to 1865. It broke out when secessionist forces attacked Fort Sumter in South Carolina over enslavement of black people.

Theodolite

: A surveying instrument with a rotating telescope for measuring horizontal and vertical angles. At the end of War, U.S. territorial integrity was preserved and slavery was abolished.

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3.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answers should include the following points:
 - New Freedom Campaign.
 - League of Nations.
 - Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Wilson initiated the politics-dichotomy approach.
 - Wilson focused on Constitutional and administrative matters.
 - Philosophical study of administration.
 - Emphasis on organisation as modern systems.
 - Acknowledgement of science of administration without prejudice.



UNIT 4 FREDERICK W. TAYLOR*

Structure

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 F.W. Taylor: A Profile
- 4.3 Taylor's Principles
- 4.4 Basic Concepts of Taylor
- 4.5 Scientific Management of Taylor: An Evaluation
- 4.6 Conclusion
- 4.7 Glossary
- 4.8 References
- 4.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

4.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Describe the career chart of F.W. Taylor;
- Explain the principles of F. W. Taylor; and
- Critically review Taylor's contribution to organisations.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The last decade of the 19th century was the era of industrialisation, when the industrial methods were unsystematic and unorganised. This was the period when industrial methods towards enhancing efficiency or output of the industries were not keenly studied. The supervisors and managers were becoming restless with the traditional methods and subjective knowledge. The Classical Approach of organisation belongs to this era. It was in this period that the classical theorists aimed to streamline these very processes and work towards achieving maximum production through cost-effective methods. The Classical Approach to organisation or the traditional theory of organisation or the mechanistic theory is what forms the bases of Taylor's principles.

The Classical Theory of organisation has *two* streams: one with F.W. Taylor and his associates Henri L. Gantt and the Gilbreth couple with Frank and Lillian who propagated the scientific management perspective of organisation and the other group comprised of Henri Fayol, Luther Gullick, Urwick, Mary Parker Follett and others. The two groups differ from each other as Taylor focused on shop floor management with a focus on time and motion studies. Fayol, on the other hand, focused on managerial level with a certain set of principles. In this Unit, we will study F.W. Taylor's concepts and principles. We will also examine the context in which he wrote and make an evaluation of his contribution.

^{*} Contributed by Dr. Vaishali Narula, Assistant Professor, Kamla Nehru College, University of Delhi, New Delhi.

4.2 F.W. TAYLOR: A PROFILE

Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856-1921) was born in Pennsylvania in 1856. He studied in France and Germany and wanted to go for higher studies to Harvard to study law. Even after completing his studies at Harvard, he chose to become an apprentice pattern maker. He worked as an apprentice at the shop floor level at the Hydraulic Works in Philadelphia. He left his apprenticeship in 1878 and joined the Midvale Steel Company. Taylor worked in Midvale Steel Company in USA at the factory floors. He then rose to the position of the chief engineer from on ordinary labourer within a time span of six years. Subsequently, after acquiring his degree of mechanical engineering, he joined the Bethlehem Steel Company. He published very pertinent research works and became the President of American Society of Mechanical Engineers in 1906. He worked towards exploring new methods of work, mechanical tools and scientific devices to hold together the interest of workers at the shop floor level.

Taylor believed that management is a true science, as it rests on fixed laws, rules and principles. These principles have universal applicability, and also have large social applicability. It can be applied to all organisations. While focusing on the lowest level of the organisation, Taylor outlined the relationship between physical as well as physiological nature of work.

Scientific Management propounded by Fredrick Winslow Taylor in the first decade of 20th century is described to be the first coherent theory of administration. The Scientific Theory of management is said to be not originally given by Taylor. Charles Babbage, Henry R. Towne and Fredrick Halsey and Henry Metcalf developed the methods and techniques for Scientific Management. The term Scientific Management was first coined by Louis Brandies (1910), but it was Taylor who used the term to give it a scientific explanation and development techniques for promoting organisational efficiency. Hence, he came to be known as the 'Father of Scientific Management'. He discovered the rationale for organising work in an objective, scientific and organised manner. The rise of Scientific Theory or Approach of Management focused on improving organisational efficiency.

| Check Your Progress 1 | | | | |
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| No | te: i) | Use the space given below for your answer. | | |
| | ii) | Check your answers with that given at the end of the Unit. | | |
| 1) | Whyi | s Taylor called the 'Father of Scientific Management'? | | |
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4.3 TAYLOR'S PRINCIPLES

Taylor gave the principles of Scientific Management, which have been explained in his Books outlining the principles of Scientific Management. His writings emerged as a consequence of his 26 years of work and the experiments that he conducted. His work focusing 20n objectives of organisation have been laid down in his following works:

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

The *four* basic principles of Taylor's Scientific Management aimed towards standardising work, work methods, technology and techniques. The principles are:

- 1) Development of a science for each element of work. Study of every part of the work in relation to the time spent in performing it.
- 2) Scientific selection and training of workers before assigning them work.
- 3) Grooming of managers to inspire workers and help them carry out the work according to the principles of scientific management.
- 4) Training of managers and workers to sustain equal division of work and responsibility for higher productivity.

In accordance with these principles, Taylor's principles of scientific management can be characterised as having the following features:

- i) Science, not rule of thumb (personal discretion of managers with *adhoc* solutions to problems has to be done away with).
- ii) Harmony, not discord.
- iii) Cooperation at all levels, individuals are not important.
- iv) Working towards development of each individual to his efficiency and prosperity.
- v) Higher wages to workers.
- vi) Lower priced goods to workers.

4.4 BASIC CONCEPTS OF TAYLOR

The mechanisms of Scientific Management facilitate the application of principles. These can also be described as pillars of Taylor's findings. The findings focused on management work and workmanship towards efficiency:

• Functional Foremanship

Taylor advocated the concept of Functional Foremanship, under which a worker would be supervised and guided by *eight* specialised supervisors (i.e., eight functional foremen.). He rejected the principle of Unity of Command or the linear system i.e., he rejected the principle of single foreman. Under this concept, he put forth *eight* functional heads, *four* were responsible for planning and *four* were responsible for execution. The four functional foreman responsible for planning were: (i) Order- of- work - and-route clerk, (ii) Instruction card clerk, (iii) Time- and- cost clerk, and (iv) Shop disciplinarian. The other *four* functional foreman were: (i) Gang Boss, (ii) Speed Boss, (iii) Inspector, and (iv) Repair Boss. They were to serve on the shop floor. So, each worker in effect was to have *eight* functional bosses. The object was to separate planning from execution and facilitate specialisation.

Motion Study
 Frederick W. Taylor

On the bases of this technique, Taylor studied that every task comprises of set of motions, The motions are affected by the shape, size and quality of tools along with the techniques employed for a particular task. We need to study the motions, which constitute a particular job and then determine the best set of motion. Therefore, it was designed to study the preferable work method with consideration of tools, raw materials, equipment and more. So, it was directed towards finding 'one best way to do the work'.

• Time Study

Under this technique, Taylor studied the time taken to complete a particular task. This was carried out to determine the standard for completion of work. The objective was to facilitate planning of daily techniques.

• Differential Piece Rate System

This is Taylor's wage payment plan for workers. In this, Taylor suggested that each worker be paid by pieces on the bases of time and motion study. Since the tasks have been scientifically studied, analysed, fragmented and implemented, there was a standard classification of tasks, which led to fixing up 'rates' for different pieces. So pieces were classified as:

- Below standard or below average.
- Upto standard or average.
- Above standard or above average.

Following this, Taylor proceeded to suggest that payment to the workers should be made on the bases of number of pieces they produce rather than their position. He suggested that workers who are unwilling or unable to produce should be removed.

• Shop Floor Management

The Shop Floor refers to the lowest level in the factory. This according to Taylor is the most neglected part. He observed that managers have to produce scientific methods of work and motivate the workers towards general improvement of workers. The lack of motivation amongst workers results in low performance. In his work 'Art of Cutting Metals,' he suggested devices such as instruction card, machine improvement and many other time saving devices to differentiate between high performance and low performance workers. He believed that the standardised system works on its own at the shop level and the manager does not have to bother so much.

However, he said that there are other exceptional items, which are placed before the manager. This he explained as the 'exceptional principle' in shop management (Singh, 2002). This helped the managers to reward the exceptional high performance workers. This also brought a change in the attitude of workers and brought forth the idea that both the managers and workers are beneficiaries of high performance. This he described as 'mental revolution' as he believed that the workers and managers should focus on their immediate interest and keep their eyes fixed on increasing production and their profit.

• Functional Foremanship

This advocates division of work in an organisation amongst workers and managers. Taylor pointed out that during an operation a lot of time is lost when the workers have

to seek specialised assistance. Due to the hierarchical nature of organisation, there is a big gap between the workers and the managers and the managers are unable to provide immediate assistance to the workers. He said we need to reduce this time gap. To overcome this gap, the concept of Functional Foremanship was to help speed up the operations by providing effective and technical support to workers. The concept of Functional Foremanship divided the responsibility between workers and managers. Each worker would be supervised by *eight* specialised supervisors. There will be *four* supervisors for planning and *four* for execution.

| Planning Bosses | Execution Bosses |
|--|---------------------------------|
| • Order-of-Work and Route | Gang Boss |
| Clerk | Repair Boss |
| Instruction Card-Clerk | Speed Boss |
| Time and Cost-Clerk | • Inspector |
| Shop Disciplinarian | - |

Soldering

During his experiments, Taylor came across the 'soldering' phenomenon. He discovered that there is a tendency amongst workers to avoid work. This, he observes restricts productivity. He classified the tendency under *two* categories; one as natural soldering and the other as systematic soldering. The former he believed existed due to personal factors such as delaying factors taking it easy and the latter he observed from a consequence of organisational and social factors. This he observed was generally a way to keep the supervisors expectations from the workers low. They are guided by their social group he felt (The behavioural analysis of workers was later developed in McGregor's Theory of Motivation).

• Other Techniques

In addition to these techniques, Taylor also developed other techniques to serve the principle of scientific management. These were:

- a) Standardisation of tools.
- b) Setting up separate planning cells.
- c) Modern cost system.
- d) Use of time saving techniques.

| Check Your Progress 2 | | |
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| Note: i) | Use the space given below for your answers. | |
| ii) | Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | |
| 1) Descr | ribe the principles of Taylor's Scientific Theory of Management. | |
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| | Frederic | kW. | Taylor |
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| 2) | Define 'soldering'. | |
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| 3) | Make a list of the important works of Taylor. | |
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4.5 SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT OF TAYLOR: AN EVALUATION

Scientific theory of management was an influential movement in the U.S. It was successful in improving production processes. Taylor also earned many followers such as H.L. Gantt, Frank Gilberth and Lillian Gilberth, H. Emerson and M.L.Cooke. Gantt countered the incentive pay system with his task and bonus system. Gilberth's laid the foundation of time and motion study. By inventing the term 'THERBLIGS'(GILBRETHS backwards), he invented the elemental unit of work. Emerson focused on increasing the efficiency of the organisation. Taylor's principles influenced these individual scholars and his ideas thus gained movement.

Taylor's principles focused on increasing the production, for which he analysed each task and focused on each component of production. He was able to identify the factors that yielded large production. Through the scientific principles, he even broke the monotony of work which had a positive impact on industries and their production. Even though scientific management and Taylor gained large popularity, there were certain drawbacks to his Approach:

- Taylor ignored the psychological and sociological variables within the organisation.
 He neglected the individual differences and perceptions of efficiency, which varied
 from worker to worker. He is said to have interpreted organisational efficiency in
 mechanistic terms.
- He laid emphasis on economic nature of humans. He conceived that the 'economic man' was best motivated by money. He is criticised as workers individual creativity never found its due place in his works. Elton Mayo's Hawthrone study revealed that psychological and social factors were equally important as economic factors. Maslow showed this in his theory as the shifting bases of motivation in human beings. He observed that satisfied needs were not motivators'. Thus, the economically satisfied would not find higher wages any more attractive than the organisation's fixed salary system.

- Taylor's principles overshadowed important structural principles such as coordination, delegation and decentralisation.
 - i) Taylor's dichotomy between planning and execution has been criticised. It is said to have been confusing for the workers as they were put under the control of eight supervisors. This has been described by Peter Drucker as of an attempt more towards industrial harmony and not efficiency.
 - ii) Taylorism is said to have received huge opposition from the union leaders. Taylor's Mental Revolution that aimed to resolve all disputes between workers and managers was perceived as a threat to trade unions. It was described as a threat to trade union movement, unity of labour and collective bargaining.
 - iii) Taylor's ideas were also opposed by managers as they felt that they had lost their discretion and judgement due to adoption of scientific methods. Secondly, the idea of Functional Foremanship was perceived as increase in their work and responsibility.

Even though Taylor has been criticised on various aspects of 'Scientific Theory of Management', it would be important to keep in mind the fact that he wrote at a time when industries worked without any laid down rules or principles. Taylor earnestly worked to improve efficiency of the organisation. He supported training of workers and imparting them skills. His approach to the study of organisation, work setting and procedure is valuable for contemporary organisational functioning.

4.6 CONCLUSION

Frederick Winslow Taylor is the 'Father of Scientific Management.' Taylor's principles have focused on defining rules to enhance efficiency of the organisations. He has made a significant contribution towards increase of organisational productivity and efficiency. Taylor in his Theory has focused on systematising the methods of work to increase output. His Theory has focused on workers and managers to increase output in the organisation. He aimed at rationalising the working of organisation through his principles of management of work and motion.

Taylor's Theory has focused on increasing efficiency but is criticised for being mechanistic and not focusing on psychological factors. He is often said to have ignored the 'human dimension' in the methods of work. In spite of various criticisms, his contribution is significant to the working of an organisation and to increasing of organisational efficiency and output.

| Check Your Progress 3 | | | |
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| Note: i) | Use the space given below for your answer. | | |
| ii) | Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit. | | |
| 1) Critic | eally analyse Taylor's Scientific Management Theory. | | |
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4.7 GLOSSARY

Rule- of-Thumb

: It believes that practical or empirical knowledge can help in going through work processes. Theoretic knowledge is not required. Only practice can lead to easy learning and application.

Standardisation of Tools

: This means setting standard methods, techniques and equipment for carrying out work. Development of work norms and practices that can be applied in all circumstances.

THERBLIGS

: **Therbligs** are 18 kinds of elemental motions used in the study of motion economy in the workplace. A workplace task is overviewed by recording each of the **therblig** units for a process. The aim is to optimise manual labour by eliminating unneeded movements.

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4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Taylor wrote in times that were turbulent and he was first to organise work and rules.
 - He attempted to increase work output through standardisation of norms.
 - He introduced many scientific principles and techniques.
 - His work on removing Rule of Thumb and bringing in Scientific Approach to worker selection and training is pioneering.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Functional Foremanship.
 - Soldering.
 - Mental Revolution.
 - Time and Motion Studies.
 - Differential Piece Rate System.
 - Shop Floor Management.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Development of science of work.
 - Scientific selection and training of workers.
 - Grooming of managers.
 - Training to encourage.
 - Equal duration of work and responsibility.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Tendency among workers to avoid work.
 - Two helps of soldering; natural and systematic.
 - Workers try to keep the expectations out of their work low.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Taylor ignored psychological and physiological variables.
 - He laid emphasis on economic nature of human beings.
 - Individual creativity did not find a place in Taylor.
 - His principles ignored the more important principles.
 - His concept of multiple bosses has been criticised.
 - He received opposition from Trade Unions.

UNIT 5 HENRI FAYOL*

Structure

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Fayol's Career
- 5.3 Fundamental Ideas of Fayol
- 5.4 Basic Premises of Management
- 5.5 Principles of Organisation
- 5.6 Impact of Fayol's Principles
- 5.7 Fayol: An Appraisal
- 5.8 Conclusion
- 5.9 Glossary
- 5.10 References
- 5.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Public administration as a discipline is drawn towards the administrative reality by connecting with the other disciplines of social sciences. It works towards building political, philosophical, moral and political issues for strengthening the public institutions around. These public institutions are governed by different perspectives, which require different solutions. Different theories in public administration cater to these different perspectives. The roots of theories in public administration are in the disciplines of history, political science, law, government, management and many more. In this Unit, we would focus on Henri Fayol as a thinker who brought forward the theory of administration as a way of understanding and examining administration. Henri Fayol is one of the key propounders towards the Classical Theory of organisation. It was through this theory of organisation that Henri Fayol worked towards devising a universal structure of organisation.

Henri Fayol and his work is often taken together with the contributions of Gullick and Urwick. Their collective works are said to have given the key principles of organisation and management. So, before we make an attempt to understand the contributions of Henri Fayol, it would be relevant to briefly discuss the principles surrounding Fayol's thoughts, which are commonly classified under the fourteen principles of management or the Classical Theory of Organisation.

5.2 FAYOL'S CAREER

This Unit would highlight Fayol's career and his principles of management. Henri Fayol (1841-1925) was a French mining engineer. Slowly in his career, he progressed and moved to the position of managing director in 1918. During his tenure with the company he was employed with, his efforts were directed to enable the company to rise from the position of bankruptcy. He worked towards improving the methods of management and help the company to rise to financial success. For his contribution to business management, he is acknowledged as the founder of modern management methods.

^{*} Contributed by Dr. Vaishali Narula, Assistant Professor, Kamla Nehru College, University of Delhi, New Delhi.

Fayol developed a system of management, which worked towards improving the management of the organisation. He devised methods to strengthen functioning of the company on the ideas of division of labour.

Large ideas of Fayol emerged out of his practices of management and his reflections as a manager. His Theory forms the bases of business administration and business management. In the academic world, this is also known as **Fayolism**. Henri Fayol provided one of the most influential **modern management** concepts of his times. He is the founder of the *fourteen* principles of management and *five* functions of a manager. He made no distinction between public and private administration, as he said that all the sciences could be equally applied to public and private sciences.

Fayol believed that administration as a process should not be restricted to a particular level, but should be carried out on all levels of the organisation. Fayol emerged as a prolific writer and wrote extensively on management of his mining company. He brought about around 10 publications and published many books /papers on management. His most outstanding work has been his Book titled General and Industrial Management (1916). The Book was translated in English in 1929.

| Check Your Progress 1 | | | |
|-----------------------|--|--|--|
| Note: i) | Use the space given below for your answer. | | |
| ii) | Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit. | | |
| 1) What | are the factors responsible for the development of 'Fayolism'? | | |
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5.3 FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF FAYOL

The understanding of Fayol's Theory of Management requires an understanding of the bases of his thought. Fayol, at the very outset, questioned the distinction of management in a public and a private enterprise. He believed that the very idea that there is a difference in management and public administration is misleading. A misnomer exists and surrounds the word administration. Administrative Science embraces not only the public services but enterprises of all sizes and purpose. As every organisation requires planning, organisation, command, coordination and control (collectively known by the acronym POCCC in order to function appropriately). We don't need several administrative sciences, but we need to have one which can be applied equally to both public and private sectors. He believed in universality with respect to the purpose of activity. His intention was to initiate a theoretical analysis appropriate to the wide range of organisations.

Fayol divided his idea of managerial functions into *six* groups on the bases of industrial activities:

1) **Technical Activities**: These activities were focused on production, manufacture and adaptation towards goal attainment.

Henri Fayol

- 2) **Commercial Activities**: This involved activities with respect to buying and selling of products. The efficient production required knowledge of market to take wise decisions.
- 3) **Financial Activities**: This involved optimum use of capital, the method of production with the purchase of raw material and other activities required optimum use of available funds.
- 4) **Security Activities**: The industrial activities and management required safeguarding the interest of its personnel and property.
- 5) **Accounting Activities**: In the conduct of industrial activities, it is essential to keep an account of the financial condition of the organisation.
- 6) **Managerial Activities**: He describes this to be the key of the organisation irrespective of who performs these. Planning, Organisation, Command, Coordination and Control (POCCC) are the essential elements of managerial activities and management.

5.4 BASIC PREMISES OF MANAGEMENT

While focusing on the idea of managerial activities, Fayol elaborated on the key premises of management in an organisation. These are:

Planning

A plan is the most effective instrument which contributes to growth in organisations. It helps to understand the short-term and the long-term plans. Experiences help us to draw realistic plans. For a good action plan to be effective, focus on unity, continuity, flexibility and precision helps a lot.

Organising

To organise a firm or an agency, there is a need to organise material organisation and human capital. Every organisation has to ensure that the various aspects are looked into, so that the plan is prepared and judiciously carried out. The human and the capital resources have to be in consistence with the objectives and requirements of an organisation. This requires the formulation of a single authority, which helps to conduct activities in a coordinated manner with clarity and precision. The leadership helps in conduct of duties and motivates employees to carry out their duties. This is intiated by paying of rewards.

• Command

Fayol believed that the art of command rests on general principles or conduct by the management. The manager with command should have a thorough knowledge of the personnel and should be able to eliminate the incompetent personnel. In his command, he has to work towards setting good example through periodic audits.

Coordination

This function of organisation focused on working together and harmonising activities. Essentially, the objective of ensuring coordination is to ensure that one department coordinates with the other keeping in mind the activities and overall objectives of the organisation.

Control

This helps to establish conformity with the plan and objectives. The process of control has to help overcome weaknesses and should be conducted in a reasonable manner and time, in order to ensure effectiveness.

Fayol described these as the essential elements of administration, which can be summarised as:

- Plan is to keep the future action in mind. The plan is to be constructed with continuity, flexibility and unity.
- Organise is to build formal structure of authority with human and material agencies.
 Organising involves different activities including division of organisation into different departments or defining different positions and jobs.
- Command is to maintain action amongst the personnel.
- Coordinate is to interrelate and bind together the various elements of the processes.
- Control is to ensure conformity to rule and authority.

| Check Your Progress 2 | | | | |
|-----------------------|--|--|--|--|
| Note: i) | Use the space given below for your answers. | | | |
| ii) | Check your answers with that given at the end of the Unit. | | | |
| 1) Descr | ibe Fayol's key elements of management. | | | |
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5.5 PRINCIPLES OF ORGANISATION

Fayol specified *fourteen* principles of administration. These administrative principles he said were to strengthen the humane part of the organisation. These principles are flexible and adaptive to the needs of the organisation The *fourteen* principles are:

- i) Division of Work
- ii) Authority and Responsibility
- iii) Discipline
- iv) Unity of Command
- v) Unit of Direction
- vi) Subordination of Individual Interest to General Interest
- vii) Remuneration
- viii) Centralisation
- ix) Scalar Chain or Hierarchy
- x) Order
- xi) Equity
- xii) Stability of Tenure
- xiii) Initiative
- xiv) Esprit de Corps

Henri Fayol

Fayol observed that any organisation would be working in the dark if it is not based on these principles. However, he also said that this is not an exhaustive list of principles of administration, as more principles can be added and subtracted as per the needs of the organisation. These *fourteen* principles of Fayol are explained as below:

Division of Work: This refers to division of work according to people's abilities. An organisation involves people of different types and abilities. This also results in specialisation of function.

Authority and Responsibility: Fayol described authority and responsibility to be interrelated. He described authority to be a corollary to responsibility. Authority is the exercise of power, which goes with sanction and rewards.

Discipline: It is the respect for agreements, which are directed to achieve obedience and implementation at all levels. It is applicable to managers at higher levels and lower levels. It can be judiciously applied with clear and fair agreements at all levels.

Unity of Command: By this, Fayol meant that orders should be given to the subordinates by one supervisor only. As, if it is violated, it undermines the authority of the superior. It is difficult for the subordinate to take multiple orders. This, he outlined emerges, when there is dual command i.e., when authority is divided between two members and the departments are not clearly demarcated.

Unity of Direction: According to this, Fayol meant, 'one head one plan.' It is essential to have coordination of strength and focus of effort. Unity of Direction focuses on organisational coordination, where objectives are met. If is different from Unity of Command, as Unity of Command is personnel based and Unity of Direction is organisation based. Thus, Unity of Command cannot exist without Unity of Direction.

Subordination of Individual Interest to General Interest: Individual interest should not prevail over the interest of the organisation. Thus, the organisation should work in agreement with its personnel as far as possible.

Remuneration of Personnel: The remuneration paid to the employer should be fair to the employee and the employer. There are various factors, which determine the remuneration such as the cost, business condition, mode of payment and more.

Centralisation: The degree of initiative in an organisation is largely determined by the top managers. Centralisation is present in every organisation though it may be to a lesser or greater extent.

Scalar Chain (Hierarchy): Fayol defined Scalar Chain as the chain of superiors from the highest to the lowest. The line of authority is the route followed for communication from top to bottom. This route is slow, lengthy and time consuming. According to him, the path is dictated by the principle of Unity of Command. However, to overcome the delay, Fayol suggested an alternative route of 'gang plank'.

Order (Placement): This refers to the process that once the basic job structure has been devised, the personnel need to work towards material and social order. The personnel need to be placed in the right job.

Equity: For the conduct of affairs in the organisation, it is essential that employees be treated with justice and kindness. This is important to build the employee- employer relationship.

Stability of Tenure of Personnel: Employees should be given sufficient time to adjust to the work. Fayol stated that instability of tenure leads to inefficiency of the organisation.

Initiative: Employees should think and work towards new ideas. These ideas work as a powerful motivator for employees and help in establishing respect and discipline.

Esprit de Corps: This means harmony amongst the personnel of the organisation. This helps in strengthening of the organisation.

5.6 IMPACT OF FAYOL'S PRINCIPLES

The principles laid by Fayol worked towards establishing efficiency in the organisation. These principles helped in establishing sound working systems in organisations. They helped in establishing discipline and coordination amongst the employee and employer even while maintaining the hierarchy of the organisation. However, Fayol pointed out that principles acted as enablers for the administration of organisation, and were no way the rigid principles for the management of administration. These principles helped to strengthen the human part of the organisation and also the efficiency of work. According to Fayol, these administrative principles work towards coordinating and fulfilling the objectives of organisation.

While pursuing the attainment of organisational objectives, Fayol suggested the idea of 'gang plank'. Although Fayol laid focus on the idea of formal organisation, he suggested 'gangplank' as a method, which helped in improving the working of organisation. He felt that 'Formalism' could be a deterrent to the working of organisation and therefore the method of 'gangplank' could break the hierarchy and the intermediate layers. This he explained in the following manner:



So, if 'D' follows the principle of communication and if 'D' has to communicate with 'J', then it has to follow all the five channels through 'C', 'B' and so on covering all the levels. It is, however, possible that through a 'gangplank' we cover or connect with our immediate superiors i.e., 'D' connects with 'J'. This makes the working faster and the superior can directly connect with the subordinate. Even though, Fayol gave the principles for the working of organisation, he is said to have focused on the top level, therefore, his theory is often called the 'Top-down' approach. His main concern was to develop a common theory towards management of organisations.

| Check Your Progress 3 | | | |
|-----------------------|---|--|--|
| Note: i) | Use the space given below for your answers. | | |
| ii) | Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | | |
| 1) Expl | ain the concept of 'Gangplank' and bring out its relevance. | | |
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| 2) | List the fourteen principles of administration. | Henri Fayo |
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5.7 FAYOL: AN APPRAISAL

Fayol has been criticised on various grounds for his Theory. He has been criticised to have based his Theory on personal experiences. It is said that from his work in a mining firm, it was unrealistic to derive and develop a framework, which would suit the needs of all organisations. He is said to have focused on improving the overall administration through a set of principles drawn from specific personalised experiences.

His Theory is often described as a 'macro theory', as he is set to have focused on macro aspects of management of total organisation. He is criticised for having focused only on functional aspect and is said to have overlooked the structural aspects. Peter Drucker is a major critique of 'Fayolism'. He described the *fourteen* principles of Fayol to be overlapping. He also observed that Fayol attempted to apply a universal model to the administration of organisation. Drucker stated that if we apply these fourteen principles to a more dynamic, or more entrepreneurial organisation than a typical mining industry, then it would raise a real concern for performance capacities. Chester Barnard and Herbert Simon have argued that organisations cannot be purely explained on the bases of fourteen principles. There was a need to focus on the behavioural aspects of participants of organisation. There was a need to focus on emotional needs of employees too.

5.8 CONCLUSION

Henri Fayol as a practitioner and administrator, provided a systematic theory of administration. His principles were relevant to functional areas of organisation. This gave it a wider theory of application. Fayol shares a pragmatic approach towards administration of an organisation, which he derived largely from the personal experiences. His Theory is largely based on the principle of Unity of Command. The principles of Fayol are used in planning and developing organisational structure. Even though Fayol gave the *fourteen* principles of organisation, they are said to be flexible with a wider application to the working of organisation.

Fayol tried to design a rational system of organisation, where the primary objective was fulfilment of the basic objectives of the organisation. Attainment of this objective helps organisation achieve the objectives and also works towards awarding its contributors. He was of the view that the managers at the higher levels should empower themselves with administrative skills and knowledge. He focused on improving the overall administration by observing certain principles.

5.9 GLOSSARY

Gangplank

: The connect between the superior and the subordinate by jumping formal hierarchy to conduct or carry out functions in an organisation.

Pragmatic

: Guided by scientific and rational thinking assical Thinkers

Unity of Command

: Flow of order or command from a superior to a subordinate.

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5.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Process 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Fayol worked in a mining firm.
 - He worked towards improving the methods of management and pulled his firm from bankruptcy.
 - Fayol developed a system of management, which worked towards improving the management of the organisation.
 - Fayol's Theory forms the bases of business administration and business management.
 - Fayol did not differentiate between public and private organisations and believed in the application of same generic principles to both.
 - He published a Book called 'General and Industrial Management' in 1916.
 - He gave five functions of manager (known by the acronym POCCC) and *fourteen* principles of management which came to be called 'Fayolism'.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Fayol spoke of planning, organising, commanding, controlling and coordinating as five major activities of a manager.
 - He divided the activities in an organisation into technical, commercial, financial, security, accounting and managerial.

Check Your Progress 3 Henri Fayol

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - 'Gangplank is an answer to 'formalism'.
 - It helps in level jumping in a hierarchical organisation.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - See Section 5.5 for your answer.



UNIT 6 MAX WEBER*

Structure

- 6.1 Objectives
- 6.2 Introduction
- 6.3 Max Weber: A Brief Biographical Account
- 6.4 The Weberian Model: Setting the Context
- 6.5 Authority Structures
 - 6.5.1 Types of Authority
 - 6.5.2 A Brief Review of Types of Authority
- 6.6 General Concept of Bureaucracy
 - 6.6.1 Fundamental Beliefs of Bureaucracy
 - 6.6.2 Fundamental Principles of Bureaucracy
 - 6.6.3 Characteristics of Bureaucracy
 - 6.6.4 Limitations of 'Rule by Officials'
- 6.7 Critique of Weber's Bureaucratic Model
- 6.8 Changing Perspectives of Weber's Bureaucracy
- 6.9 Conclusion
- 6.10 Glossary
- 6.11 References
- 6.12 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

6.1 **OBJECTIVES**

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the concept of bureaucracy and rational administration;
- Discuss the various types of authority;
- Highlight the key characteristics of Weberian Model of Bureaucracy;
- Examine the impact of Weberian Model of Bureaucracy on modern governments; and
- Describe the appropriate role of bureaucracy in contemporary scenario.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Max Weber (1864-1920) was one among the greatest philosophers who explained to us that bureaucracy as a social entity constantly interacted with politics and society. His writings were greatly influenced by the societal changes of the late eighteenth century, Germany and rest of the world. One of his notable works include: 'The Protestant Ethic" and 'The Spirit of Capitalism', which were written in connection to the historical reality of industrial revolution. As he grew up in Germany during the times of capitalism, he could witness its economic advancement, growth of industrial community and working-class traditions. With societies getting more industrialised and cities exploding

^{*} Contributed by Dr. R. Anitha, Former Faculty, RGNIYD, Sriperumbudur, Tamil Nadu.

with population, a new managerial class 'bourgeoisie' started to replace the age-old aristocracy. Weber has analysed these dramatic events in the society and developed some key ideas to understand the growing complexities better. One such observation of Weber, which struck a deeper chord in his later writings was about the dysfunctions of aristocracy, such as irrational behaviour, unscientific conventions, nepotism, class consciousness etc., that led to unregulated and unchecked social and political power.

The observations raised by Weber culminated in restructuring of the internal structure and the organisation's procedures based on the legal-rational model. He believed that only rational structures could survive in the wake of growing complexities, as they enabled people to exercise discrete power within an organisation. Interestingly, his writings were grounded on 'domination/authority' and 'legitimacy' that formed a solid foundation for the study of bureaucracy. The result was that it added meaning and rigour to the technical and pedagogical landscape of the discipline of public administration. In this Unit, we shall discuss the concept of bureaucracy and some broad technical aspects of bureaucracy as given by Max Weber.

6.3 MAX WEBER: A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

The word 'bureau' is of French origin that signifies a chest of drawers, a writing table, an office or even a department for transacting business. And when applied to government, the addition of the suffix 'cracy' derived from the Greek word (Greek root word: 'kratos') for 'rule' imparted full meaning to the composite term 'bureaucracy'. Its meaning signifies a body of officials assigned with the exercise of power organised on a Constitutional basis who are independent of a king or any head of State. Prior to Weber, many scholars like Hegel, Marx, Mosca, have deliberated about bureaucracy, however, it was Weber who made a systematic attempt to understand its meaning in the light of capitalism.

The credit for coining the term 'bureaucracy' goes to Jaques Claude Marie Vincent deGournay, a French economist and administrator way back in mid-eighteenth century. In response to government regulation that was used to suppress day to day business activities, he coined the term "bureaucratie", which means "government by desks". The satirical term 'bureaucracy' used by Vincent de Gournay to denote insensitive incumbents who were neither precise nor thoughtful about the consequences of their behaviour later became the biggest academic buzz word of the early 20th century with Weber's interpretation.

6.4 THE WEBERIAN MODEL: SETTING THE CONTEXT

At the turn of the eighteenth century, with the subsequent progress of Industrial Revolution, bureaucracy found an opportunity to attain maturity. A major breakthrough started shaping the eventual outcome of the modern concept of bureaucracy, which could be attributed to the two landmark events; first, the period of absolute monarchy in the West; and second, subsequent phase of national sovereignty that followed as a result of social and economic development.

However, there was no uniformity in the growth of administration. The administrative system of each country was determined by its own historical roots, its geographical setting and above all, its own ecological context. Nevertheless, a common feature was the decline of feudalism, which created a favourable scenario to bureaucratic State

administration. This scenario could be attributed to the reforms incorporated in military science and technology. Eventually, it not just brought successful military ventures but also transformed the nature and form of political organisation, that is, from feudal to bureaucratic. Secondly, this transformation was powered by the growth of a new social class, the bourgeoisie. This class mainly comprised of the business groups and learned professionals. Bourgeoisie was a product initially patronised by the aristocrats who held a position between the common man and the descendants of old feudal aristocracy.

History reveals that bureaucracy emerged as a middle class concept and the basis of its compliance of authority is Constitutional compliance and not personal loyalty (characteristic nature of aristocracy). For instance, the growth of administrative/public services in Britain illustrates that modern bureaucracy is a middle class, bourgeoisie concept. In support of this public service perspective, we could also find similar trends in Western European countries of France and Germany.

In brief, the rise of aristocratic obsession with 'personal loyalty' and 'nomination' were countered with rational principles like 'impersonality' and 'competition' and this ultimately created a ripple effect in the field of administration throughout the world. Notably, this ripple effect came through the contributions of Weber. As perceived earlier, his theory of bureaucracy came as a result of his preoccupation with rational principles, hence, the scope of inquiry extended to large-scale enterprises in political, administrative and economic realms. Ever since the growth of bureaucracy, it has become an essential and vital instrument of development in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, communist countries and developing countries.

6.5 AUTHORITY STRUCTURES

Weber's writing was primarily concerned with the manner in which power was exercised in a formal organisation and referred to 'dominancy' as an important element of social action. He held that every sphere of social action whether religion or commerce or politics is profoundly influenced by structures of dominance. However, he regarded that compliance of orders by the subordinates could be made more obligatory if the power was viewed as legitimate. This means a belief of the subordinate that the order given by his superior was justifiable and it was their duty to oblige. For Weber, dominancy or exercising power that is viewed as legitimate is much more stable than other forms of belief. In connection to the forms of belief, Weber formulated different authority structures, such as traditional authority, charismatic authority, and legal-rational authority.

6.5.1 Types of Authority

i) Traditional Authority

Authority was referred to as traditional when the orders of the head were obeyed on grounds that this was the way things were always done and the powers enjoyed by the authority was by virtue of his inherited status. Its basis of legitimacy was the 'sanctity' of the order and customs and traditions that had been followed since time immemorial. The person exercising traditional authority was referred not as a 'superior', but a personal 'chief/head'. This includes patriarchs, tribal leaders and the like. Weber pointed out that the administrative staffs in traditional authority do not consist primarily of officials, but of one's own kith and kin. And the relation of the administrative staff to the chief is determined by personal loyalty and not in a detached manner. Weber opined that those regimes that are confined only by individual judgement would not survive in the longrun as the scope for perception of the masses is restricted.

ii) Charismatic Authority

Weber used the Greek word 'charisma' and defined it as the "quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least a person with specifically exceptional powers or qualities" by his subjects. So long as the leader was deemed relevant by his personal disciples, they would implicitly follow the orders of the leader. Sahni and Vayunandan (2010) observe that no formal procedures or legal rules are followed for appointment, promotions or remunerations in charismatic authority. This means that the leader is not governed by any formal method of adjudication, as a result, Weber cautioned that the administration would be unstable and loose.

iii) Legal-Rational Authority

Of the three types of authority, Weber considered 'legal-rational authority' as the foundation of modern day organisations. As understood earlier, Weber systematically studied industrial society and anticipated the corresponding shifts in bureaucratic set up, such as specialisation, formalised rules and regulations, centralised authority, hierarchical set up, chain of command, competition etc. However, this concept does not recognise all incumbents under bureaucracy. Those politically elected members were excluded from administration. To him, bureaucracy signified a collective term for a body of appointed officials (top management) who exercise their official duties in an impersonal and formalistic manner. In this authority, the subordinates obey the orders by default and not out of personal loyalty. From a technical point of view, Weber, thus, claimed bureaucracy is capable of attaining the highest degree of 'rationality' and 'efficiency' and asserted its superiority over other organisations. We will discuss about this concept in detail in Section 6.6

6.5.2 A Brief Review of Types of Authority

In contrast to his contemporary scholars, Weber perceived 'authority' as the manifestation of relation between the leader and the follower. Henderson and Parsons (1947) observed that the 'belief' of the follower as the foundation of all authority lends prestige to the person exercising it. Within this context, Weber placed his bureaucracy as the purest form of legal-rational authority. In a legal-organisation, control is exercised by the dint of the uniform types of power, authority and influence. It implies that the established rules are well-recognised, technically sound and in line with public interest. The rules and regulations do not contradict each other and arefairly applicable to all irrespective of caste, creed or gender. Parkin (2014) interprets Weber's three forms of authority and this can be depicted as follows:

| Types of Authority | Grounds for Claiming Obedience |
|--------------------|---|
| Traditional | Obey me because this is what our people have always done. |
| Charismatic | Obey me because I can transform your life. |
| Legal-Rational | Obey me because I am your lawfully appointed superior. |

In sum, the traditional authority may be patrimonial in nature and the charismatic authority may have the traits of a revolutionary leader, However, legal-rational authority holds a superior status than the other two types of authority. Having discussed the types of authority, we shall now deliberate on the general concept of bureaucracy in the next section.

| Check Your Progress 1 | | | | |
|---|-------|--|--|--|
| Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | | | | |
| | ii) | Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | | |
| 1) | Expla | in the meaning of the term "Bureaucracy". | | |
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| 2) | What | is the historical context of Max Weber's Bureaucratic Model? | | |
| <i>2)</i> | Wilat | is the instolled context of Max weed 3 Defended the Model: | | |
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| 3) | Descr | ibe the types of authority, as identified by Weber. | | |
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6.6 GENERAL CONCEPT OF BUREAUCRACY

6.6.1 Fundamental Beliefs of Bureaucracy

Weber believed that no order would be considered legally-rational if it was to be influenced by personal vested interests. Further, he placed perception of the masses as 'legitimate' over perception of the elite. He believed 'legitimacy' of enacted rules and impersonality of command issued by the authority was subject to the following *five* beliefs:

- 1) That the legal norm that can establish obedience from the members of an organisation can be achieved through written obligation.
- 2) That the law is a system of abstract rules that are applicable to particular cases and administrative *modus operandi* always caters to the interest of an organisation. This means there is no scope for arbitrariness in its functioning.
- 3) That the individual authorised to issue command is also subject to law and order. This implies that no person is above law.

Max Weber

- 4) That the person who obeys authority does so in his capacity as a member of the organisation. The person who holds authority is totally unbiased and just.
- 5) That the members of the organisation obey the impersonal orders by default of the position conferred and not to the person who holds authority.

Thus, Weber allowed law to supersede the individual, irrespective of his religion, class, caste, creed or any other discrimination. Following this, Weber described the fundamental principles of bureaucracy which are discussed in the subsequent Sub-section:

6.6.2 Fundamental Principles of Bureaucracy

Weber examined bureaucracies not on scientific parlance, he rather derived an 'ideal' type of organisation based on the characteristic bureaucratic features of all observed organisations across the world. The *eight* fundamental principles of legal-rational authority include:

- 1) Organisation of official functions on a continuous rule-bound basis.
- 2) A specified sphere of competence and of distinct functions based on systematic division of labour, with each sphere of function endowed with requisite authority.
- 3) Every office is arranged hierarchically with clear delineation of rules, with sanctions for non-compliance of rules.
- 4) For the effective conduct of business, technically competent personnel are to be scientifically appointed and given suitable training.
- 5) A complete absence of appropriation of official position by the incumbent. A classic example could be of Mr. M. Visvesvaraya, the renowned Indian Engineer and Statesman who always used to carry two pens with him, one of which belonged to the government (which he used only for office work) and the other for personal work.
- 6) Another feature of bureaucracy is institutional memory, wherein Weber stresses the need for maintaining written records, acts, decisions, and rules. He was of the view that enforcement of rules cannot be orally communicated.
- 7) Weber's structure provides for a permanent career service, which provides salaries, promotion, career advancement that is based on seniority or merit, and presence of grievance machinery.
- 8) For increased productivity, the organisations that are endowed with non-bureaucratic heads(politically elected representatives) are expected to uphold the organisational commitmentamong its members.

According to Weber, the bureaucratic form arranged on the above mentioned rational principles is capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency. Thus, Weber's *five* fundamental beliefs and *eight* principles together constitute the general concept of bureaucracy applicable to all forms of modern organisations, irrespective of their mission and vision.

6.6.3 Characteristics of Bureaucracy

Weber was of the opinion that purely rational type of organisation had certain advantages, such as precision, speed, reliability, discipline, continuity, operational uniformity, discretion, and provision for reduction of friction. As he wrote, "Today, it is primarily the capitalist market economy, which demands that the official business of the

administration be discharged precisely, unambiguously, continuously, and with as much speed as possible". The foremost strength of this Model was the fact that there is always scope for steady improvement of functioning through training and constant practice. Weber argued that a fully developed bureaucratic structure is among those social structures, which are the hardest to destroy. He was categorical on the idea that the consequences of a developed bureaucracy, would depend "upon the direction which the powers using the apparatus give to it".

Another feature of bureaucracy, as Weber pointed out is to increase the superiority and professional prominence of the bureaucrat by keeping their knowledge and motives secretive. Theoretically speaking, Bhattacharya (2008) interprets the idea of 'official secrecy' as an invention of bureaucracy, he observes that bureaucracy tries to hide its knowledge and action from criticism and remains closed and distant even from the political representatives. Nevertheless, Weber was well-aware of the inherent tendency of bureaucracy to misuse power that could undermine the political dexterity and social accountability. In the following Sub-section, let us look into the mechanisms prescribed by Weber for the officials to restrain from abuse of authority.

6.6.4 Limitations of 'Rule by Officials'

Albrow (1978) points out that Weber devised various mechanisms for limiting the scope of misuse of authority in general and bureaucracy in particular. In fact, Albrow identifies *five* mechanisms in Weber's writings. They are: Collegiality, Separation of Powers, Amateur Administration, Direct Democracy and Representation. Let us discuss them now:

Collegiality

The 'collegial' principle is the opposite of monocratism. For Weber, to check individual power abuse, the authority could be shared collectively among the officials. The advantage of collegiality is that the members work as a team to solve problems, thereby increasing the morale of the employees. One disadvantage is that it can take more time and effort in terms of taking decisions and fixing responsibilities.

Separation of Powers

It refers to division of responsibilities for the same function between two or more bodies. In such a system, a compromise could be achieved among the involved bodies in terms of budget or parliament or monarch or any other administrative matter. In Weber's view, such a system is inherently unstable.

Amateur Administration

This pertains to an unremunerated activity or a situation, where the government depends on its administrators who are interested to share their time and resources for management of public affairs. However, Weber believed that this system may not be a corresponding match to the administrative professionals and experts.

Direct Democracy

It can assume different forms, such as short-term office, selection by lot and provision to recall the officials. The fundamental idea is to hold the officials formally under the control of assembly and to ensure their accountability towards people.

Representation

The uniqueness of the modern age, according to Weber, is the rise of collegial

Max Weber

representative bodies where the members are selected by vote and are free to take decisions. Above all, they share the authority over those who elect them. He was of the view that through political parties, this representative system could be made compatible with the changing times.

Based on all the *five* mechanisms, Weber viewed that leadership recruited and developed in Parliament is the most effective means of controlling the administration. Nevertheless, he relied on the appropriate selection process of politicians with leadership capacity and ability to set right the deviation of the administrative apparatus.

The Weberian Model was considered as a systematic study of the manifestation of power and authority in modern day organisations, yet, it was rejected and challenged on various grounds. One of the major criticisms directed against the Model was that Weber had put more emphasis on the office than the officer. For instance, Herbert Simon contends that there are certain limits to rationality of the incumbent at all situations, which could seriously reflect on the 'efficiency' aspect. Given the ever-shifting realities in the society and limitations of the incumbents' mental process, values, and changing job requirements etc. scholars like Peter Blau, Chris Argyris, Chester A. Bernard, Philip Selznickand several others questioned the whole design of Weber, and termed it machine-like, rigid and prescriptive in nature.

| Check Your Progress 2 | | | | | | |
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| No | Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | | | | | |
| | ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | | | | | |
| 1) | What are the fundamental beliefs of bureaucracy? | | | | | |
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| 2) | Discuss the basic principles of bureaucracy. | | | | | |
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| 3) | Examine the important characteristics of legal-rational authority. | | | | | |
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| 4) | What are the limitations of 'Rule by Officials', as highlighted by Weber? |
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6.7 CRITIQUE OF WEBER'S BUREAUCRATIC MODEL

Weber's Bureaucracy was criticised from the standpoint of compatibility of the Model to the ecological context of different countries and changing times. Robert K. Merton, one of the foremost critics of Weber's Bureaucratic Model points out that although close control and supervision by the rule favours reliability and predictability of employee behaviour, yet, it also leads to unfavourable tendency of the organisation to emphasise more on means than ends. This criticism is in connection with bureaucracies that fail to distinguish that rules are for maximising efficiency and not just for adherence. For instance, Bhattacharya (2008) explains that compliance to formal aspects (hierarchy, rigid rules etc.) become more important than the substantive ones (service to the people). Thereby, the whole system suffers from rationality.

Haragopal and Prasad (1990) while deliberating on the Weberian Model argue that adherence to rules becomes an end in itself, where the incumbents tend to become biased in applying rules. They understand this scenario as: "Show me the man, I will show you the rule". In line with this argument, Merton cautions that obsession with 'rules' would interfere with the adaptive ability of the incumbent under unforeseen conditions, as the provision for applying general rules may be limited in specific situations.

Peter Blau acknowledges that Weber's Model provided a framework for the systematic theory of formal organisation. However, he argues that Weber failed to explore certain dysfunctions that could hamper the organisation such as, encouragement for less personally responsible behaviour. *Secondly*, he contends that Weber discussed about the functions of bureaucratic institutions in a larger social context but failed to discuss the internal functioning of the organisation. For example in terms of promotion, "he emphasised the use of objective, rational procedures, but failed to deal with the worth of seniority and merit". Simon and Barnard contend that Weber was unaware about the influential character of informal networks, such as, human relations, motivation, communication channels, leadership etc, as his focus was only on formal structures (specialisation, hierarchy, rules, roles etc.). To Barnard, the existence of informal network is a pre-requisite for efficient functioning of formal organisation.

Talcott Parsons, a sociologist, questions of the internal consistency of the rational principle 'sphere of competence'. According to this principle, by default of his position, the incumbent is vested with both technical superiority and the inherent power to issue orders. For Parsons, technical superiority and the right to issue orders vested in the same person seems to be conflicting, as it is not always possible to ensure that the person of the highest authority will necessarily possess the corresponding technical proficiency. He writes further, "In such case the individual working in an organisation

Max Weber

will face the problem of whom to obey, the person with the right to command or the man with the greater expertise".

Not just Weber's model, bureaucracies across the world have been criticised when they become too complex, too inefficient, and too rigid to handle. With bureaucracy seen as an important tool for achieving social justice, which is referred as the hallmark of a true democracy, Weber's 'ideal' type, which was conceived way back in mideighteenth century continue to gather criticism from different schools of thought. Despite criticism from different scholars, the ideas of Weber continue to influence the present system of administration. We will discuss this in the following Section.

6.8 CHANGING PERSPECTIVES OF WEBER'S BUREUACRACY

Following Weber, both the proponents and opponents have generally assumed that only an advanced society, culturally arranged on rational principles, would be compatible enough to sustain such legal-rational administration. This means it was presumed that a legal-rational organisation can seldom achieve maximum efficiency in less advanced societies. However, during the mid-twentieth century, increase in complexities of societal existence of individuals on democratic and equity principles has brought about greater dependence on government agencies both in advanced as well as in less advanced countries. While this phenomenon had helped bureaucracy to achieve an all-pervasive status, concurrently, it grappled with administrative dysfunctions, such as inert, inefficient, corrupt, unmanageable, unresponsive, unaccountable, invasive procedures etc. These dysfunctions are collectively called 'bureaucratisation'.

Drawing evidence from research findings, Caiden (1991) attempts to reflect the systemic and organisational deficiencies in terms of bureaucratic inertia and complacency. In the early 1970s, a unique experiment was conducted at the Institute of Administration, University of Ife, Nigeria, where 72 Nigerian civil servants took part in evolving case studies of maladministration. The study revealed six dysfunctions of bureaucracy that prevented officials from taking initiatives vis-à-vis corruption and lack of integrity, community conflict and aggression, sectarian conflict, inefficiency, misconduct and indiscipline and poor authority relationships. Further, few chronic problems were identified by scholars and activists, such as inordinate delays, non-availability of officials at all levels, lack of concern towards the grievances of citizens or groups, lack of a humane approach and the like.

Post-Weberian view has been people-oriented as against structure-oriented and there has been a tectonic shift from the mechanical impersonalised Weberian structure to human development paradigm. This means inclusion of more flexible structures and giving up the obsession for productivity and secrecy, as it was believed that organisational productivity *sans* human development was meaningless. At the level of the organisation, it was recommended to develop qualitative factors, such as new ethos, situational response, greater accessibility, greater openness and transparency and above all interpersonal relationships. Over the last few decades, governments' role has become increasingly complex, equal credit has also been given to the role of bureaucracy, as it touches the quality of life on citizens on everyday basis. On one end of the continuum, there has been a widespread acknowledgement of 'people's participation' with government and bureaucrats for effective governance but on the other end, there is an increasing concern about how the bureaucracies are using 'power'.

According to Bhattacharya (2008, op.cit.), at the heart of these concerns is 'accountability': for what and to whom are bureaucracies answerable? How the



bureaucracies are held accountable? As the most important solution to the chronic problems faced by the government in general and bureaucracy in particular, there has been a growing demand for ensuring new ethos, such as, 'accountability' and 'transparency'in administration. 'Openness' 'accountability', 'responsibility', 'answerability', 'responsiveness' all represent pretty much a similar process. Both scholars and practitioners believed that increased application of this new ethos could overcome the dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy; wherein 'performance' could greatly outweigh procedures and rule of thumb.

Any discussion on 'bureaucracy' for the 21st century is indeed thought provoking. Based on the past experiences and current realities, we could reasonably conclude that bureaucracy for the forthcoming decades calls for reorienting and reprioritising our goals and strategies. Bureaucracy did suffer from social hiccups, which have been highlighted by thinkers and activists as 'bureaucratic leviathan'. To overcome these lacunae, a number of tools and strategies have also been implemented, both in advanced and less advanced countries, some of which worth mentioning are: introduction to Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in administration and governance, Right to Information (RTI), decentralisation of authority (as against centralised authority), strengthening of local governance through *gram sabha*, citizens' charters, citizens' report cards, grievance redressal mechanism, and the like. Thus, in spite of so many pros and cons, one is not bewildered to find that bureaucracy has justified its inevitability in accordance with today's realities.

| Check Your Progress 3 | | | | | | |
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| Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | | | | | | |
| ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | | | | | | |
| 1) Write a critique on Weber's 'legal-rational' authority. | | | | | | |
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| 2) Bring out the changing perspectives of Weber's bureaucracy. | | | | | | |
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6.9 CONCLUSION

Max Weber's works do not merely include the bureaucratic model or the organisational studies, but his writings have influenced many areas of academia like sociology, political economy, management studies etc. He saw the rise of capitalism and large-scale organisations, which provoked him to identify the need for managing professional service. Those days, it was not an easy task to manage organisation as the economy gradually

moved from farms to factories. He saw that the existing approaches of organisation had inherent problems, especially in the manifestation of authority vis-à-vis traditional and charismatic. A major impact of these types of authority was an irrational behaviour of a particular group, who had a disproportionate influence over the functioning of organisation (for example: decision making in the hands of influential people). Weber saw this as a disadvantage, as it was unlikely for the most qualified people to run the organisation at its best. Therefore, he advocated for a 'legal-rational' approach, where decision-making process can be based on formalised roles, rules, and regulations. This means it does not matter whether the person of authority was charismatic or persuasive, but the authority ultimately resided in the position/office.

Many scholars have criticised Weber's model, eventually, however it has provided a generic template for the future organisations to customise as per the changing context. Especially, in the light of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation era, it has evolved and reconnected with the changing nature of the State, economy and citizens. We tend to understand the nature of governance in general and public administration in particular on rational grounds even in the 21st century and this stands as a testimony to the relevance and presence of Max Weber's ideas till date.

6.10 GLOSSARY

Bureaucratic Leviathan

| Arbitrary | : | A decision based on individual will rather than |
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| | | the rule of law. |

Aristocracy : A form of government in which power is held by

people on hereditary basis.

monster in biblical times. It was used as a metaphor by the opponents of bureaucracy who often criticised bureaucratic ambiguities (such as its huge unmanageable size) by using this term

'bureaucratic leviathan'

Feudal : A form of social structure which prevailed in

Medieval Europe, where the feudal lords owned the land and dominated the people who worked

The term 'leviathan' was used to refer to a sea

under them.

Incumbent : The office bearer or the person holding office.

Institutional Memory : The stored knowledge within an organisation that

is transmitted to the other members of the group.

Monocratism : Rule by a single person.

Patrimonial : A form of government where power flows

directly from the leader.

Rule of Thumb : An approximate way of doing things without any

scientific means.

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6.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answers should include the following points:
 - The word 'bureau' has a French origin.
 - It means an office or department to transact business.
 - Vincent de Gourney coined the term 'bureaucracy'
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Shaping of bureaucracy can be attributed to period of absolute monarchy in the West and phase of sovereignty that followed.
 - The administration of each country was determined by its own roots.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Traditional Authority.
 - Charismatic Authority.
 - Legal-rational Authority.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Legal norms can establish obedience.
 - Law is a system of abstract rules applicable to particular cases.
 - Industrial command is subjected to law and order.

- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Organisation of official positions on rule-bound bases.
 - Hierarchical organisation of offices.
 - Absence of appropriation of official position.
 - Unwritten rules.
 - Permanent career service.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Discretion and regulations.
 - Official rules and regulations.
 - Speed, reliability and precision.
 - Unambiguity and uniformity.
- 4) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Collegiality.
 - Separation of powers.
 - Amateur administration.
 - Direct democracy.
 - Representation.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Compliance to rules becomes more important.
 - Rules become end in themselves.
 - Weber does not explain internal functioning of bureaucracy.
 - Weber did not take into view the reliance of informal networks.
 - Highest authority need not be technically efficient.
 - Weber failed to explain the dysfunctions of bureaucracy.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Legal-rational organisation can seldom achieve maximum efficiency in less advanced societies.
 - During the mid-twentieth century, increase in complexities of societal existence
 of individuals on democratic and equity principles has brought about greater
 dependence on government agencies.
 - Post-Weberian view has been people-oriented as against structure-oriented.
 - There has been a tectonic shift from the mechanical impersonalised Weberian structure to human development paradigm.

- There has been a lot of bureaucratisation.
- To overcome these lacunae, a number of tools and strategies have also been implemented, such as introduction to Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in administration and governance, Right to Information (RTI), decentralisation of authority.



UNIT 7 MARY PARKER FOLLETT*

Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Life and Works of Follett
- 7.3 Follett on Conflicts in Organisation
- 7.4 Follett's Concept of Giving of Orders
- 7.5 Concepts of Power, Authority and Control
- 7.6 Planning and Coordination
- 7.7 Leadership as a Necessary Skill
- 7.8 Conclusion
- 7.9 Glossary
- 7.10 References
- 7.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

7.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Describe the different ways in which conflict in an organisation is resolved;
- Examine the different attitudes needed for giving orders;
- Explain the concept of Power, Authority and Control;
- List the principles of Coordination; and
- Discuss the different Leadership styles, as put forward by Follett.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Mary Parker Follett was the first lady in the field of Administrative Theory. She was the first person to focus on the theory of individuals in the organisation. Peter Drucker described her as a 'Prophet of Management', while Warren Bennis observed that 'just about everything written today about leadership and organisations comes from Mary Parker Follett's lecture IGNOU and writings' (Graham, 1995). Various scholars have depicted Follett as a political scientist, master analyst, and scholar of business and organisational administration decades ahead of her time (Mott, 2015). Her specialisation has been in the area of modern management and organisation and in particular in the subjects of coordination, leadership, power, authority, conflict, mediation and group behaviour. Still her ideas like dynamism, empowerment, participation, leadership, conflict and experience find a place of significance in the domains of organisation and management (Tekel, 2004).

^{*} Contributed by Dr. A. Senthamizh Kanal, Consultant, Faculty of Public Administration, SOSS, IGNOU, New Delhi.

The ideas and works of Follet cannot be labelled under a single school of thought, because of its applicability to diverse fields. While some scholars consider her work to be part of Classical School, others link it to the Psychological Approach to Management School and still others regard it as a part of Human Relations School. Wren (1979) has averred that "chronologically, Follett belonged to the Scientific Management era; philosophically and intellectually, she was a member of the social man era".

Hence, she can also be considered as a Classical Theorist and a Behaviouralist. In her works, it can be found that she did not differentiate between public and private administration. She believed that administration is an integration of individuals as well as social groups. In particular, her contribution has been of paramount importance to the field of conflict resolution and also 'group processes' in administration. In this Unit, you will be introduced to some of the major contributions made by Mary Parker Follet in the field of organisation and management. In particular, the concepts such as conflict resolution, orders, power, authority and control, planning and coordination, leadership, etc., will be dealt with.

7.2 LIFE AND WORKS OF FOLLETT

Mary Parker Follett (1868 – 1933) was born in Boston, Massachusetts in 1968. She received her early education from the Thayer Academy, after which she graduated from the Radcliff College which is also called as Harvard's Annex for women. She studied economics, government and philosophy. Follett devoted her life to study the psychological aspects of human activity and the foundations of public administration, political science, industrial and scientific management, as well as psychology. Follett's biographer, Joan Tonn commented that "without the benefit of modern research methods, Follett developed such original, penetrating analyses of leadership, power and authority, conflict, and group behaviour that her ideas form the basis of much of our modern discourse about organisations and management" (Child, 2013). Some of the important contributions made by Follet include (Collection of her papers, edited by H. Metcalf and L. Urwick):

- The Speaker of the House of Representatives (1896).
- The New State (1918).
- The Creative Experience (1924); and
- Dynamic Administration (1941).

7.3 FOLLETT ON CONFLICTS IN ORGANISATION

Organisation is a system, which consists of group of people working together for the common objectives. So whenever two or more people work together, it is quite natural that conflict arises. Sometimes, such conflict might hamper the growth of the organisation and at other times, it may even lead to organisational efficiency. Follett says that organisation is a social system but not a cooperative social system and hence conflict arises. She says that, though conflict in an organisation is problematic, it can have constructive purposes too, and thus suggests the idea of 'constructive conflict'.

In her Book 'Creative Experience', she has specified that "conflict is not a wasteful outbreak of incompatibilities, but a normal process by which socially valuable differences register themselves for the enrichment of all concerned". Moreover, she has argued that conflict is neither good nor bad and it should be assessed on the basis of ethical

Mary Parker Follett

prejudgments. Conflict is not warfare, but is only an appearance of difference (Prasad, 2010). So, conflict is a difference between opinions and interests of individuals. Such differences happen not only between the employer and the employees, but it can also arise everywhere. It is a common phenomenon of all organisations at each and every level. According to Follet, if conflict is to be constructive, we must consciously endeavour to find out a means of integration. It will happen not by fighting but by undertaking, a joint exploration of the differences and resolving it (Aiyar, 1958). To overcome 'conflict'in a constructive way in an organisation, Follett has suggested *three* methods, i.e, Domination, Compromise and Integration.

- 1) **Domination:** As per this method, conflict is resolved by way of domination. It is a winning situation of one side over the other. Domination seems to be an easy way to overcome conflict. However, it is not a sustainable one, as the person who has lost the argument, would feel deprived and might enter into conflict with others. Thus, when domination is adopted as a measure to overcome conflict, it is resolved only for the time being. In the long run, however, it remains unresolved and might even lead to further confrontation.
- 2) **Compromise:** A conflict is also resolved though compromise. But according to Follett, "compromise is too temporary and futile". When compromise is undertaken over a conflict, it might lead to a situation where one might win or lose. Through compromise, though conflict might get resolved, it creates suppression in individuals and a suppressed individual will give up his/her desire to resolve the conflict. However, it will bring more disastrous results later.
- 3) Integration:Integration is a method of conflict resolution in which the desires of both the sides are integrated and this is a positive method to resolve a conflict. In this method, it is not necessary for both the sides to sacrifice their desires. Problem is solved by uniting men, rather than crushing them. This method has some advantages, as it leads to emergence of new values. However, integration requires high intelligence and the leadership needs to have a sufficient knowledge base to deal with the conflicts. The advantage of integration is that, it goes to the roots of the problem and solve it. This method of conflict resolution also saves time and resources, as the conflict will not emerge again, since it is addressed permanently. Follett asserts that the desire of the people to solve the problem through integration in itself is encouraging (Prasad, 2010).

Follett mentioned in her Article (Metcalf andUrwick, 1941) "I do not think that integration is possible in all cases. When two men want to marry the same woman, there can be no integration; when two sons both want the old family home, there can usually be no integration. And there are many such cases, some of little, some of great seriousness. I do not say that there is no tragedy in life. All that I say is that if we were alive to its advantages we could often integrate".

Bases of Integration

Prasad (2010) in his Book on *Administrative Thinkers* has observed that the following are the bases for achieving integration as put forward by Follet.

- 1) The *first* step towards achieving integration, as per Follett, is to bring the differences into the open instead of suppressing them. "We cannot hope to integrate", she asserts, "our differences unless we know what they are". What is needed, therefore, is to uncover, identify and understand the real issues involved in a conflict.
- 2) The second step is breaking up of the whole i.e., to consider the demands of both

sides involved in conflict and to break them into their constituent parts. This involves examination of symbols, use of which is unavoidable in organisational work. This in turn involves a careful scrutinising of the language used to see what it really means. To Follett, all language used is symbolic, and therefore, one should be on guard to know as to what is being symbolised. Integration not only involves breaking up of the whole, but sometimes one has to do the opposite. It is important to articulate the whole demand, the real demand, which is being obscured by miscellaneous minor claims or by ineffective presentation.

3) The *third* step is the anticipation of conflict. It does not mean avoidance of conflict but responding to it differently. To Follett, integration is like a game of chess. Anticipation of response is by itself not enough; there is need for preparation for response as well. This involves building up of certain attitudes in the people.

Normally, people are adjusted to the idea of dominative behaviour, by their character and habit. So, it is not easy to convince the idea of integration. Effective integration generally requires high intelligence, keen perception, discrimination, and inventiveness.

7.4 FOLLETT'S CONCEPT OF GIVING OF ORDERS

The giving of orders is based upon the 'Law of the Situation' and not on a personal authority. The way in which an order is given can have an effect on how the task is performed. Follett in her Article entitled "The Giving of Order" (1926) brings out *four* basic principles in giving an order, which are as follows:

- 1) Conscious Attitude—realise the principles through which it is possible to act on in any matter;
- 2) Responsible Attitude to decide which of the principles should act on;
- 3) Experimental Attitude try experiments and watch; and
- 4) Pooling the results (Prasad, 2010).

Thus, as suggested by Follet, issuing the order based upon the principles is called as a *conscious* attitude. Issuing order based upon, in what principles one should act on is called as *responsible* attitude. Issuing order without knowing and analysing the success and failures is called *experimental* attitude. And lastly, one should look into the *pool* of experiences of all and in what extent and manner the methods of giving orders has changed if the existing methods are found inadequate (*Ibid.*).

Most of the time, it is felt that giving of orders would be obeyed without any hesitation or question. In reality, giving or issuing order is very difficult. Follett says that some habit-patterns and mental-attitudes affect the issuing of order. "Past life, training, experience, emotions, beliefs, prejudices, etc., form certain habits of mind, which the psychologists call 'habit-patterns', 'action-patterns' and 'motor-sets'" (*Ibid.*). Without change of habit-patterns and mental-attitudes, orders cannot be obeyed by the people. To bring out the change, Follett suggests *three* steps (Follett, 2012):

- 1) Building up of certain attitudes;
- 2) Providing for their release; and
- 3) Augmenting the released as it is being carried out.

Mary Parker Follett

The employer should find out the ways of forming the habit of employees to accept the order. The following are *four* important steps for forming habits:i) The officials should be made to see the desirability of a new method; ii) The rules of the office should be so changed to make it possible for the official to adopt the new method; iii) A few people should be convinced in advance to adopt the new method to set an example; and iv) The attitude to be released should be intensified. Follett has pointed out that the above step will ensure the way for acceptance of orders. The behaviour of giving orders is also equally important. Alleged harassing, tyrannical and overbearing conduct of officials is an important reason for many a conflict. Without regard to the feelings and self-respect of the employees and usage of language would lead to strikes and problematic industrial relations. The more one is bossed upon, the more one develops an opposition to bossing (Prasad, 2010, *op. cit.*).

To avoid such kind of bossism, Follett has suggested *depersonalising the orders* and has observed that there is a need to: "depersonalise the giving orders, to unite all concerned in a study of the situation and obey that. Until we do this, she observed 'I do not think we shall have the most success in business administration'. This is what does take place, what has to take place, when there is a question between two main positions of equal authority. The head of the sales department does not give orders to the head of the production department, and *vice versa*. One person should not give orders to another person, but both should agree to take their orders from the situation. If orders are part of the situation, the question of someone giving and someone receiving does not come up. Both accept the orders given by the situation; employees accept the orders given by the situation".

| Check Your Progress 1 | | | | | | |
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| Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | | | | | | |
| ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | | | | | | |
| 1) Elaborate on constructive conflict and its methods. | | | | | | |
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| 2) Discuss Follett's views on 'giving of orders'. | | | | | | |
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| 3) What are the bases of integration in constructive conflict? | | | | | | |
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7.5 CONCEPTS OF POWER, AUTHORITY AND CONTROL

According to Follett, "power might be defined as simple ability to make things happen, to be a causal agent, to initiate change" (Metcalf and Urwick, 1940). Follett clarified the notion of the power and made a distinction between "power-over" and "power-with". The first one is 'coercive-power', while the latter one is 'coactive-power'. Power-with is a self-developing entity, which promotes better understanding, reduces friction and conflict and encourages cooperative action and promotes participative decision-making. Follett felt that we cannot avoid the power-over, but we can reduce the impact. To reduce the power-over, Follett has suggested the *three* ways: "i) through integration; ii) through recognising that all should submit to the law of the situation; and iii) through making the business more and more functional unity" (Prasad, 2010, *op.cit.*).

Follett defines authority as a vested power and the person with authority has the right to develop and exercise power. She asserts that authority is something that does not come from ownership or a formal position in an organisation. It "belongs to the job and stays with the job". It thus comes from the function and not from the position. So according to her, authority is something that cannot be delegated and says that a delegated authority is an obsolete expression. It should begin from the law of the situation and not from bossism. Responsibility also flows from the function and situation. Follett raises the question, "for what is he responsible?" rather than "to whom is he responsible". She believes in the pluralistic concept of responsibility or cumulative responsibility and rejects ultimate responsibility and regards it as an illusion (*Ibid.*). Like authority and responsibility, control is an important aspect to achieve organisational goals. Unlike other classical thinkers, Follett believes in 'fact-control rather than man-control' and in 'correlated-control than superimposed control'. For her, control in the organisation is pluralistic and cumulative

7.6 PLANNINGAND COORDINATION

According to Follett, coordination means "harmonious ordering of parts". She says that planning is a scheme of self-adjustment and self-coordination of various interests. The process of self-adjustments is possible only through coordination (*Ibid.*). The principles of coordination as highlighted by Follet are as follows:

- Coordination in the Early Stages: Coordination must start from the early stages
 of work flow. It should include the lower level of organisation at the policy
 formulation stage instead of policy implementation. If it starts from the early stages,
 the organisation will benefit increased motivation and morale. This principle totally
 nullifies the concept of central planning.
- 2) Coordination by Direct Control: As per this principle, the responsible person in the organisation will directly contact the subordinates irrespective of their position and hierarchy. Follett believes that horizontal communication is as important as vertical chain of command.
- 3) Coordination as the Reciprocal relating of all Factors in a Situation: The major aim of coordination is to integrate the diverse activities, skills, attitudes and efforts of organisational members into a harmonious whole. The actions and processes in the organisation are interlinked with other. In this regard, Follett calls an organisation as a system of inter-related parts.

4) **Coordination as a Continuing Process:** Coordination is not a single activity and it is a continuous process in which activity is planned and from activities further planning is made. Follett emphasises on the need for a permanent machinery to solve the problems in a rational manner.

7.7 LEADERSHIPASANECESSARY SKILL

According to Follett, 'leadership' is a necessary management skill. Her styles of leaders are functional ones and not an authoritarian ones. According to her, a leader is not the head of the department, but one "who can see all around a situation, who sees it as related to certain purposes and policies, who sees it evolving into the next situation, who understands how to pass from one situation to another". Moreover, she says that, leader is "the man who energises his group, who knows how to encourage initiative, how to draw from all what each has to give". He is "the man who can show that the order is integral to the situation" (Prasad, 2010, *op.cit*.).

The *three* critical functions of a leader are coordination, definition of purpose and anticipation. She observes that leaders are not born; they are created through proper education and training in organisation and management. A leaders not only influences his group, but is also influenced by it. This reciprocal relationship is called as 'circular response'. She distinguishes between the following *three* types of leadership:

- i) Leadership of position holds a position of formal authority.
- ii) Leadership of personality holds forceful personal qualities.
- iii) Leadership of function holds both position and personality.

Follett argues that only that person, who has functional knowledge, can lead the modern organisations and not those who have formal authority or personality. As per Folett, "the man possessing the knowledge demanded by a certain situation tends, in the best managed business and other things being equal, to become the leader at the moment" (*Ibid.*). She believe that success of any organisation is "sufficiently flexible to allow the leadership of function to operate fully—to allow the men with the knowledge and the technique to control the situation".

| Check Your Progress 2 | | | | | |
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| Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | | | | | |
| ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | | | | | |
| 1) Elaborate the concepts of Power, Authority and Control. | | | | | |
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| 2) Explain the activities involved in Planning and Coordination. | | | | | |
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| 3) | Discuss Follett's views on Leadership. |
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7.8 **CONCLUSION**

Mary Parker Follett was a specialist in the field of Administrative Theory with special focus on individuals in organisations. Her major contributions are in the areas of conflict, orders, power, authority, control and leadership. Overcoming and managing the conflict is the major focus of her research. For her, organisation is a social system, but not a cooperative social system and hence conflict arises. So, she suggested the concept of constructive conflict. Other concepts like giving of orders, power, authority and responsibility and leadership are more and more important in contemporary context. This Unit gave us an idea about the major works of Mary Parker Follett. It also brought out the significance of her concepts in modern times.

7.9 **GLOSSARY**

Coactive Power

Sharing of responsibilities and rewards within a

power structure.

Coercive Power Power of one group or individual over other.

Cumulative Responsibility Diffusion of functions in an organisation.

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7.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Conflict is not a wasteful outbreak of incompatibilities.
 - Domination.
 - Compromise.
 - Integration.
- 2) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Four principles of giving orders.
 - Important steps for forming habits.
 - Depersonalising orders.
- 3) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Achieving integration.
 - Breaking up of the whole.
 - Anticipation of conflict.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Power might be defined as simple ability to make things happen.
 - Authority as a vested power and the person with authority.
 - Control is an important aspect to achieve organisational goals.



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- 2) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Coordination in the early stages.
 - Coordination by direct control.
 - Coordination as the reciprocal relating of all factors in a situation.
 - Coordination as a continuing process.
- 3) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Leaders are functional ones and not authoritarian.
 - Three types of leadership.



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UNIT 8 ELTON MAYO*

Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Elton Mayo: A Biographical Sketch
- 8.3 Elton Mayo's Experiments
- 8.4 Hawthorne Studies: Outcome
- 8.5 Other Works of Elton Mayo
- 8.6 Role of Elton Mayo in Human Relations Movement: An Analysis
- 8.7 Conclusion
- 8.8 Glossary
- 8.9 References
- 8.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

8.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the experiments conducted by Elton Mayo;
- Examine the outcome of Mayo's experiments;
- Explain the other works of Mayo; and
- Describe the multi-faceted role played by Mayo in Human Relations Movement.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The classical theorists mainly focused on the structural aspects of organisation. Not many paid attention to the human aspects of organisation. Elton Mayo, the Australian Psychologist, Sociologist and Organisation Theorist, brought forth the significance of work groups and their impact on individual behaviour. He made a case for work satisfaction and its dependency on the informal social pattern of the work group. He was of the view that people's performance at work depended on both social issues and job content.

In this Unit, we will discuss the Hawthorne experiments conducted by Elton Mayo and examine their outcome. We shall attempt to understand the multifaceted role that Mayo has played in his experiments, contributing to a significant outcome. Despite criticism of his work, his advocacy of the concept of social man and social needs, gave a sociological and psychological orientation to organisation and management literature.

8.2 ELTON MAYO: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

George Elton Mayo (December 26, 1880 – September 7, 1949) was an Australian born American Psychologist and Sociologist. He was born in Adelaide, Australia. He

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

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studied at Queen's school and the Collegiate school of St. Peter. He joined the University of Adelaide in 1897 to pursue medicine. However, he discontinued his studies and went to UK to pursue medical education at medical schools in Edinburg and London, which too he eventually dropped. Back in England, he took to writing and worked for the Pall Mall Gazette and taught at the Working Men's College in London.

He returned to Australia and in 1907 and enrolled in Philosophy and Psychology in the University of Adelaide, and studied under Sir William Mitchell. In 1911, he was appointed as foundation lecturer in philosophy and education at the newly established University of Queensland during World War I, Elton Mayo served on various Government Bodies, advised on the organisation of work in the war. He wrote and lectured on industrial and political psychology and psycho-analysis. In recognition of the work rendered during the war in 1919, he was appointed the First Chairman of Philosophy Department.

In 1922, he visited United States, toured extensively and spoke on various sociopsychological issues, addressing particularly the problems of worker-management interaction. In 1923, he moved to the USA with a Rockefeller fellowship and joined the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. There, as a research associate, he studied the value of work breaks for productivity in various textile firms. He focused on organisational psychology and sociology. In 1926, Mayo was offered research professorship in the then established Harvard Business School. There he initiated his well-known Hawthorne Studies in 1928, and conducted experiments over the next five years.

Mayo was influenced significantly by psychologists Pierre Janet and Sigmund Freud. He focused on behaviour of workers and their production capacity, keeping in view the physiological, psychological and economic aspects. Elton Mayo is considered as the founder of industrial sociology and the Human Relations School of business organisation. After the end of World War II, Mayo left for England. Over there, he joined a group at the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, which engaged in helping British Industry recover in the post-war period. He also continued in doing lectures and similar academic activities. He died in 1949, in England.

8.3 ELTON MAYO'S EXPERIMENTS

The works of Elton Mayo, which laid the foundation for Human Relations theory, are the outcome of extensive experiments conducted at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company near Chicago in the US between 1924-32. We have already discussed about these experiments in Unit 5 on Human Relations Approach in the Core Course (BCAC-101) on Perspectives in Public Administration. However, in order to understand Elton Mayo's views, we need to have an overview of them in this Unit as well.

There were *four* main phases in Hawthorne experiments:

- Illumination Experiments.
- Relay Assembly Test Room.
- Interviewing Programme.
- Bank Wiring Observation Room.

The Illumination Experiments

In this experiment, the effects of intensity of lighting upon the worker's productivity was observed. The workers were divided into *two* groups – experimental and control. The results of these tests were, however, inconclusive, as production in the experimental

group varied with no apparent relationship to the level of lighting, but actually increased when conditions were made worse. In the control group, production increased although the lighting remained unchanged. The level of production was influenced, clearly, by factors other than changes in physical conditions of work. No conclusive relationship could be established between illumination levels, incentive schemes and productivity levels

Relay Assembly Test Room

In the Relay Assembly Test Room, the work was boring and repetitive. It involved assembling telephone relays by putting together a number of small parts. Six women workers were transferred from their normal department to a separate area. The researchers selected two assemblers who were friends with each other. The experiment was divided into 13 periods during which the workers were subjected to a series of planned and controlled changes in their conditions of work such as hours of work, rest pauses and provision of refreshments.

During the experiment, friendly atmosphere was created, by consulting the workers and listening to their complaints. There was increase in the level of production. The extra attention given to the workers and the interest shown by the management were the major reasons for higher productivity. Mayo was of the belief that work satisfaction depended to a large extent on the informal social pattern of the working group. The change in the style of supervision improved the morale of the worker, which in turn increased production. The link between supervision, morale and productivity became the cornerstone of Human Relations Approach.

Interviewing Programme

The Interviewing Programme was another important phase of the experiments. It was taken up to guage the worker's feelings towards their supervisors and their general conditions of work. This gave an opportunity to the workers to discuss about the company, management, working conditions and were able to 'let off steam' in a friendly atmosphere. The information gained from nearly 20,000 employees was also about matters outside the work domain such as family and views on society in general.

The Bank Wiring Observation Room

Another experiment involved the observation of a group of 14 persons working in Bank Wiring Room. It was noted that the men formed their own informal organisation with sub-groups or cliques. The groups developed their own pattern of informal social relations. It was observed that group pressures on individual workers were stronger than financial incentives.

8.4 HAWTHORNE STUDIES: OUTCOME

The Hawthorne experiments, attempted to study the effects of physical conditions such as light and temperature on productivity. But the major outcome was the impact of social conditions at work on productivity. The findings of the investigations led to certain conclusions such as:

- Work is a group activity.
- The need for recognition, security and sense of belonging is more important in determining worker's morale and productivity than the physical working conditions.
- The worker's attitudes and effectiveness are conditioned by social demands from both inside and outside the work plant.

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- Conditions within the work plan exercise strong social controls over the work habits and attitudes of the individual worker.
- An important discovery of the Hawthorne experiments was that workers had a strong need to cooperate and communicate with fellow workers. Mayo opined that the desire for cooperative activity persists in ordinary person and can be utilised by intelligent and straight forward management.
- Mayo postulated that management should acquire social skills and use them to secure worker's cooperation.

Elton Mayo emphasised on social aspects of work, taking precedence over functional organisational structure, two-way communication from Chief Executive to workers and vice-versa, as well as cohesive and good leadership. The experiments of Elton Mayo brought out that informal approaches and work groups with focus on human emotions, sentiments and interactions played an important role in increasing organisational productivity. The management has to strive in developing skills in understanding human behaviour and interpersonal skills in counseling, motivating, leading and communicating.

Elton Mayo, on the basis of experiments, concluded that generally the worker-management adversarial relationship stemmed from worker's misunderstanding and management distrust. Also, giving importance to economic efficiency rather than social cohesion aggravated the situation. The work performance of employees depended on job content as well as social issues. The management, according to Mayo, needed to align the interests of workers with those of the organisation and secure their participation. But even more important, the studies were interpreted by succeeding generations of management scientists, as validating the idea that unquantifiable relationships (or "human relations") between workers and managers and among workers themselves, were significant determinants of workers' efficiency (Henry, 2003).

| Check Your Progress 1 | | | | | | | |
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| Note: i) | | Use the space given below for your answers. | | | | | |
| | ii) | Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | | | | | |
| 1) | List th | ne main phases of Hawthorne experiments. | | | | | |
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| 2) | Bring | out the key conclusions of Hawthorne studies. | | | | | |
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8.5 OTHER WORKS OF ELTON MAYO

Elton Mayo's advocacy of the concepts of social man and social needs were associated with his studies. He published his first Book in 1933, under the title 'The Human Problems of an Industrialised Civilisation'. This includes the description of Hawthorne experiments conducted by Mayo. He concluded that the primary need of the industrial world was to develop a technique that would enable people to live in easy social relationships with each other.

In 1945, Mayo's another Book 'The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilisation was published. Mayo was of the view that industrialisation could solve the problems of production and propel economic growth, but in reality, it had not improved the social status of the workers. The tension between workers and employers, Mayo believed, could not be solved by socialism, but through psychological insights to tackle the problem. In this Book, Mayo focused on the need for industrial society to come up with new methods of integration and comradeship. In the absence of this, social maladjustment and social disorganisation may occur.

In 1947, Mayo's third Book 'The Political Problems of an Industrial Civilisation' was published. In this Book, he pointed out the political problems that arise from an industrial civilisation. Some of these problems could be related with corrupt officials and the regulations that industry had to comply with. Mayo's work has contributed to management theory and also to the development of areas such as organisational psychology. His studies inspired other social scientists such as Chris Argyris, Frederick Herzberg, Keith Davis and so on. His Hawthorne experiments were modified by Douglas McGregor. Elton Mayo's emphasis on importance of management style as a major contributor to industrial production was unique. His focus on interpersonal skills being as important as monetary incentives was different. He emphasised on humanistic approach as a means of satisfying the organisations. His work on workers' economic needs laid the basis for a new dimension in management thinking.

8.6 ROLE OF ELTON MAYO IN HUMAN RELATIONS MOVEMENT: AN ANALYSIS

Elton Mayo's work contributed to management theory through research conducted at Western Electric Company's Hawthorne studies that took place from 1927-32. He made a case for establishing humanistic relations between employers and employees. He opined that employees and workers, deserve to be treated as individuals with dignity and self-respect rather than as factors of production or interchangeable elements of the production's system. Mayo looked upon industrial organisations as psycho-social systems with primary emphasis on human resources, their behaviour and welfare, needs and satisfaction, interactions and cooperation.

The exhaustive literature emanating from the Hawthorne experiments under the leadership provided by Elton Mayo, has enriched the theories of organisation. He was able to provide concrete evidence to the significance of human relationships at work place. According to Trahair (1984), at Hawthorne, Mayo did not initiate, direct or control research. In fact, he played *four* distinct roles:

1) Appreciative Helper: For the first 18 months, he was an 'appreciative helper'. He visited Hawthorne to study the physiology of the women at work in the relay assembly test, but beyond that too, he advised on health of women. He suggested possible changes in interviewing methods and purposes, praised the researchers and encouraged them to follow new uncharted courses of action.

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- 2) *Counselor-Cum-Publicist:* During the next 15 months, he was a "counselor-cum-publicist". He counseled executives on family and work problems, praised the study, thereby helping its status within the Western Electric Company and publicised the results so that the research gained prestige in the United States and Europe.
- 3) *Cooperative Collaborator:* For almost 30 months, he was a "co-operative collaborator". He encouraged the exchange of personnel between Harvard and Hawthorne and laid the social basis for joint activities.
- 4) **Protective Supporter:** During the four years of close association with the Hawthorne works, Mayo was a 'protective supporter'. He helped the researchers to endure destructive criticism of their work from inside the company and out, and to tolerate their own doubts about the value of their work. According to Trahiar, in these roles, specific to Mayo at Hawthorne, he was applying, more or less consciously, his general healer doctor catalyst magician roles. As healer, he aimed to unite and integrate divisive elements within the firm and protect the researchers from outside attack. As doctor, he diagnosed and offered treatment for administrative ills that others could not discern. As catalyst, he encouraged the researchers to be fearlessly curious in their scientific study of human experience at work and taught them an uncommon interviewing technique for this purpose and showed them the value of challenges about one's goals.

| Check Your Progress 2 | | | | |
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| Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | | | | |
| ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | | | | |
| 1) What are the three Books of Mayo published between 1933-1947? | | | | |
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| 2) Bring out the key premise of Mayo's Book published in 1947. | | | | |
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| 3) Identify the distinct roles of Mayo as attributed by Richard Trahair. | | | | |
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8.7 CONCLUSION

Mayo's contribution lies in recognising the fact that formality of strict rules and procedures must make way for informal approaches and groups rooted in human emotions, sentiments, problems and interactions. In this Unit, we have given a brief biographical sketch of Elton Mayo and his application of concepts in psychology and sociology to the work place in organisation. The outcome of his studies marked the emergence of an important management style contributing to industrial productivity. Mayo's emphasis on interpersonal skills was significant. He made a case for humanistic approach as a means of meeting the organisational needs. The works of Elton Mayo are relevant in contemporary times, where the significance of team work, motivation and leadership assume importance, especially in private sector and public-private partnerships. This Unit attempted to bring forth the basic tenets of the experiments and works conducted of Elton Mayo.

8.8 GLOSSARY

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: It implies the psychological state of a person or group of people, as expressed in self-confidence, enthusiasm and/ or loyality to a cause or organisation.

Organisational Psychology

: It is the scientific study of human behaviour and its application to work place to increase employees' employers' and consumers' satisfaction.

Social Skills

These are skills that facilitate better communication and interaction among employees at work place. Socialisation is the process through which these skills are acquired.

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8.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - The four phases in Hawthorne experiments are:
 - a) Illumination Experiments.
 - b) Relay Assembly Test Room.
 - c) Interviewing Programme.
 - d) Bank Wiring Observation Room.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Work is a group activity.
 - Need for recognition, security and sense of belonging is important than physical working conditions.
 - Workers have a strong need to cooperate and communicate with fellow workers.
 - Management has to acquire social skills and use them to secure worker's cooperation.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - 1933 'The Human Problems of an Industrialised civilisation'
 - 1945 'Social Problems of an Industrial Civilisation'
 - 1947 'The Political Problems of an Industrial Civilisation'

- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - The key premise of the book 'The Political Problems of an Industrial Civilisation' was on political problems that arise from industrial organisations due to corrupt officials and the regulations that industry has to comply with.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Elton Mayo, according to Richard Trahair (1984), played four distinct roles:
 - Appreciative Helper.
 - Counselor cum Publicist.
 - Cooperative Collaborator.
 - Protective Supporter.



UNIT 9 CHESTER BARNARD*

Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Organisation as a Cooperative System
- 9.3 Formal and Informal Organisations
- 9.4 Barnard's Views on Communication
- 9.5 Concept of Authority
- 9.6 Contribution-Satisfaction Equilibrium
- 9.7 Zone of Indifference
- 9.8 Functions of a Leader
- 9.9 Barnard on Decision Making
- 9.10 Conclusion
- 9.11 Glossary
- 9.12 References
- 9.13 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

9.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Examine Chester Barnard's contribution to administrative thought;
- Describe the features of a cooperative system;
- Discuss the nature of formal and informal organisations;
- Define the Theory of Authority;
- Explain the concept of Zone of Indifference; and
- Elucidate the nature of Leadership and Communication.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Born in 1886, Chester Barnard is among the leading administrative thinkers. Throughout his life he had been working on various administrative posts in the industry. From his lifetime experience of executive, he clubbed his thought based on practical observation and experience. His two seminal works "The Functions of Executive" (1938) and "Organisation and Management" (1948) are considered to be the thinking base for all the behavioural activities that were carried out in later period. He viewed organisation as a social system. He is known as the spiritual father of Social Systems School of Management.

^{*} Contributed by Ms. Daisy Sharma, Assistant Professor, Department of Public Administration, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, Rajasthan.

9.2 ORGANISATION AS A COOPERATIVE SYSTEM

Barnard views organisation as a cooperative system, which is consciously co-ordinated for achieving a purpose. According to him, every organisation is a small part of a larger system and ultimately that of the society. No organisation is self-sufficient. It depends on other political, social, economic and cultural systems for various resources. Barnard considered that there are *three* essential elements of organisation:

- A group of persons who are able to communicate with each other.
- A common purpose to be accomplished.
- Coordination and cooperation among group members for achieving the common purpose.

Chester Barnard emphasised on the interactions between the members as one of the very important basis for organisation's existence. For him, group should be willing to contribute for the accomplishment of a common purpose. People organise themselves to accomplish the things they can't do alone. Hence, cooperation is the founding stone of organisation.

9.3 FORMAL AND INFORMAL ORGANISATIONS

Chester Barnard opined that in all formal organisations, we can find informal organisations. He believed that formal organisations are made up of informal groups. These informal groups evolve to become the informal organisation. Barnard has observed that both are necessary for each other's existence and neither of them can have their existence in the absence of the effective functioning of the others. According to Barnard, informal organisation in formal work situations should not be rejected, but rather should be encouraged and streamlined with the formal organisation.

Barnard saw informal organisation as communication network that goes for strengthening of the formal organisational communicational structure. Barnard, thus, in his definition of effective organisational functioning brings both the elements that is essential formal goal setting and the essential socio-psychological acceptance of the same. Chester Barnard defines formal organisation as -"a system of consciously coordinated activities or forces of two or more persons. It refers to the structure of well-defined jobs, each bearing a definite measure of authority, responsibility and accountability". The essence of formal organisation is built around *four* key pillars. They are:

- Division of labour.
- Scalar and functional processes.
- Structure.
- Span of control.

Thus, a formal organisation is one resulting from planning, where the pattern of structure has already been determined by the top management. Informal organisation, which does not appear on the organisation chart, compliments the formal organisation in achieving organisational goals effectively and efficiently. An informal organisation is an organisation, which is not established by any formal authority, but occurs as a result of the personal and social relations of the people.

Informal organisation refers to the relationships between people in the organisation based on personal attitudes, emotions, prejudices, likes, dislikes etc. Formal organisation,



Behavioural and Systems Thinkers

no doubt, is an important part of the organisation, but it alone is not capable of accomplishing the organisational objectives. The group's beliefs and values establish the organisational culture and determine formal acceptance of authority. In the words of Barnard, "informal organisation brings cohesiveness to a formal organisation. It brings to the members of a formal organisation, a feeling of belonging, of status, of self-respect and of gregarious satisfaction".

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| Note: i) | | Use the space given below for your answers. |
| | ii) | Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. |
| 1) | | is Chester Barnard considered as Father of Social Systems School of gement? |
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| 2) | What | are the basic features of organisation as per Barnard? |
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| 3) | What | do you mean by a formal organisation? |
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| 4) | How | do informal organisations strengthen formal organisations? |
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9.4 BARNARD'S VIEWS ON COMMUNICATION

According to Barnard, Communication is the founding stone of the organisation. Organisation comes into existence with a group of people who are able to communicate with each other. It not only helps in establishing the organisation but plays a major role in the smooth functioning of the organisation. For Barnard, even the authority is a form of Communication. Its acceptance depends majorly on how well it is communicated to the subordinates. Were they able to understand the orders? Only then they will be able to follow them. Hence, according to Barnard, Communication is the key element in the success of organisation. He emphasised on properly coordinated organisation for achieving the objective of any formal group. This is not possible without the proper and adequate Communication. According to Barnard, Communication in the organisation should have the following *seven* features:

- 1) The channels of Communication should be definite.
- 2) Everyone should know of the channels of Communication.
- 3) Everyone should have access to the formal channels of Communication.
- 4) Lines of Communication should be as short and as direct as possible.
- 5) Competence of persons serving as communication centres should be adequate.
- 6) The line of Communication should not be interrupted when the organisation is functioning; and
- 7) Every Communication should be authenticated.

He stressed upon the fact that complete line of Communication should usually be used that is once decided, all the members in Communication channel should be well-aware of the functioning and facts. Barnard emphasised on authentication of Communication. He also emphasised on the competence of the superiors at Communication centres.

9.5 CONCEPT OF AUTHORITY

Barnard's views on Authority are original. Before him, all the classical thinkers believed that Authority originates at the top and rests with the position. It is Barnard who stressed that Authority doesn't lie in the position, hierarchy or posts, but it depends upon the acceptance of subordinates. He takes a consensual view of authority. For him, Authority is a bottom-up approach. It flows from subordinates to seniors. He observed, "An order has Authority or it lies with the person to whom it is addressed and doesn't reside in the 'person of authority' or those who issue these orders". He further divides Authority into *two* types:

- Objective Authority.
- Subjective Authority.

Objective Authority arises from subordinates' willingness to respect his seniors. Whereas, Subjective Authority depends upon how subordinate interprets an order. He will follow the order only if:

- He or She understands the order.
- He finds that the order is consistent with the goal of organisation.
- Order is consistent with his or her own goals.
- He has the mental and physical capacity to follow the orders.

Fiction of Authority

Though Barnard believed that effectiveness of Authority rests with subordinates, still Barnard considered Authority existing in an organisation as a fiction. He opined that the fiction of Authority continues in organisation because subordinates shy away from facing the disadvantages that they have to face if they reject orders. According to him, subordinates do not want to lose their status and other benefits in the organisation, where they are working. They have a fear that on rejection, they may lose their positions in respect to other members in the group. He further stated that Authority is accepted by the subordinates as they shy away from taking any responsibility and initiative. Subordinates thus accept the Communication as given by the superiors. They feel that in following the order the responsibility remains with the superiors only.

Further, rejection of Authority may be treated as an act of disobedience against the entire organisation which may result in retaliation from the side of entire organisation. This fear keeps the workers in tune with communication. Hence, instead of Authority, a fiction of Authority works in the organisation. Superior is under impression that subordinate follows his orders due to his Authority, whereas subordinates follows it for his own purpose. He observed, "This fiction merely establishes a presumption among individuals in favour of the acceptability of orders from superiors, enabling them to avoid making issues of such orders without incurring a sense of personal or individual status with their fellows".

9.6 CONTRIBUTION-SATISFACTION EQUILIBRIUM

Question arises that why subordinates follow the authority when it depends on their acceptance. According to Barnard, survival of an organisation depends on maintenance of equilibrium between the contributions and satisfaction of its participants. The contributions are provided by participants to the organisation and it is not decided by management but by workers. The satisfaction is provided by organisation to its participants. He pointed out that the individual participant would remain in organisation only when his inducements outweighed his contributions. The organisation survives so long as it has the capacity to offer effective inducements in sufficient quantities to maintain the equilibrium of the system. Barnard has classified the incentives that a man seeks for his contribution to organisation in *two* major headings.

- Specific Incentive.
- General Incentive.

Barnard rejected the classical economic man concept and broadly agreed with human relationists with regard to motivation of people in organisation. He traced the sources of satisfaction to four specific inducements. He has suggested *four* specific incentives:

- Material Inducement : Money or physical things.
- Non-Material Inducement : Recognition, challenge, prestige, opportunity for distinction from other.
- Desirable physical condition of work.
- Ideal benefactions: altruistic service, patriotism etc.

However, Barnard says that material rewards are ineffective beyond subsistence level.

General Incentive: Chester Barnard

• Associated attractiveness based on compatibility with the associates (Informal).

- The adoption of working conditions to the physical habitual working pattern.
- The opportunity for the feeling of enlarged participation in the course of events.
- The condition of communicating with others.

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| Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | | | |
| | ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | | |
| 1) | In what way are Barnard's views of authority different from classical thinkers? | | |
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| 2) |) What do you understand by fiction of authority? | | |
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| 3) | Explain the Contribution-Satisfaction Equilibrium. | | |
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9.7 ZONE OF INDIFFERENCE

The Acceptance Theory of Authority is facilitated by Zone of Difference of individual participants of organisation. Barnard has explained Zone of Indifference as a philosophical construct that explains that which orders from the superior shall be accepted and which shall be rejected. In his concept, Barnard has explained that those communications which shall clearly lie inside the Zone of Indifference shall be accepted by the subordinates without having any second thoughts. On the other hand, communication which clearly falls outside the Zone of Indifference shall be outrightly rejected by the subordinates.

In regard to the communication that happens to be on the boundary of this Zone. The subordinate may or may not accept the concept. Barnard from this discussion explains the necessity of increasing the Zone of India of the subordinates. He emphasised that superiors should give such communications only that fall within the Zone of Indifference. The increase in that has been suggested through incentives that can be monetary or non-monetary, as described above in theory of Contribution-Satisfaction Equilibrium.

9.8 FUNCTIONS OF A LEADER

Barnard gives a fresh view on leadership. According to Barnard, "Leadership depends upon three things—i) the individual, ii) the followers, and iii) the conditions". According to him, all the work undertaken by the executives in an organisation are not executive works. According to him, the functions of executive can be classified under *three* heads:

- Maintenance of communication networks in the organisation.
- Securing essential services from the individuals.
- The formulation of organisational purposes.

The *first* function of maintenance of organisational communication has *two* phases. It includes defining organisational positions and maintaining a personnel system, preparing organisational charts, specification of duties, division of work, etc, all come under defining organisational structure. Personnel system means recruiting men who have appropriate qualifications, offering incentives etc. According to Barnard, The *second* function of securing essential services from individuals can be achieved by maintaining morale, education and training, incentives, and supervision and control. The *third* executive function is the formulation of organisational objectives and purposes. According to him, this is the most important function of a leader. Unless these purposes are widely accepted by all the members of the organisation, there can be no cooperation in a true sense.

9.9 BARNARD ON DECISION MAKING

Barnard made a significant contribution to the theory of decision making. He focused on organisational decision making rather than individual decision making. According to Barnard organisational decision making is the result of deliberation, evaluation and thought while the individual decision making is a result of subconscious, responsive and emotional factors. The decisions made by organisation are more logical and rational than personal decisions. Barnard has indicated *five* significant differences between an individual's personal decisions and organisational decisions. They are:

- 1) Organisational decisions are impersonal and are dominated by organisational ends.
- 2) Organisational goals are explicitly stated, whereas this need not be so for personal decisions.
- 3) The ends of organisation are usually arrived at, after a high degree of logical thought processes, which may not be the case with personal goals, where sub-conscious processes predominate.
- 4) Personal decisions cannot be delegated to others; organisational decisions can and are in fact, delegated.
- 5) Organisational decisions are specialised, while personal decisions are not. Barnard said that a decision maker should be able to identify the relevant facts which affect

the fulfilment of organisational purpose from those which are irrelevant. This is possible with the search of strategic factors by analysing situations. Strategic factors should be controlled as they influence the decision making.

| Check Your Progress 3 | |
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| Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | |
| ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | |
| 1) What do you understand by Zone of Indifference? | |
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| 2) What is the most important function of a leader as per Barnard? | |
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9.10 CONCLUSION

Chester Barnard has made phenomenal contribution towards recognising organisation as a social system and using Systems Approach in analysing it. His writings are based on his personal experience in the industry, hence more practical for its application in real world. Due to his firsthand observation, he has given many novel ideas like Fiction of Authority, Zone of Indifference and Contribution-Satisfaction Equilibrium. He moved away from Classical Approach and located authority in the acceptance by subordinates and not in the positions of the organisation. Barnard rejects the concept of "economic man" and sees the organisational members as parts of a social system based on various physical-biological and social factors. He emphasised on cooperation for attainment of organisational purposes that signifies the democratic value in his thought. This makes his writings most relevant to the modern world. This Unit discussed all the major concepts of Barnard.

9.11 GLOSSARY

Benefactions

: An act of conferring a benefit or good to others.

Economic Man

: As per Investorpedia, an economic man is the one who acts most rationally and with complete knowledge. The economic man seeks to maximise personal satisfaction. It is an assumption of many economic models and is referred to as *homo economicus*.

Span of Control

: It is generally described as number of subordinates a supervisor can effectively or directly control. This number varies with the nature and complexity of work. It determines the structure of relationship between leaders and subordinates in an organisation.

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9.13 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Barnard's focus on informal groups and informal organisation.
 - Barnard's recognition of social-psychological factors and focus on acceptance of authority by the subordinates.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - A group of persons who are able to communicate with each other.
 - A common purpose to be accomplished.
 - Coordination and cooperation among group members for achieving the common purpose.

- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Division of labour.
 - Scalar and functional processes.
 - Structure.
 - Span of control.
- 4) Your answer should include the following point:
 - Both compliment each other, they work as a channel of communication, act as a source of satisfaction.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Original views.
 - Authority does not rest in position but acceptance of subordinates.
 - Fiction of authority.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Good governance is a holistic concept that aims at economic, human and institutional development.
 - It attempts at efficient and effective governance, which is accountable, democratic and responsive to people's needs.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Material Incentives under specific Incentives.
 - General Incentives.
 - A balance of incentives is a precondition for Contribution Satisfaction Equilibrium.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Zone of indifference as a philosophical construct that explains that which orders from the superior shall be accepted and which shall be rejected.
 - Zone of indifference can be increased by incentives that can be monetary or non-monetary.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - According to Barnard, formulation of organisational objectives and purposes is the most important function of a leader.
 - Unless these purposes are widely accepted by all the members of the organisation, there can be no cooperation in true sense.

UNIT 10 HERBERT A. SIMON

Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Life and Works of Simon
- 10.3 Simon's Views on Classical Theory
- 10.4 Decision-Making in Administration
- 10.5 Role of Choice and Behaviour in Decision-Making
- 10.6 Facts and Values in Decision-Making
- 10.7 Rationality in Decision-Making
- 10.8 Models of Decision-Making
- 10.9 Modes of Organisational Influence
- 10.10 Critical Evaluation of Simon's Works
- 10.11 Conclusion
- 10.12 Glossary
- 10.13 References
- 10.14 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

10.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the life and works of Herbert A. Simon;
- Bring out the views of Simon on Classical Theories;
- Explain the role of choice and behaviour in decision-making processes;
- Explain the concept of rationality, bounded rationality and satisficing decisions;
- Examine the premise of facts and values in decision-making;
- Differentiate between economic man and administrative man; and
- Elaborate the modes of organisational influences.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Herbert A.Simon is considered as the major proponent of Behavioural Approach in the study of public administration. He was an economist and a political scientist and most of his research work included various aspects related to organisation, such as decision-making, human behaviour and so on. He supported empiricism in the study of organisation. His most significant contribution is the study of decision-making process

^{*} Contributed by Dr. A. Senthamizh Kanal, Consultant, Faculty of Public Administration, SOSS, IGNOU, New Delhi.

and he emphasised in his book 'Administrative Behaviour', that the nature of an organisation can be understood from its decision-making process. He further made an analysis of the linkage between human behaviour and the value preferences in decision-making process. He also believed that the distance between rationality and behaviour can be bridged by the concept of decision.

In particular, Simon was known for his concepts of 'bounded rationality' and 'satisficing'. He vehemently opposed the classical theories that formulated the 'Principles of Administration' and he equated those principles to 'Proverbs' of administration. Simon was influenced by the works of Mary Parker Follet, Elton Mayo and Chester I. Barnard, who made remarkable contributions to the study of Group Dynamics in Organisations, Human Relations Approach and Functions of the Executive, respectively. He rejected the idea of politics-administration dichotomy and suggested empirical approach to the study of public administration. In this Unit, we discuss Simon's key concepts of organisational process.

10.2 LIFE AND WORKS OF SIMON

Herbert Alexander Simon (1916-2001) completed his doctoral study in political science with a specialisation in public administration from the University of Chicago. In his long career, he published various papers and research works on the themes of economics, public administration, management, political science, cognitive psychology, computer science, problem solving, complex systems and artificial intelligence. In 1970, Simon received the Nobel Prize in Economics for his research work on decision-making process in economic organisations. Some of his major publications include the following:

- Administrative Behaviour (1947).
- Public Administration (Co-authored with Victor A. Thompson and Donald W. Smithburg) (1950).
- Fundamental Research in Administration (1953).
- Organisations (Co-authored with James G. March) (1958).
- The New Science of Management Decision (1960).
- The Shape of Automation (1960).
- The Science of the Artificial (1969).
- Human Problem Solving (1972).
- Models of Discovery (1977).
- Models of Thought (1989).
- Models of Bounded Rationality (1982).
- Reason in Human Affairs (1991).

10.3 SIMON'S VIEWS ON CLASSICAL THEORY

Simon basically was critical of the Classical Theories put forward by various thinkers and he called the 'principles of administration' as 'mere proverbs' and thus criticised the narrowness in the traditional approach and considered them to be contradictory and internally inconsistent. Simon, in his Article on *The Proverbs of Administration* (1946) said that "a fact about proverbs that greatly enhances their quotability is that

they almost always occur in mutually contradictory pairs. Look before you leap! But he who hesitates is lost. Almost every principle one can find an equally plausible and acceptable contradictory principle... although the two principles of the pair will lead to exactly opposite organisational recommendations, there is nothing in the theory to indicate which is the proper one to apply". For instance, he points to the ambiguity that exists in the principles of 'unity of command' and 'span of control', as the former is about how an employee should receive command from only one superior, while the latter is about the number of subordinates that a superior can control.

Simon finds the two principles to be contradictory and ambiguous and considers them to be contradictory proverbs, as there is no detailed research into real situations and according to him, the principles are defined without adequate diagnosis of situations. He states that, in determining the correctness of a proposition, it should be directly compared with experience – with the facts – or it should be led by logical reasoning to other propositions that can be compared with experience (Simon, 1997). Thus, according to Simon, the principles of administration lack scientific validity and universal relevance and there lies a huge gap between the theory and practice of organisation. He recommends decision-making in the place of principles, as he believed that unlike principles, the decision-making is a universal process and it would be the base for organisational analysis.

10.4 DECISION-MAKING IN ADMINISTRATION

Simon considers decision-making to be the core of administrative action and observes that an organisation is an institution which is structured with decision makers. In his Book *Administrative Behaviour* (1997), he highlights that "decision making is the heart of administration, and that the vocabulary of administrative theory must be derived from the logic and psychology of human choice". Simon proposes a new concept of administration based on theories and methodology of Logical Positivism with a focus on decision-making (Umapathy *et.al.*, 2010). The concept of decision-making is thus equated with administration, in which is subsumed the activities of POCCC and POSDCORB put forward by Fayol and Gullick respectively.

Simon says that every decision taken in an organisation is based not only on facts from administrative realities and values. The processes and methods of decision-making that ensure the accomplishment of an action is also equally important, as administration is nothing but the art of 'getting things done'. He states that in administrative analysis, sufficient attention is not paid to the choice which precedes action. According to him, determination of 'what to do' needs more attention than the actual process of 'doing' and in that context, decision-making deals with the process of choice which leads to action. Simon thus points out that it is important to understand this dimension of an organisation, which is rooted in the behaviour of man in the organisation. Without that, the study of administration would remain largely inadequate (IGNOU Material, 2011).

10.5 ROLE OF CHOICE AND BEHAVIOUR IN DECISION-MAKING

Simon's central work that emerged later, on decision-making and Rational Choice Approach was based on his doctoral study, which made an analysis of the behavioural and cognitive processes that are involved when a human makes a rational choice or decision. According to Simon, an administrative decision or choice or even an individual decision that is made depends upon the behavioural process that is applied, which is mostly based on the conscious or unconscious selection of activities or alternatives.

Herbert A. Simon

The term 'selection' refers to the preference of a course of action over other courses of action available to the decision-makers. And such course of action or the various choices identified and even the final selection of choice is based on the behavioural and cognitive reasoning of the individual or organisation.

In any routine process, the choice and action are directly related and we can say it is a kind of established reflex action. For instance, in an organisation, for routine processes like managing leave records of employees, payment of salary, etc., the concerned employees need not think about the choices or actions, as a reflex has been established between the standard procedures followed and the activities. In this case though the activities undertaken by a human resource manager, is a rational action, there is no consciousness involved in it. Such routine activities undertaken, which has a predetermined standard set of procedures is called as a conditioned reflex action.

On the other hand, there are non-routine or unique situations in an organisation, for which the choices and actions are to be consciously decided. In such a case, the term 'selection' is the product of a complex chain of activities called 'planning' or 'design' activities. For example, if a new programme or scheme is to be implemented by a department or organisation, the programme is designed and choices and set of actions are identified and planned in a systematic manner, based on brainstorming discussion, extensive analysis, applying own judgment, etc. Thus, based on the detailed plan that is worked out, the chain of behaviour (e.g., friendly behaviour, strict bossy attitude, etc.) is expressed by the employee in implementing the programme and thus the set of activities planned out is executed in the designed fashion. Thus, for arriving at a conscious or unconscious selection of choices or decisions, Simon has stipulated *three* kinds of activities in the decision making process, which are as follows:

- i) **Intelligence Activity**: is about finding the occasions to take decisions. The head or executive of the organisation has to analyse and understand the organisational environment and also identify the problem that has to be solved.
- ii) **Design Activity:** includes development of course of action to solve the problem. Once the problem has been identified, the head or executive should search for all possible alternative course of action to achieve the solution to the particular defined problem.
- iii) Choice Activity: is about selecting the one best possible solution from the set of alternatives. To meet the organisational goals, the decision maker should choose or select one of the alternatives or course of action that suits the interest of organisation goals.

In these stages, the decision maker should be equipped with certain skills like judgement, creativity, experience and quantitative analysis. Though the decision-making process may seem to be quite simple, in reality it is more complex. In every activity that is mentioned, there is again a set of the *three* activities. That is, within the 'intelligence activity', all three activities like intelligence, design and choice activities are involved and it may be called as 'wheels within wheel'.

10.6 FACTS AND VALUES IN DECISION-MAKING

According to Simon, each and every decision is based upon the logical propositions of facts and values. He states that "an administration science, like any science, is concerned purely with factual judgements. There is no place for ethical (value) statements in the study of science" (Simon, 1997). The effectiveness of a course of action depends upon the information available at a given point of time, which is related to the question of

facts. The effectiveness of the course of action also depends upon the capacity of that decision to attain the goals that are set. To choose the correct choice is related to the individual's preference, which deals with question of values.

In simple terms, fact is a statement of reality. It can be proved by observable means. On the other hand, value is an expression of a preference. It can only be subjectively asserted. For example, if a service is to be availed from a department, there might be various set of guidelines, rules or regulations that are to be complied with. This is nothing but the set of facts that exist in taking a decision. On the other hand, the decision to be taken depends upon the individual or organisational preferences, which can be either complying with the set of rules and regulations, or resorting to using influence in getting things done or even resorting to corrupt practices in meeting the requirement. While the former is the example of factual judgements, the latter is an example of value premises.

The behaviour of individual in an organisation is determined by the goals and objectives of the organisation. An organisation is meaningless, without the establishment of proper goals and objectives. The purpose of the organisation provides the direction and a frame of reference and determines the things that are to be done and things that should not be done. In this process, even a minute decision governing specific action is necessarily an application of broader decisions related to purpose and method. Simon (*op.cit.*) gives the example of a man walking. He describes the process as follows: "A walk contracts his leg muscles in order to make a step; he takes a step in order to proceed towards his destination; he is going to the destination, in order to mail a letter, and he is sending a letter in order to transmit certain information to another person and so forth".

Each decision, thus, involves the selection of a goal and behaviour relevant to it; this goal is not an end in itself. It may lead to a distant goal and so on, until relatively final aim is reached. He maintains that in so far as decisions lead toward the selection of final goals, they are called 'value judgements'. And if they involve the implementation of such goals they are called 'factual judgements'. For instance, in the budgeting of a local body the council has to decide on the set of items for which amount is to be allocated. This depends on the priorities. The decisions whether to allocate more amount to roads or parks, education or health are interlinked with the 'value judgements'. Once the priorities are decided, then the implementation mostly depends on 'factual judgements'. For instance, the length of the road, the connecting points, the type of road, etc., are decisions related to factual judgements. Value and factual decisions do not exist. Values and facts are only the premises and components which are inter-connected. Problems do not come to us as value decisions or factual decisions (IGNOU Material, 2017, *op.cit.*).

| Check Your Progress 1 | | |
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| Note: i) | Use the space given below for your answers. | |
| ii) | Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | |
| 1) Elabo | rate Simon's views on Classical Theory. | |
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| 2) | Explain the activities involved in the decision-making process. |
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| 3) | Differentiate between the fact and value premises in decision-making. |
| 3) | Differentiate between the fact and value premises in decision-making. |
| 3) | Differentiate between the fact and value premises in decision-making. |
| 3) | Differentiate between the fact and value premises in decision-making. |
| 3) | Differentiate between the fact and value premises in decision-making. |

10.7 RATIONALITY IN DECISION-MAKING

Decision making and the rational choice of decision-making is the chief contribution made by Simon. Decision-making is a complex process which involves the network of unending decisions. In a normal situation, analysing the sequence is easy and rational decision-making is also possible. But in a complex situation, analysing the sequence is difficult and rationality also suffers. But Simon says that all the decision-making processes are based upon the rational choices only.

Simon (*op.cit.*) defines rationality as something that is "concerned with the relation of preferred behaviour alternatives in terms of some system of values whereby the consequences of behaviour can be evaluated". For this, the decision-maker should have complete knowledge of the possible courses of action and also their consequences. However, in real life situation, a complete knowledge of all alternatives and consequences is not possible due to certain limitations. Such limitations may be either due to the limited knowledge of the decision maker; sometimes even the structural arrangement of an organisation can also cause the limitation. Some of the limitations that prevent complete rationality in taking decisions are as follows (IGNOU Material, 2008):

- Limited knowledge or awareness of the decision-maker on the full range of possible solutions to the defined problem.
- Limitation of the decision-maker in knowing the consequences of each possible alternative strategy.
- Inadequacy of the decision-maker's information.
- Insufficiency of his/her time to examine fully each possibility and its consequences.
- Lack of knowledge about the future events in which the decision will be operating.
- Limitation in choices and alternatives due to decision-makers' habits, personal beliefs and intellectual capacity.
- Influence, conventions, and behavioural norms of informal groups on the decisions.

- Organisational factors such as the rules and procedures of formal organisation, its channels of communication, etc.; and
- External pressures.

Simon also elaborates on the types of rationality that is involved in taking a decision. The *six* different types of rationality put forward by Simon include objective, subjective, conscious, deliberate, organisational and personal rationality. A decision is:

- Objectively Rational: if it is correct behaviour for maximising given values in a given situation.
- Subjectively Rational: if the decision maximises attainment relative to knowledge of the subject.
- Consciously Rational: where adjustment of means to ends is a conscious process.
- Deliberately Rational: to the degree that the adjustments of means to ends has been deliberately brought about.
- Organisationaly Rational: if it is oriented to the organisation's goals; and
- Personally Rational: if the decision is directed to the individual's goals.

Though rationality is the basic premise for decision-making as stated by Simon, he also rejects the concept of total rationality due to the unrealistic assumptions involved in it. *Firstly*, total rationality is based on the belief that decision makers are omniscient and they have knowledge about all available alternatives as well as their consequences. *Secondly*, the assumption is that the decision-maker has unlimited computational ability. *Finally*, it believes that the decision maker has the capacity to put in order all the possible consequences. Simon says that these assumptions are fundamentally wrong (IGNOU, 2017, *op.cit*.).

The human behaviour is neither totally rational nor totally irrational. Simon further states that the behaviour or knowledge is bounded by cognitive limits and this led to his concept of 'bounded rationality'. While discussing the theory of Bounded Rationality, he also coined the term 'satisficing', which is derived from the words 'satisfaction' and 'sufficing'. That is, while taking a decision, an individual does not explore all the alternatives that are available. Rather, an option that meets their aspiration level or satisfaction level is considered, instead of optimising decision. This real-world behaviour of individuals in making decisions is called 'satisficing' decision.

10.8 MODELS OF DECISION MAKING

Many kind of decision-making behaviour models are available. The basic idea about the models is to determine the extent of rationality of decision-makers. The models range from complete rationality to complete irrationality of the economic man and the social man respectively (Umapathy, 2010, op.cit.). Simon has developed the more realistic model of "Administrative Man" who stands next to the economic man. The behaviour of an individual in an administrative situation is conditioned by organisational factors such as the expected role of the position, obligation and duties, concern for public interest and moral and ethical responsibilities. It is therefore, impractical for administrative man to maximise the choice, unlike the 'economic man'. An economic man maximises, i.e., selects the best alternative from among all those available to him, whereas the administrative man cannot perceive all possible alternatives nor can predict all possible consequences. Instead of attempting to arrive at 'optimal solutions', the

administrative man is satisfied with 'good enough' or 'somehow muddling through' decisions (IGNOU Material, 2008, *op.cit.*). Thus, unlike the economic-man model in which maximising solutions are considered, in administrative-man model, satisficing solutions are considered.

10.9 MODES OF ORGANISATIONAL INFLUENCE

To influence decision-making process, the administrative organisation devises its own modes and methods. The organisation seeks to restrict the behavioural choice and decision-making autonomy of the operative employees. Such organisational influences fall under *two* categories, i.e., (i) establishing in the operating employee himself, the attitudes, habits and state of mind which lead him to reach that decision which is advantageous to the organisation, and (ii) imposing on the operating employee, the decisions reached elsewhere in the organisation (IGNOU, 2008). In the first type, influence is made through organisational loyalty of employees, his/her efficiency and training. In the second type, the influence is based on authority, advice or information. All these modes of organisational influence have been discussed here (adopted from IGNOU Material, 2017; *op.cit.*):

Authority

The organisational culture builds the myth of authority in such a way that subordinates carry out the order coming from above without questioning them. The superior does not seek to convince the subordinate but expects acceptance of the orders readily. As has been maintained by Chester Barnard, authority lies with the subordinate who is accepting it and not with the superior who is exercising it. The myth of authority is able to influence to a large extent, the behaviour.

• Organisational Loyalties

In any organisation, its members tend to identify themselves with that group. This is an important characteristic of human behaviour. They take decisions keeping in view the interests of the organisations with which they have identification. The organisational good always dominate the consciousness of the member. It is this conception of good that makes him loyal and enable him to take decisions which would be in conformity with the good of the organisation. Thus, the behavioural choice is narrowed down by the organisational loyalties, and facilitates homogeneity of behaviour rendering group work possible. Each member of the organisation would also have a limited range of values which is essential to ensure accountability. But the problem in organisational loyalty is that each individual takes a narrow view of the organisation and ignores the broader organisational interests. Simon opines that as one moves higher in the organisation, greater would be the need for broader outlook.

Criterion of Efficiency

The exercise of authority and the development of organisational loyalties are the important means through which the individual's value-premises are influenced by the organisation. But in every decision-making, there are factual judgements. They are influenced by the criticism of efficiency. The concept of efficiency involves shortest path, the cheapest means in the attainment of the desired goals. The efficiency criterion is largely neutral as to what goals are to be attained. The order "be efficient" is a major organisational influence over the decisions of members of any administrative agency.

• Advice and Information

The communication flow in an organisation is also important in shaping the decision-

making process. Advice and information available to an individual is an important input in making factual judgements. The organisation which is capable of facilitating effective communication can not only condition the behavioural choice, but ensure uniformity of judgement and action.

Training

Training is a device which prepares members of an organisation to take satisfactory decisions. It equips an individual in methods of using his discretion in conformity with the design and the goals of the organisation. This is also a device through which the information and the necessary goals are transmitted to an individual, so as to enable him to make right type of choices in the organisation.

10.10 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF SIMON'S WORKS

From the discussion made so far, it can be understood that a significant contribution has been made by Herbert A. Simon, especially in building the process of decision making, theory of bounded rationality or the concept of satisficing. However, some scholars have been critical of the views expressed by Simon. Some of the frequent criticisms on Simon's works are as follows (Umapathy *et.al.*, 2010, *op.cit.*):

- Simon has given more importance to decision-making processes, but has neglected the social, political, economic and cultural factors influencing the administrative decision-making and behaviour.
- Simon's work mostly focuses on the factual judgements rather than values. However, exclusion of value premises would steer the study of public administration to mechanical, routine and less important aspects.
- His idea of fact-based administrative theory is more relevant to business administration rather than public administration.
- His idea of decision-making is too abstract, too formalistic and too functionalistic that it fails to take into account personal motivations and emotions.
- James Mc Camy felt that in Simon's analysis, individual disappears into organisation and that emotion vanishes in a puff of reason.
- Chester Barnard commented that Simon was trying to produce physics and at the same time trying to solve the riddle of the universe. He also made his criticism on four aspects viz., it was inconsistent in its use of the terms rational and efficient, did not take into account the enormous amount of uncertainty involved in most decisions, did not pay sufficient attention to the processes of communication within organisations and did not take a politically neutral stance.
- Simon's study of decision-making incorporates and makes use of the Logical Positivists' distinction between facts and values. His approach has been attacked as reviving in a new guise the discredited politics-administration dichotomy.
- Nortan E. Long criticises the value-free science of administration stated by Simon, which may lead to the unintended and logically unwarranted result of reviving the policy-administration dichotomy in new verbiage.
- Selznick argues that radical separation of fact and value too often identified with the logical distinctions between fact statement and preference statements only encourages the divorce of means and ends.

- Simon's concept of efficiency was criticised that the term equating it with economy and others objected to the use of the term on the ground that it leads to a mechanical concept of administration and to an inconsistent relationship between means and ends.
- Chris Argyris opines that Simon insisting on rationality has not recognised the role
 of intuition, tradition and faith in decision-making. Simon's theory focuses on status
 quo ante.

| Ch | eck Your Progress 2 | |
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| Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | | |
| | ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | |
| 1) | Explain the significance of rationality in decision-making. | |
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| 2) | Discuss the various modes of organisational influence. | |
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| 3) | Make a critical analysis of Herbert A. Simon's works. | |
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10.11 CONCLUSION

Though some scholars have been critical of the works of Herbert A. Simon, it cannot be denied that contributions of Simon are a major breakthrough in the study of administration or decision making processes. In this Unit, you were introduced to the various concepts stated by him. His criticism on the classical theories and calling those set of organisational principles as 'mere proverbs', set the need to have a new thinking

on the way administration is looked at. The fact and value premises in making decisions and the role of behaviour and choice in arriving at decisions has reoriented the discussion on decision making, which led to the development of rational choice theory and bounded rationality theory. His contribution towards decision making approaches, the concept of bounded rationality, satisficing decisions and the model of administrative man, has helped a great deal in understanding not onlypattern in which an individual takes a decision, but also widens the horizons of readers on how the functioning of an organisation is determined based on the decision-making process. The Unit has, thus, given you a glimpse of the key concepts studied by Simon.

10.12 GLOSSARY

| Bounded Rationality | : It works by availability of facts and choice of preferences human behaviour is neither totally rational nor totally non-rational. |
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| Fact | : It is a statement of reality indicating the existing deed or action which can be tested empirically. |
| POCCC | : The acronym stands for Planning, Organising, Commanding, Coordinating and Controlling. |
| Status quo ante | : The way things were before POSDCORB the acronym stands for Planning, Organising, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Reporting, and Budgeting. |
| Value | : It is an expression of preference which cannot be asserted subjectively. |

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10.14 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Simon called the 'principles of administration' as 'mere proverbs'.
 - Classical Theory consists of equally plausible and acceptable contradictory principles.
 - The principles of administration lack scientific validity and universal relevance.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Intelligence Activity.
 - Design Activity.
 - Choice Activity.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Fact a statement of reality, proved by observable means and the value is an expression of a preference.
 - Factual and value judgements.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Decision-making in normal and complex situations.
 - Various limitations that prevent rationality in taking decisions.
 - Types of rationality that is involved in taking a decision.

- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Authority.
 - Organisational Loyalties.
 - Criterion of Efficiency.
 - Advice and Information.
 - Training.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Various criticisms mentioned in the Section 10.10.



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UNIT 11 ABRAHAM MASLOW*

Structure

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 A Brief Biograph of Maslow
- 11.3 Maslow's Theory of Motivation
- 11.4 Functioning of the Hierarchy of Needs Theory
- 11.5 An Appraisal of Maslow's Theory
- 11.6 Conclusion
- 11.7 Glossary
- 11 8 References
- 11.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

11.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the theory of motivation;
- Describe the concept of Hierarchy of Needs;
- Discuss the functioning of Maslow's Theory; and
- Critically evaluate the Needs Hierarchy Theory.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

'Motivation' is a very important component of organisational functioning in administration. Many thinkers have expressed their views on the Theory of Motivation and their contribution has been phenomenal. The modern era gave birth to a new field of research, that is the study of human behaviour or psychology. One of the earliest psychologists to focus attention on happy individuals and their psychological trajectory was Abraham Maslow, who is well-known for his concept of Hierarchy of Needs, which formed a part of the Social-psychological Approach across the globe. Therefore, the fact lies that the workers have to be motivated keeping in mind their needs and desires. This forms the essence of the Social-psychological Approach. Abraham Maslow essentially made self-fulfillment and happiness a central part of his life's work. In a break from the other experts of his time, he wanted to understand what motivated the great people of history and in order to understand human potential, he wanted to know what humans were capable of as their healthiest selves. In this Unit, we would explain Maslow's early life, his vision on motivation and the effectiveness of his Theory. We will also critically evaluate Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory.

11.2 A BRIEF BIOGRAPH OF MASLOW

Abraham Harold Maslow was an American psychologist, who was best known for creating Hierarchy of Needs, a Theory of psychological health predicated on fulfilling

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innate human needs in priority, culminating in self-actualisation. He studied at the City College, New York and later went to the University of Wisconsin to study Psychology. Later, he went on to teach at the Alliant International University, Brandeis University, Brooklyn College, New School for Social Research, and Columbia University. He compiled his early publications, which came out as a Book on 'Motivation and Personality' in 1954. He stressed on the importance of focusing on the positive qualities in people, as opposed to treating them as a "bag of symptoms".

It was Abraham Maslow who, in 1943, made a breakthrough in human motivation with the appearance of his Paper entitled "A Theory of Human Motivation" published in the Journal *Psychological Review*. In this Article, Maslow postulated the idea of a 'hierarchy of human needs'. He was of the view that human beings are pleasure-seeking beings and are motivated towards satisfaction of their needs. Subsequently,he extended to include his observations of man's (person's) innate curiosity. His Theory contends that as humans meet 'basic needs', they seek to satisfy successively 'higher needs' that occupy a set hierarchy.

Maslow studied exemplary people such as Mahatma Gandhi, Albert Einstein, Jane Adams, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Frederick Douglas before he formulated the Theory of Motivation. Before Maslow, all administrative thinkers belonging to the Human Relations School routinely took the instrumental view of man (human), believing in manipulating him to be a more productive tool of the organisation. Maslow made a departure from such thinking. He contended that the employee is not to be treated as an instrument, but as an autonomous being and hierarchy of needs motivated him. Man, in other words, is a self-actualising being. Maslow held the view that the best managers are the ones who improve the health of the employees.

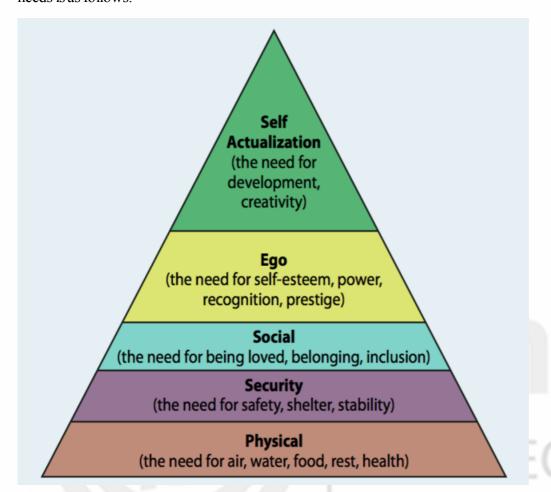
11.3 MASLOW'S THEORY OF MOTIVATION

Maslow's Approach emphasised the importance of human needs in an organisation. Every organisation has a set of goals and targets to accomplish, which further depend on the workers of the organisation. Motivation is possible if there are unfulfilled needs of organisational workers. An unfulfilled need or goal would always motivate the worker to fulfill or accomplish it. The organisations have to tap the level of needs in order to motivate the employees or workers.

Maslow in his classic Paper 'A Theory of Human Motivation'; as mentioned before, outlined an overall Theory of Motivation. He analysed the relationship between the human beings and organisations from the point of view of human needs. He was of the view that human beings became members of organisations to fulfill their needs, which may emanate from a variety of areas. Thus, the fulfillment of these needs motivates the human beings for a higher level of performance, whereas non-fulfillment of needs have an adverse effect on the motivation of individuals in terms of contribution to the organisations. As a result, the goals and objectives of the organisation lack fulfillment. Keeping this in mind, Abraham Maslow formulated the Hierarchy of Needs Theory, which would keep the employees motivated and, in turn, would lead to more productivity and satisfaction of the individuals and the organisation as a whole. As cited in Dhameja and Mishra(2016), Maslow believed that individual behaviour was the result of the conscious and sub-conscious goals that the individual harboured. These goals were personal as well as organisational. He placed the personal needs at a lower level and the organisational needs at a higher level.

Abraham Maslow stated that healthy human beings have a certain number of needs, which follow a hierarchical pattern and therefore these needs are arranged in a

hierarchy. These needs are physiological needs, security needs, social needs, esteem needs and self-actualisation needs. Some needs (such as physiological and safety needs) are more primitive or basic than others (such as social and ego needs). Maslow's socialled 'hierarchy of needs' is often presented as a five-level pyramid, with higher needs coming into focus only once lower, or more basic needs are met. The structure of the needs is as follows:



The *first* in the hierarchy are the *Physical Needs*: These needs pertain to the basic things necessary for survival that are hunger, thirst, shelter etc. The human beings initially try to satisfy this need and once it is fulfilled, this need ceases to satisfy them. In other words, these needs no longer motivate them.

The *second* needs are the *Security Needs*: These needs talk about the job security or safety at workplace that further provides a sense of psychological security to human beings. Maslow here talks about both physical and emotional safety and he opines that once the safety and security needs are ensured, they no longer motivate the human beings.

The *third* are the *Social Needs:* These needs represent the relationships between and among groups of people working in the organisation. These needs provide emotional security to the people and also a sense of belongingness and association. Man is a social animal and likes to be friendly with others and if these needs are not met, the employee becomes resistant and hostile.

The *fourth* in line are the *Esteem Needs:* These needs are those needs where the human beings strive for power, achievement and status. Esteem here denotes both self-esteem and esteem from others.

The highest level need is the Need for Self-actualisation: This need represents the

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culmination of all other needs. The fulfillment of this need gives a higher sense of satisfaction to the individual in work and life, which improves the performance of a person in an organisation. The term self-actualisation was coined by Kurt Goldstein, which is directed towards searching the meaning and purpose in life. The desire for self-fulfillment and a meaningful life is the essence of this need.

Maslow called the bottom levels of the pyramid as 'deficiency needs' because a person does not feel anything if they are met, but becomes anxious if they are not. Thus, physiological needs such as eating, drinking, and sleeping are deficiency needs, as are safety needs, social needs such as friendship and physical intimacy, and ego needs such as self-esteem and recognition. In contrast, Maslow called the fifth level of the pyramid a 'growth need', because it enables persons to 'self-actualise' or reach their fullest potential as human beings. Once a person has met his deficiency needs, he can turn his attention to self-actualisation. However, only a small minority of people are able to self-actualise because self-actualisation requires uncommon qualities such as honesty, independence, awareness, objectivity, creativity, and originality.

| Check Your Progress 1 | | |
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| Note: i) Use the space give | | Use the space given below for your answers. |
| | ii) | Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. |
| 1) | What | is unique about Maslow's Theory of Motivation? |
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| 2) | Expla | in Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory. |
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11.4 FUNCTIONING OF THE HIERARCHY OF NEEDS THEORY

The Hierarchy of Needs Theory has *five* levels. Each need serves as a goal for an individual for e.g., the first need is the physiological need and the individual concentrates on fulfilling this need till it actually gets fulfilled and he attains satisfaction, and only when he is thoroughly satisfied in that need area, does he move to the next order need. This pertains to mostly all individuals in their daily life and non-achievement of a particular goal in a need area motivates a person to achieve it. Once it is achieved, it no longer continues to motivate an individual and thereafter the individual ceases to show interest and further work in that area.

Now, if we take the physiological needs like hunger, thirst, shelter etc., such needs correspond to contributions from the organisation in the form of salary and other

Abraham Maslow

amenities. Once these needs are fulfilled, the individual climbs up the rung of the next order needs, which are the security needs. Individual in today's times fear many untoward incidents and mishaps. So the security needs play a very important role in an individual's life, and more so, a dominant role because security has become a key factor in a person's life.

Thus, only when the person is completely satisfied with his safety aspect, does he aim to achieve the next need. The next level needs are the social order needs. The individual is a social animal and longs for association and affiliation. This includes fulfillment of psychological needs like acceptance in the society and organisation. This also comprises of improving inter-personal relations. Once these needs are fulfilled, the next level of needs are the esteem needs, where the person wants recognition and respect in the organisation which he is working. He longs for prestige, freedom of work and autonomy. The fulfillment of these needs give greater level of satisfaction and motivates the individual to give his best to the organisation. It instills greater confidence and boosts the morale of the worker, which further prepares him to take up leadership positions and guide others.

The next order need is the need of self-actualisation, which is the culmination of all needs. This need signifies excellence in society and organisation, and is expressed by achieving higher performance in any role. It also relates to achieving meaning and purpose in all the endeavours undertaken by an individual. Their energies are channeled in achieving the developmental goals of their organisation. This need arises only when all the lower order needs are fulfilled. However, this need has to be understood in the right connotation. As cited in Prasad *et.al.*,(2010), there are certain attributes, which are required to fulfill the need of self-actualisation and they are:

- Lack of overriding guilt and anxiety.
- Inclination for solitude and privacy.
- Desire for autonomy and freedom.
- Derivation of ecstasy, inspiration and strength from the basic experiences of life.
- Deep feeling of identification and sympathy for humanity.
- Experiences of mystic happenings.
- Interpersonal relations with a few people.
- Ability to differentiate between ends and means, as well as right and wrong, and
- Sense of humour, creativity and originality.

Maslow believed that the deficiency and growth needs have to be explained in detail as these are similar to instincts and play a major role in motivating behaviour. He also segregated the needs into deficiency and growth needs. Physiological, security, social, and esteem needs are deficiency needs, which arise due to deprivation. Satisfying these lower-level needs is important in order to avoid unpleasant feelings or consequences. Maslow termed the highest level of the pyramid as growth needs. These needs don't stem from a lack of something, but rather from a desire to grow as a person.

While the Theory is generally portrayed as a fairly rigid hierarchy, Maslow noted that the order in which these needs are fulfilled does not always follow this standard progression. For example, he noted that for some individuals, the need for self-esteem is more important than the need for love. For others, the need for creative fulfillment may supersede even the most basic needs. Each satisfied need does not motivate a person and thereafter urgency of a need decreases and another unsatisfied need emerges.

11.5 ANAPPRAISAL OF MASLOW'S THEORY

Maslow's Theory of Hierarchy of Needs made a headway in the Social-psychological Approach of public administration. Maslow valued human emotions and sentiments and tried to give the individual their due worth in an organisation depending on their hierarchy of needs that played a vital role in motivating them to perform better.

While some research showed some support for Maslow's theories, most of the researches have not been able to substantiate the idea of a 'needs hierarchy'. It has been reported that there was little evidence for Maslow's ranking of these needs and even less evidence that these needs were in a hierarchical order. Maslow's theory was criticised for choosing a small sample size and even his validation and methodology has been highly controversial. The hierarchy has no scope for deviations for e.g., people have varied preferences for various needs, some may have a strong preference for esteem needs and some for security needs. Also, the hierarchy of needs cannot be compartmentalised. In other words, it cannot be watertight. Even the emergence of a need is not sudden, it is a gradual phenomenon. Most importantly, human behaviour is multi-motivated and cannot be influenced by any single need.

Other criticisms of Maslow's Theory note that his definition of self-actualisation is difficult to test scientifically. His concept of self-actualisation is vague and more so it cannot be replicated as a motivation model to increase the productivity of people in any organisation. His research on self-actualisation was also based on a very limited sample of individuals, including people he knew as well as biographies of famous individuals that Maslow believed to be self-actualised.

11.6 CONCLUSION

Regardless of these criticisms, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs represents part of an important shift in psychology. Rather than focusing on abnormal behaviour and development, Maslow's humanistic psychology was focused on the development of healthy individuals. This notion of Maslow made him stand apart and helped him develop a substantive theory of human psychology. Maslow admitted that the hierarchy of needs need not progress in the manner he propagated and that it varied from person to person; Thus, many of critics only pointed out the drawbacks which Maslow himself underlined. His theory came at a point when 'motivation' was not studied in terms of needs and variety of desires to fulfill them. His contribution paved the way for thinkers likes him. The Theory has been widely recognised. It is easy to understand this Theory among the different theories of Motivation. Many theorists on motivation have simply used Maslow's parameters to formulate their theories. Herzberg's Two-factor takes its inspiration from Maslow. Practicing managers still follow certain factors related to Maslow's Needs Hierarchy.

| Check Your Progress 2 | | |
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| Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer. | | |
| ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit. | | |
| 1) Make an appraisal Maslow's Theory of Motivation. | | |
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11.7 GLOSSARY

Actualisation : Full utilisation of one's potential.

Affiliation : A connection with larger organisation or ideology

or perspective.

Esteem : High regard of someone because of his or her

capabilities and achievements.

11.8 REFERENCES

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11.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Maslow studied exemplary people such as Mahatma Gandhi, Albert Einstein, Jane Adams, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Frederick Douglas to arrive at his concept of self-actualisation.
 - He analysed the relationship between the human beings and organisations from the point of view of human needs.
 - Maslow believed that individual behaviour was the result of the conscious and sub-conscious goals that the individual harboured.
 - He was the first to arrange human needs in a hierarchy.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Physiological
 - Safety
 - Social
 - Esteem
 - Self-actualisation

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Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Needs identified by Maslow may not progress the way he had visualised.
 - Maslow's theory was criticised for choosing a small sample size.
 - His validation and methodology has been highly controversial.
 - The hierarchy has no scope for deviations e.g., people have varied preferences for various needs, some may have a strong preference for esteem needs and some for security needs.
 - The hierarchy of needs cannot be compartmentalised.



UNIT 12 RENSIS LIKERT*

Structure

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Organisational Humanism: Setting the Context
- 12.3 The Interaction-Influence System
- 12.4 Management Styles
- 12.5 Implications for Managers
 - 12.5.1 Human Asset Accounting
 - 12.5.2 Managing Conflicts
 - 12.5.3 Linking Pin Model
- 12.6 System 4: An Effective Strategy for Public Administration
- 12.7 An Evaluation of Likert's Approach
- 12.8 Conclusion
- 12.9 Glossary
- 12.10 References
- 12.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

12.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Describe the concept of Organisational Humanism;
- Bring out the essential constituents of 'interaction-influence' system;
- Distinguish the four styles of Management;
- Explain the key characteristics and role of System 4 Management; and
- Examine the idea of 'Linking Pin Model' as the basic characteristic of organisation.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Rensis Likert (1903-1981), a notable American Social Psychologist, was one of the earliest proponents of Participative Management Theory. Unlike Classical Thinkers, such as, Max Weber, F.W. Taylor, Luther Gulick and Lyndal Urwick etc., Likert's scientific interest was people-oriented which included: managing conflict, diversity, building high-performance teams, leadership, motivation, change, culture and ethics. Indeed, his widespread passion for academic disciplines vis-à-vis Sociology, Psychology, Ethics, Statistics, Engineering etc., engaged him to reflect on his own assumptions and inferences about organisation and management of people.

Leslie Kish (1982), a noted statistician and survey methodologist points out that Likert

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"was always curious about how things worked and how to fix them when they did not...his strong feel for structures and measurements also showed in his quantitative and pragmatic approaches to social problems and social measurements". As a Professor of Psychology and Sociology at the University of Michigan, he was instrumental in the establishment of the Institute for Social Research (ISR), which has a reputation for being the world's largest academic social science survey and research organisation. As part of his doctoral research in 1932, he developed the psychometric scale, namely, "Likert Scale" that measures the respondents' attitudes and assumptions about a topic. This Unit will help us in explaining the role of organisational actors, their interactions with each other and their influence on overall workplace practices, as given by Rensis Likert.

12.2 ORGANISATIONAL HUMANISM: SETTING THE CONTEXT

The post-industrial revolution had been the arena of 'industrial reforms', which meant different strategies were adopted to bring about 'maximum productivity' with primary emphasis on quantity, efficiency, and machinery of production. The period from early 1900s to the early 1950s was influenced by Taylor's 'Scientific Management' approach to work design and Weber's Bureaucratic model. As the workers in the early part of the 20^{th} century were poorly educated, the management decided all the things and the worker obliged implicitly. Moreover, each step of the worker was highly controllable and predictable.

Eventually, the mechanistic model proved strongly efficient in those days. We should note that the traditional bureaucratic approaches too received criticism from the scholars for being restrictive of the human behaviour, therefore, a search for alternative approaches to management and organisation was carried out. Although, Taylor's approach insisted on humanistic elements, such as 'mental revolution' of the management and the workers and fair treatment of workers, in practice, the worker was merely viewed as a 'cog in the wheel' by the management.

In the 1930s and 1940s, the Hawthorne studies revealed that workers' performance could be affected by the presence of peer pressure. With workers becoming more conscious of human needs other than monetary benefits, the study demonstrated that the presence of 'informal networks' and 'group norms' of the workplace had a strong influence over the performance of the worker. This heralded a major shift in the thinking about the relationship among the worker, the work being done and organisation as a social system. The subsequent phase proved most interesting: *firstly*, the beginning of 'Socio-technical'Approach to work design, where management was required to develop a work design that could meet the technical needs of the job in relation to the social system. *Secondly*, there was a parallel interest and research in 'Group Dynamics', which meant interaction of the individual as members within of the organisation.

Seeds for a paradigm shift in managerial thinking were sown in United States of America in the late 1950s and early 1960s with the writings of Fredrick Herzberg, Douglas McGregor, Chris Argyris, and Rensis Likert. While Herzberg changed ways of viewing worker's motivation, McGregor changed managerial assumptions about worker's attitudes toward work. Argyris, on the other hand, explored the impact of traditional management practices on the psychological development of individuals, and Likert provided a whole new perspective of looking at a manager's role in terms of 'participative leadership style'.

The traditional hierarchical practices expected the worker to be submissive, dependent

and limited in what they can do. Hence, these thinkers argued, such redundant practices would limit the contributions that employees can make to the organisation. This thinking coupled with socio-technical thinking, which already started making inroads, a new paradigm emerged which demanded a new way of looking at work design and new models of organisational leadership.

Notably, Herzberg's job enlargement and enrichment approach served as an appropriate means to increase workers' productivity. The Approach gave an opportunity to the employees to have a greater sense of ownership in the work they do. In brief, the Hawthorne findings served as a fillip for a major movement in social psychology and group dynamics. And the industries and business groups were rapidly experimenting with the new initiatives that the academia had revealed. One of the prominent questions of the period was: How to make effective use of employees and groups to shape individual and organisational performance? In this regard, let us try to discuss Likert's perspective on organisational leadership and development in the subsequent Sections.

12.3 THE INTERACTION-INFLUENCE SYSTEM

In order to increase skills, resources, and motivation of individuals at different levels of an organisation, Likert conceived the concept of 'interaction-influence' system. This brings us to the modern approach to management thinking that emphasises the importance of dynamic interaction of the employees with the environment and members within the organisation. In this context, environment can be referred to the operational setting of the organisation that would have a direct impact on the day-to-day functioning of the organisation. In this line of thought, there have been many influential thinkers, such as, Chester Barnard, Abraham Maslow, Douglas McGregor, and Fredrick Herzberg who focused their attention on the role of individual, organisational leadership, group dynamics, motivation, and satisfaction. Reiterating the Human Relations Movement, which heralded a major paradigm shift in the relationship between the worker, work being done, and organisation as a whole, Likert identified the influence of environment in shaping the organisational design.

According to Likert, the effectiveness of this 'interaction-influence' system, therefore, determines the organisational capacity to optimise its skills and resources of individuals and workgroups. The following are the characteristics of an ideal 'interaction-influence' system:

- The goals and values of every member would get reflected in the workgroups and organisation as a whole. This means the degree of employee commitment would be high, as opposed to compliance to rules, as the most efficient means to productivity.
- The drive for achieving high performance and skill development comes from the members themselves. It goes a step ahead of problem solving where the members of the organisation are able to identify the need to reflect critically on their own behaviour.
- Every member of the organisation will be able to bring in their experience to the work; as a result, it has a strong influence on decisions and policies of the organisation.

To Likert, a work place that is based on an effective 'interaction-influence' system would align goals, values, methods, communication, decision-making, coordination, control, etc., in a single thread. However, in practice, it may encounter several conflicts, for instance, seniority versus merit and commitment versus compliance. In a working

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team, which comprises of members with different levels of experience or age or knowledge, the conflict that may likely to occur is 'who will decide'. The second conflict that may occur could be emphasis on employees' identification with their work and in building teams.

As the complexity of the task increases, the demand for group interaction also increases, where the employee may tend to exercise personal judgement and intuition in situations that do not fit the rules. This situation may contradict with the traditional hierarchical settings where rule compliance is the norm. Perhaps, one of the strongest criticisms of the Bureaucratic Theory and Scientific Management Approach was its over dependence on rule compliance. The widespread assumption among Human Relations thinkers were, an organisation that is over dependent on rule compliance, over time, is likely to generate rule defiance. Although, the 'interaction-influence' system seems antithetical to rule-compliance, it is hard to achieve this scenario without managing the internal conflicts. In this regard, Likert shared his perspectives on managing conflict, which we will discuss in Section 12.5.

12.4 MANAGEMENT STYLES

The evolution of thought with regard to how best to manage people involves a host of related topics and ideas including organisational structure, functioning of organisation, management of organisation, decision-making, organisational culture, change and learning, organisation in society and the like. In general, it involves questions about the nature of power and authority, motivation and responsibility, and the establishment of trust and confidence. However, fundamentally, it is grounded on the basic assumptions about the nature of people and behaviour.

Unlike the classical thinkers who considered human beings as one of the essential resources required to achieve the goals, the pioneers of Human Relations School strongly believed that organisations are systems of interdependent human beings. Thinkers like Elton Mayo, Maslow, Herzberg, McGregor, and Likert etc. have studied attitudes, expectations, value systems, tensions and conflicts, group dynamics and their effects on productivity, culture, cohesion, and motivation. Several thinkers of this genre viewed that the behaviour of the members of an organisation clearly affects both the structure, functioning as well as the principles on which it can be governed or managed. Pugh and Hickson (2007) while acknowledging these writers have held that 'people not only work for the organisation – they *are* the organisation. They regarded organisation as a 'natural system' (a mechanism designed to achieve particular ends).

Based on his extensive research undertaken from thousands of managers in different organisational settings, Rensis Likert proposed new methods of management. The study was described in terms of six organisational dimensions, such as leadership, motivation, communication, decisions, goals, and control in his Book *The Human Organisation: Its Management and Value (1967)*. Likert propounded that of all the tasks of management, managing the human component is the central and most important task, because all else depends upon how well it is done. Notably, he identified *Four Styles* of Management on a continuum, where autocratic job-centred manager (System 1) at one end and democratic, employee-centred manager on the other end (System 4). These *four* management styles are given below:

System 1: Exploitative-Authoritative Management

In Exploitative-Authoritative Management Style, the manager has low confidence in

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their subordinates and gains compliance of tasks through fear and threats. The manager is highly authoritative and imposes decisions on subordinates with less or no scope for further conversation. And, the management is concerned only with completion of task without paying much attention to the aspirations of the human beings who are involved in the task. In general, this management style is characterised by top-down communication and psychological isolation between superiors and subordinates.

System 2: Benevolent-Authoritative Management

In System 2: Benevolent-Authoritative Management Style, as the term 'benevolent' indicates, the manager listens to the concerns of the subordinates. This implies that the manager holds some confidence and trust in their subordinates. For example, the managers entrust the responsibility of taking mundane decisions to the subordinates with close policy control. Unlike management by fear and threat, the benevolent-authoritative uses rewards to gain compliance from the subordinates. Besides inclusion of reward system, System 2 is characterised by restricted upward communication from subordinate to superior, that is, information flowing upward is restricted to what the manager wants to hear.

System 3: Consultative Management

In System 3: Consultative Management Style, the manager holds partial confidence and trust in their subordinates. Though the manager still makes all policy decisions, they make attempts to understand their subordinates' opinions. As in the benevolent-authoritative management style, the top management handles higher-order decisions; involves subordinates for making lower order decisions; uses economic rewards for compliance. In sum, System 3 is characterised by two-way communication process, both upward and downward, and subordinates' give their opinions other than which the superior wants to hear in limited proportion. Thus, subordinates can have a moderate influence on the activities of the departments.

System 4: Participative Management

System 4 Management Style is based on managerial trust and confidence and characterised by participative group management; hence, every employee feels responsible for achieving organisation's goal. Besides, providing economic rewards, the management makes full use of group participation and involvement in setting high performance goals, performance-based rewards, collaborative teamwork, improving work methods, open communication, and so on. It is to be noted that the subordinates and superiors are psychologically close and decision-making is carried out throughout the organisation largely through group processes. In general, employee-oriented managers are those who have built the personnel in their respective departments into effective groups, where the members have cooperative attitudes and a high sense of job satisfaction.

Management, according to Likert, is always a relative process. The essential concept which Likert propounded is that, to be effective, modern organisations must regard themselves as interacting groups of people with 'supportive relationships' to each other. Ideally, all incumbents will feel that the organisation's objectives are of personal significance to them. They will regard their jobs, which contribute to those objectives, as meaningful, indispensable, and complex. Hence, in order to achieve those shared objectives and values, the managers are expected to steer and support workplace cooperation. For instance, the *participative managers* are found to focus their attention on the human aspects of their subordinates' problems and on building effective teams.

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For Likert(1981), sensitivity to the organisation values and expectations is a crucial leadership skill, and he believed that organisations must create the ambience and situations which could encourage all managers to deal with the people in a compatible mode. In his later work, Likert extended the System 4 classification by identifying the 'System 4 Total Model of Organisation' (System 4T) in which the leader possesses the following characteristics:

- "1) The leader is supportive, approachable, friendly, easy to talk to, interested in the well-being of subordinates.
- 2) Builds the subordinates into cohesive, highly effective, cooperative problem-solving teams linked together by persons who hold overlapping memberships. That is, a superior in one group is a subordinate in a higher-level group.
- 3) Subordinates are not pitted against each other in hostile, competitive relationships.
- 4) Helps subordinates with their work by seeing that they are supplied with all the necessary resources (space, supplies, budget, training).
- 5) Subordinates are kept informed of overall plans so that they can plan their work more effectively.
- 6) The leader expects high quality performance from oneself and from others".

In addition, 'System 4T' is characterised by an optimum structure in terms of differentiation and linkages, as well as cohesive group relationships.

With respect to management styles, as already mentioned above, Likert developed a continuum with autocratic task-centred manager on one end and participatory employee-centred manager on the other end. While providing guidelines to an upcoming 'System 4' organisation, Likert cautioned organisations not to attempt one big jump from System 1 to System 4 rather recommends to keep moving gradually through the continuum. The *first* reason being that both the managers and incumbents of the System 1 organisation may lack adequate knowledge and skills for the sudden change in organisation culture. *Secondly*, it was suggested to involve the concerned persons in the organisation whose behaviour has to be changed to bring the necessary change. *Thirdly*, as far as possible, Likert advised to use objective and impersonal evidence in a supportive and helpful manner for achieving the desired outcome. Further, for the successful launch of organisational change it was considered to involve influential people in organisation, as their participation, in Likert's, view, is the key to better team dynamics.

| Check Your Progress 1 | | |
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| Note: | i) | Use the space given below for your answers. |
| | ï) | Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. |
| 1) Br | riefly | describe the historical evolution of 'Organisational Humanism' |
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| 2) | What are the characteristics of an ideal 'Interaction-Influence System'? | | | |
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| 3) | Explain how System 1 Management Style is different from System 3 Management Style? | | | |
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| 4) | Discuss the main aspects of System 4 Management Style. | | | |
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12.5 IMPLICATIONS FOR MANAGERS

One of the main goals of managerial leadership is to ensure that the subordinates feel motivated to work and exhibit a sense of belongingness towards organisation. Based on his several studies in business organisations, he was of the view that the top management neither want to measure nor recognise the value of human beings of organisation. In contrast, Likert acknowledged the role of middle managers who make an attempt to follow his System 4 Management Style that strongly advocates participatory decision making. The perennial question, therefore, put forth by Likert throughout his research was to ascertain ways and means to identify and develop talent-based human resources. In an attempt to institutionalise 'innovation' and 'openness', Likert and his associates worked on streamlining accounting system, understanding and resolving conflicts, and in conceptualising and evolving Linking Pin Model respectively. Let us discuss it further.

12.5.1 Human Asset Accounting

Likert was critical about the prevailing methods and measurements of assessing organisation performance in terms of productivity, costs, dividends, and the like. To Likert such operational and financial reports of organisations might overstate or understate the actual performance of any particular firm in terms of human resources. Further, Likert (1981) explicitly stated that 'it is essential for a firm to know not only its investment

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in human resources but to know as well the present productive capability of that human organisation, i.e., its present value to the firm'. Likert (1981) illustrates through an example:

"Suppose that tomorrow morning your firm had all of its plants, office, laboratories, warehouses, stores, and all of its equipment—everything, but no personnel except for one person, namely, the President of the firm, and suppose that he had to start rebuilding the human organisation of the firm back to where it is today: a well-knit, effectively functioning human organisation, how much would it cost expressed in terms of payroll? Would it require one-half year's payroll, one year, two years, five years, or ten years payroll? That is, what would the total cost be of recruiting, hiring, training, and organisation building to rebuild the organisation to its present level of effectiveness?"

Hence, Likert and his associates engaged in developing procedures for estimating the actual costs incurred in recruiting, selecting, training employees and familiarising them with all aspects of their work and in establishing effective working relations with others in the organisation. He recommended that periodic measurements can be obtained which yield information of useful accuracy indicating whether the value of the human organisation is remaining about the same or is increasing or decreasing in small or large terms.

In order to assess the state of human organisation, Likert felt the necessity to differentiate between causal and intervening variables. The causal variables are independent variables—which can be directly influencing the course of organisation development and achievement of results. The causal variables as specified by Likert include the structure of the organisation, and management's policies, decisions, business leadership strategies, skills, and behaviour. On the other hand, intervening variables, according to Likert, reflect the internal state, health, and performance capabilities of the organisation, such as, loyalties, attitudes, motivations, performance goals, and perceptions of all members and their collective capacity for effective action, interaction, communication, and decision making.

While pointing out the complexity of technology-industry influence on the actual estimates of the firm, Likert predicted that 'more complex the technology, the larger the estimates tend to be'. This perspective elevates Likert and his associates to a 'new level', which reflects the need to embrace contemporary approach to human asset accounting. Bahl (2017) foresees that in the coming decade, a lot of workforce would blend workplace automation with human intelligence, wherein job titles like 'Human-Machine Interaction Analyst' is most likely to emerge. For example, Amazon Web Services uses Artificial Intelligence to improve employee efficiency and decision-making by suggesting the best places to focus their attention each day. With sophisticated technologies perceived as trusted incumbents, Likert's view on human asset accounting emerges to be an indispensable opportunity in the near future.

12.5.2 Managing Conflicts

In organisations, conflict may arise based on nature of business, ownership, functional areas, and stakeholder rights. The list is not exhaustive as the sources of conflict may also include management-employee relations in terms of promotion decisions, salary, employee transfers, management of attrition, handling employee grievances and the like. The modern organisation theorists acknowledge that conflict is not only inevitable but can have positive or negative consequences depending on the way it is managed. With the challenges induced by science and technological advancement on modern polity, economy, and society vis-à-vis economic recession, political stability, big data management, cyber security, automation, flexible work hours, gender equity, etc., it is

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likely to impact organisational development. In this regard, sophisticated social organisations could be built to deal with the conflicts caused by such changes and diversities

In view of the scenario mentioned, Likert made an attempt to evolve different methods or strategies for managing conflicts along with their implications for managerial and organisational effectiveness. Bemoaned over the fact that conflict is ever increasing in frequency not only within and among organisations, but within and among nations, Likert in his Book 'New Ways of Managing Conflict' (1976), pointed out the prevailing methods for resolving conflict as deficient, as it only leads to win-lose situation rather than win-win situation. To overcome conflicting situations in organisations, Likert believed 'System 4' could be an effective base for resolving and managing conflict. Based on his extensive research in industries and schools, Likert asserted that 'System 4' can be an appropriate approach for all kinds of organisational settings including industries, schools, universities, and cities.

As already discussed in Sub-section 12.4.4, 'System 4' is characterised by group problem-solving, hence, to manage tensions in organisations, Likert placed group problem-solving as the primary mechanism to achieve win-win (in which all sides win) outcomes. It is to be noted that group problem solving or participatory decision making is the characteristic feature of 'System 4' Management Style. Further, Likert stated that the practice of supportive leadership combined with interaction- influence network enables the organisation to achieve employee consensus at every level of management; and they could use "integrative goals, de-emphasise on status, and depersonalised problem-solving". In general, the concept of supportive behaviour was one of the key features of Likert's Management Style where trust and openness are the chief constituents of conflict resolution. In the words of Likert, "leaders must meet and even exceed the expectations of their members for support and involvement, but not do so in excess of the members' ability to respond favourably".

12.5.3 Linking Pin Model

In order to facilitate intergroup cooperation, Likert proposed for key jobs in organisations based on Linking-Pin Model that states each member of an organisation has twin roles in two overlapping groups. This implies that the incumbent is a member of a higher-level group and leader of a lower-level group. The central principles of Likert's 'System 4' are as follows:

- Supportive relationships between organisational members;
- Multiple overlapping structures, with groups consisting of superiors and their subordinates;
- Group problem solving by consensus within groups; and
- Overlapping memberships between groups by members who serve as "linking pins".

Contrary to the traditional top-down organisation which focused on individual roles, Likert developed a Model based on group functions and processes. According to this Model, a member in a 'linking-pin' position are expected to be an integrated member in two or more groups, therefore, a person in such a position should facilitate seamless flow of resources and communication.

Graen *et.al* (1977) endorses Likert's System 4 organisation and puts forth that given the adequate resources and effective participants, the following outcomes could be achieved in:

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- More open and honest information transmitted in both directions over the link.
- A greater total amount of influence exercised in directions.
- Greater job satisfaction and commitment to the organisation, and
- More cooperation, rather than a competitive approach.

By and large, Likert was of the view that organisational effectiveness and the quality of work life of subordinates would be highly determined by the people who occupy these roles. In other words, Likert opined that the relevant skills of incumbents in these positions include interpersonal and intergroup competence as this would enhance effective working relations irrespective of status, power and experience. Thus, it can be presumed that the quality of 'linking-pins' to a certain extent determines the quality of work life.

| Check Your Progress 2 | | | |
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| Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | | | |
| ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | | | |
| 1) What do you understand by the term 'Human Asset Accounting'? | | | |
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| 2) 'System 4 Management Style can help in resolving organisational conflict' Elucidat | | | |
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| 3) Explain the concept of 'Linking Pin Model'. | | | |
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12.6 SYSTEM 4: AN EFFECTIVE STRATEGY FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

From the discussion in this Unit, it could be deduced that the success of any organisation, irrespective of the organisational settings, to a large extent, is highly determined by its

Rensis Likert

people's participation in decision making. According to Adams (1992), participative approaches are needed in order for people in organisations to have a decent and dignified existence and highlighted that 'participation is an important value in and of itself'. For instance, McGregor suggested that by making administration more democratic and less bureaucratic or hierarchical would allow subordinates to express their natural tendencies to work responsibly. This scenario was exactly suggested by Maslow in his self-actualisation needs.

Like many of his contemporaries, Likert resolved to understand the meanings that people assign to their work and their relationships at work, especially with the supervisor or manager and how these meanings (factors) might influence work performance irrespective of whether it is public or private administration. Likert's (1967) concern for a people-centric approach could be substantiated in his own words as: "All activities of any expertise are initiated and determined by the persons who make up the institution. Plants, office computers, automated equipment, and all else that a modern firm uses are unproductive except for human effort and direction. Human beings design or order the equipment; they decide where and how to use computers; they modernise or fail to modernise the technology employed; they secure the capital needed and decide on the accounting and fiscal procedures to be used. Every aspect of a firm's activities is determined by the competence, motivation, and general effectiveness of its human organisation. of all the tasks of management, managing the human component is the central and most important task, because all else depends upon how well it is done".

In this line of logic, Likert pointed out that 'System 4' could enable any administrator in government who wishes to increase the productivity of the unit he/she is managing. With contemporary challenges forcing the administrators to run in a cost-effective manner and to ensure concurrent improvement in the quality of citizen services, Likert finds 'System 4' – a powerful leadership tool as it is premised on the values of participation and trust among the members of organisation. Several thinkers are of the view that participation and involvement are among the essential principles that are generally followed by successful public sector.

According to a Report of the Auditor-General of Canada (1988), 'Participative Leadership' is considered as one of the five common attributes of well performing organisations in public sector. Likert discovered through his research that unlike other strategies, participative leadership could improve the organisation's productivity by as much as 40 per cent in both public and private sectors. His other findings include: higher levels of satisfaction and health, cost-effectiveness, excellent communication, high motivation, and capacity for reciprocal influence.

Likert (1981, op.cit.) mentioned the case of the Department of Labour and Industrial Relations in the Hawaii State, United States of America. In the year 1974, when Mr. Joshua Agsalud assumed office as its Director envisioned a future for the department in terms of improving performance and job satisfaction. In line with this reasoning, Joshua deliberated the relevance of 'System 4' with his division administrators and encouraged them to move their management closer to it. To realise the objectives, organisational development tools like survey-guided development cycle and self-training package were used as a reference and operating guide.

This process evolved with an objective to measure the attitudes of employees, participant feedback, and stimulate cooperative planning. As a result, there was a substantial improvement on individual performance and overall job satisfaction. Another important development in methodological term is the origin of 'Likert Scale', which was developed

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by Likert himself. This is a psychometric scale which serves as an important reality check in identifying grey areas that require further attention. More specifically, this 5-point scale enables the user to collate data on empirical comparisons. It enables the respondent to place himself on a scale of agree/disagree or favourable/unfavourable with a neutral mid-point.

With regard to the important prerequisite for any organisation to implement System 4, Likert commented that the aspiring manager is expected to have a clear understanding of leadership and interactional processes which could be possible only through reading and experiential training. Finally, Likert places his hope on System 4 as a vibrant tool that could be utilised by any governmental agency as an opportunity to improve its human resources, the productivity of those resources, and the excellence of its services. Given the problems faced by public sector vis-à-vis constrained resources, low employee morale, increased citizen demands, etc.', the potential payoff from introducing capacity building programmes that could make System 4 workable comes as a striking concern.

12.7 AN EVALUATION OF LIKERT'S APPROACH

In his ambition to develop an ideal organisation, Likert sketched out some of the valuable concepts in the domain of organisational behaviour, such as, interaction-influence system, participatory decision making, linking-pin model, and human asset accounting. Methodologically, he came out with the most popular attitudinal scale known as 'Likert scale' which continues to influence the lives of all citizens, especially researchers till date irrespective of the country, gender, race, religion, age, etc. However, Likert's view on organisation was not without criticism from his contemporaries. For example, critics claim that his Linking Pin Model is nothing more than drawing triangles around the traditional hierarchical structures.

Luthans (1973) criticised it as slowing down the process of decision making. Zaleznik (1968) claims that System 4 is an 'oversimplified package' for organisations and highly concerned about Likert's anxiety to convert the managers from autocratic to democratic style. Klein (1979) finds 'System 4' as a relative process since he assumed that it could be constrained by current structures and practices. One of the major weaknesses of 'System 4', as agreed by many thinkers, is Likert and his associates' attempt to prove the empirical validity and reliability of their proposed approach in different organisational settings. Several scholars are of the opinion that in their ambition to justify their approach, practical difficulties in organisations have had been sidelined by the proponents.

Despite criticism, thinkers acknowledge the methodological and theoretical contributions made by Likert in organisational behaviour. According to Kish (1990), Likert's pragmatic and engineering approach to problems had been exemplified through his writings. He further stated that the survey results based on Likert Scale enable one to understand people's attitudes towards politicians, world events or consumer products and other relevant issues. On this note, he acknowledges the lifetime efforts of Likert for contributing in the field of survey techniques. Secondly, Likert's view on participatory leadership and decision making although seem to be an ideal situation, its applicability cannot be undermined as contemporary organisations need to structure on the principles of democracy and trust as given in 'System 4'. In short, the concept for structuring an organisation based on 'innovation' and 'openness' is not of recent origin as it has its evolution in the management practices of 'System 4'.

| Check Your Progress 3 | | | |
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| No | te: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | | |
| | ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | | |
| 1) | $\hbox{`The System4Management Style is of huge relevance in Public Sector' Comment.}$ | | |
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| 2) | Critically evaluate Likert's Approach to management of organisation. | | |
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12.8 CONCLUSION

Likert underlined the importance of applicability of his concepts in public sector and spent his retirement years as a consultant, researcher, and mentor for building teams and organisations, both public and private; he provided intellectual support to budding scholars as well. In sum, it could be understood that Rensis Likert who was known for his contribution in the field of organisation and management styles, stands tall in his systematic analysis of good management practices and extending the frontiers of disciplinary boundaries.

According to Prasad *et.al.*(2010), Likert earned his place among eminent management thinkers and researchers for laying the empirical foundations for the development of management science. *Firstly*, the idea of interaction-influence system is an attempt to bring together the incumbents irrespective of status and power on the same platform to discuss about the organisational goals, both-long term as well as short-term. *Secondly*, his configuration on management styles from System 1 to System 4 enables the learner to understand the various leadership styles and their inherent tendency to affect human performance.

While 'System 4' could be regarded as the ideal form of manifestation of power and authority, it encourages the learning organisation, to aspire for the realisation of its human potential. As Maslow put it, growth of an individual toward fulfilment of the highest needs, that is, self-actualisation needs. The self-actualised individuals are those who are highly creative and who possess the ability to resolve conflicts. *Thirdly*, to facilitate implementation of 'System 4' and to overcome the barriers of traditional hierarchical structures, Likert came up with the concept of Linking-Pin Model, which reinforces the concept of group-to-group relationship. This model is structured around the principles

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of bottom-up communication, high performance goals, and employee participation in decision-making.

Likert's concepts are itself so interrelated that for instance, the interaction-influence system could develop a capacity for self-correction, coaching and training, as it helps the managers to recognise the groups which fall short of standards. Interestingly, Likert envisions *System5* organisation for the future in which hierarchy or authority might disappear completely. Kish (1982) in his tribute to Rensis Likert says "his initiative, enterprise, and unending energies had more important goals than merely being right; he wanted to make the world better, and he had a youthful belief that the sciences of human behaviour can be developed to make unique and vital contributions to those goals".

12.9 GLOSSARY

Cog in the Wheel : This phrase denotes someone or something that is functionally necessary but of small significance within a larger functioning. Group Dynamics : It is a field of social psychology which is concerned with the nature of human groups, their

Mental Revolution

development, and their interactions with individuals, other groups, and larger organisations. • It is a change in the attitude both on the part of

Psychometric Scale

- : It is a change in the attitude both on the part of management and workers in terms of extending cooperation and producing surplus. This term was coined by Frederick W. Taylor as a part of his Scientific Management Approach.
- : It is a field of study concerned with the theory and technique of psychological measurement of knowledge, abilities, attitudes, and personality traits. Likert Scale is a popular psychometric scale, which is being used to understand people's perceptions on different topics.

Self-Actualisation

: This term was used by Maslow in his concept of Hierarchy of Needs. It is used to denote people who aim at fulfilment, creativity and self-direction.

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12.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

- 1) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Mechanistic models like Taylor's Scientific Management and Weber's Bureaucratic Model proved strongly efficient in the early part of the 20th century.
 - The traditional hierarchical practices as authored by Taylor and Weber expected the worker to be submissive, dependent, and limited in scope.
 - In the late 1950s and early 1960s, scholars challenged the traditional hierarchical practices.
 - Organisational Humanism thinkers like Herzberg, McGregor, Argyris, and Likert viewed worker as a dynamic social being.

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- 2) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Emphasises the importance of dynamic of the employees with the environment and members within the organisation.
 - The goals and values of every member in the organisation get reflected in the work groups.
 - There is a sense of achieving high performance and skill development among the employees.
 - Every employee is intended to strongly influence the organisational policies and decisions.
- 3) Your answers should include the following points:
 - System 1 manager has low confidence over his subordinates whereas System 3 manager holds partial confidence and trust on their subordinates.
 - The communication is a one-way process in System 1 management style. In System 3 management style, the communication is a two-way process.
 - System 1 manager is highly authoritative and impose his/her decisions on their subordinates. System 3 manager is consultative in nature and involves subordinates for making lower order decisions.
 - There is psychological isolation in System 1 between superiors and subordinates. In System 3, this isolation is bridged to a certain extent.
- 4) Your answers should include the following points:
 - The leader is supportive, friendly, and approachable.
 - Unlike System 1 management style, the leader in System 4 steers and supports workplace cooperation.
 - The manager focuses on building effective teams.
 - The manager ensures that all resources are supplied to execute the task.
 - The subordinates are encouraged to plan ahead about the assigned task.

- 1) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Identifying and developing talented human resources was the primary aim of Rensis Likert.
 - Likert was of the view that operational and financial reports might not provide the actual performance of its human resources.
 - He recommended two sets of variables, such as, causal and intervening variables.
 - Causal variables include the organisation structure: management's policies, decisions, business leadership strategies, skills, and behaviour.
 - Intervening variables include: loyalties, attitudes, motivations, performance goals, etc.
- 2) Your answers should include the following points:
 - System 4 is characterised by group problem-solving approach.

Rensis Likert

- Likert assumed that System 4 enables the management to achieve a win-win situation.
- Likert viewed 'interaction-influence network' as an important strategy to achieve employee consensus at all levels of management.
- System 4 uses integrative goals and participative decision making.
- The chief constituents of conflict resolution in System 4 are trust and openness.
- 3) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Linking Pin Model facilitates intergroup cooperation based on group functions and processes.
 - Each member of the organisation has twin roles in two overlapping groups.
 - Each incumbent is a member of a higher-level group and leader of a lower-level group.
 - Group problem solving is done by developing consensus within groups.
 - This Model enables seamless flow of resources and communication throughout the organisation.

- 1) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Likert finds System 4 as a powerful leadership tool as it is premised on 'participation' and 'trust' among the members of organisation.
 - System 4 intends to make administration more democratic and less bureaucratic.
 - Likert hypothesised that there is a substantial improvement in job satisfaction in System 4 management style.
 - Likert places hope on System 4 as a panacea to solve public sector challenges like constrained resources, low employee morale, increased citizen demands etc.
- 2) Your answers should include the following points:
 - Likert's model was criticised as too idealistic in nature.
 - The Linking Pin Model was considered ambitious in its attempt to convert the managers from autocratic to democratic style.
 - Several scholars claimed that the practical difficulties in organisational functioning were overlooked by Likert and his associates.
 - Critics viewed that Linking pin could slow down the process of decision making.

UNIT 13 FREDERICK HERZBERG*

Structure

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Herzberg: A Biographical Account
- 13.3 Nature of Motivation Theories
- 13.4 The Two-factor Theory of Herzberg
- 13.5 Concept of Job Enrichment
- 13.6 An Evaluation of Herzberg's Theory
- 13.7 Conclusion
- 13.8 Glossary
- 13.9 References
- 13.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

13.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Describe the nature of Motivation Theories;
- Discuss Herzberg's Two-factor Theory;
- Explain the concept of Job Enrichment; and
- Examine Herzberg's Motivation Theory.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

The major contributors of Socio-psychological Approach have been Abraham Maslow, Douglas McGregor, Chris Argyris and Frederick Herzberg. These thinkers have focused on the multi-dimensional aspect of Motivation. Herzberg is one of the important proponents of Motivation Theories. He built upon Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory to come up with his Two-factor Theory of Hygiene and Motivators. Herzberg conducted empirical surveys to reach the conclusion that factors propelling individuals to work in an organisation have to be motivating enough for higher organisational output. This Unit will deal with the nature of Motivation Theories in general before discussing Herzberg's Theory. It will give an account of Herzberg's technique and method on Motivation. The Unit will also examine Herzberg's Two-factor Theory and describe his concept of Job Enrichment. Besides, it will make an evaluation of Herzberg's work.

13.2 HERZBERG: A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

Frederick Irving Herzberg (1923-2000) was born in Massachussets. After serving in the army during Second World War, he joined the University of Pittsburgh as a Research

^{*} Contributed by Prof. Alka Dhameja, Faculty of Public Administration, SOSS, IGNOU, New Delhi

Frederick Herzberg

Director. He went on to become a Professor of Psychology at the Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland and a Professor of Management at University of Utah. His major contributions include his Books such as 'The Motivation to Work' (1959), besides many Articles of which "One More Time; How do you Motivate Employees" sold over a million copies. By 1968, he formulated his Two-Factor Theory. Herzberg's Theory of Motivation: Hygiene or Maintenance factors and Growth or Motivating factors towards job contentment and enrichment remains invaluable till date. Herzberg expanded his Hygiene Theory to come up with his works on 'Work and the Nature of Man' (1966), 'The Managerial Choice' (1982) and 'Herzberg on Motivation' (1983).

Inspired by the writings of Argyris, Maslow and McGregor, Frederick Herzberg worked on the relationship between meaningful work experience and mental health. For him, needs emanated from the desire to avoid pain and grow psychologically. He identified events that led to job satisfaction and the ones that led to job reduction. Herzberg's Motivation Theory is called the Two-Factor Content Theory or Two-Needs Theory.

13.3 NATURE OF MOTIVATION THEORIES

Besides Herzberg, the Theories of Motivation boast of names like Rensis Likert, B.F Skinner and Victor Vroom among many others. Rensis Likert, as we have read in Unit 12 of this Course, believed that highly effective work groups were linked together in an overlapping pattern by other similarly effective groups. In line with Theory 'Y', he too saw employees as having their own needs, value and worth, working in effective and supportive work groups and committed to the objectives of organisation. He talked of two types of supervisors-job centred and employee-centred. The job centred supervisors exerted heavy pressure on employees, had little confidence in them, exercised close supervision, allowed very little freedom to subordinates and used punitive measures of reform. On the other hand, the employee- centred supervisors put little pressure on subordinates, increased the achievement motivation and exercised general supervision.

Likewise, we will discuss about other thinkers briefly in the process of explaining the different Motivation Theories before explaining Herzberg's Two-Factor Theory.Let us keep in mind that there are two types of Motivation Theories; *Content* and *Process*. The *Content* Theories deal with internal factors that energise and direct human behaviour. In particular, they focus on:

- Specific needs that can give rise to desired behaviour.
- Rewards that can satisfy individual needs.
- Performance that can be maximized if rewards are suitable.
- Needs that can keep changing, based on people's experiences.

Following are some the *Content* Theories:

- Hierarchy of Needs (Abraham Maslow categorised the needs into Physiological, Safety, Love/Belonging, Esteem and Self-actualisation; as already discussed in Unit 11 of this Course).
- **Two-Factor Theory**: (Herzberg's Motivation and Hygiene Theory; Our focus of study in this Unit).
- **ERG Theory**: Propounded by Alferger. In this Motivation Theory, (E) stands for Existence, (R) for Relatedness, and (G) for Growth Needs. Assumption is that many a time, more than one need may motivate a person at a given moment. Satisfaction-progression and Frustration-Regression components imply that a

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person may not stay at the same level of need as in the case of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs.

• Three Needs Theory or Learned Needs Theory: David McClelland identified three types of motivational needs: Achievement (strong need to accomplish goals), Affiliation (desire to be liked and collaborated with) and Power (desire to control and influence). The Iceberg Model of David McClelland looks at a person's visible behaviour, knowledge and skills and the underlying unexpressed and unconscious deeper layers.

On the other hand, *Process* Theories deal with the 'why' and 'how' of motivation, that is why and how motivation occurs. They explore how behaviour is caused and sustained or stopped by motivational factors. *Process* Theories explain the nature of change and development of an entity. These include:

- Reinforcement Theory: This Theory views individual behaviour as a function of its consequences. It believes that any behaviour that leads to positive effect is likely to be repeated or reinforced, till it gets conditioned; ignoring the inner feelings and drives of individuals. Propounded by B. F Skinner, it is called Operant Conditioning. It is a method of learning that occurs through rewards and punishments for behaviour. Through Operant Conditioning, an individual makes an association between a particular behaviour and a consequence. He believed that causes of an action and its consequences need to be understood for determining motivating factors.
- Expectancy Theory: These Theories focus on the relationship between anticipated future rewards and present behaviour. Victor Vroom's Theory of Motivation is called the Expectancy Theory. It consists of Valence, Expectancy and Instrumentality. Valence are emotional orientations which people hold with respect to outcomes or rewards. Expectancy implies different expectations of employees and their confidence levels. Instrumentality deals with perceptions whether employees will actually get what they deserve.
- Equity Theory: This Theory focuses on the desire to be treated with equity and to avoid perceived inequity. Equity is a perceptual belief that one is being treated fairly in relation to others. Inequity is a constant belief that one is being treated unfairly in relation to others. Equity can be maintained if there is enough motivation to maintain the current situation. Inequity can be reduced if we can change perceptions of self as well as others, change inputs and outcomes, and change comparisons.
- The Porter-Lawler Model: It is an integrated Theory that deals with workplace motivation. It says that performance leads to job satisfaction rather than vice versa. It assumes that if rewards are adequate, high levels of performance may lead to satisfaction, which is in turn is determined by the perceived equity of intrinsic (intangible) and extrinsic (tangible) rewards for performance.
- Goal Setting Theory: Motivation is determined by setting specific perofirmance goals and sustaining commitment to achieve these goals. Specifically, difficulty level and acceptance differentiates these goals.

It is important to understand the nature of Motivation Theories in order to grasp the views of different thinkers on motivation in the right perspective. It is true that Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs was a neat and systematic attempt at categorising organisational needs, but Motivation Theories have gone way beyond that. They have tried to assimilate all factors that could affect employee motivation levels. They have recognised the fact

that employees have needs which have to be fulfilled for goal attainment. Unfulfilled needs may need to goal displacement. These Theories form a framework for managers to formulate their rewards and punishment yardsticks. Now let us see what Frederick Herzberg propagated in his famous Dual-Need Content Motivation Theory.

13.4 THE TWO-FACTOR THEORY OF HERZBERG

Herzberg's Theory of Motivation falls under the Content Theory as it focusses on internal and external factors that affect individual's motivation. Taking a cue from Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory, Herzberg came up with his Two-Factor Theory; also called Motivation-Hygiene Theory. He divided the factors affecting motivation and satisfaction based on 'maintenance' and 'growth'. These maintenance factors were the hygiene factors for Herzberg, which were concerned with job-enrichment; factors that were 'extrinsic' to the work itself.

The growth factors were the motivators for Herzberg, as these were concerned with job content; factors 'intrinsic' to the work itself. He believed that the Hygiene factors had to be addressed or satisfied first. For Herzberg, motivation happens through job enrichment once the Hygiene factors are satisfied. Once this is done, focus should revolve around growth factors, which were the actual motivators. For Herzberg, opposite of satisfaction is not dissatisfaction but no satisfaction. In the same vein, the opposite of dissatisfaction is not satisfaction but no dissatisfaction. According to Herzberg, the factors leading to job satisfaction are separate and distinct from those that lead to job dissatisfaction.

Herzberg assumed that motivation, as a construct, has two separate dimensions:

- 1) Motivation factors which affect satisfaction.
- 2) Hygiene factors which determine dissatisfaction.

In Herzberg's view, Hygiene factors or dissatisfiers could create job dissatisfaction, but their presence did not motivate or create satisfaction. Without them Growth Motivators, however, were adversely affected. They produced only short-term changes in job attitudes and performance. These were the company policy and administration, wages, salaries, quality of supervision, quality of inter-personal relations, working conditions, and feeling of job security. Motivation factors or satisfiers were the ones that led to job satisfaction, job enrichment, achievement, recognition and challenges. The presence of these factors motivated employees, but their absence did not lead to job dissatisfaction. Factors like status, opportunity for advancement, gaining recognition, challenging or stimulating work and sense of personal accomplishment were some of the motivators for Herzberg.

The Hygiene Factors as per Herzberg are:

- Company Policy and Administration
- Supervision
- Interpersonal Relations with Supervisor, Peers and Subordinates
- Salary
- Job Security
- Personal Life
- Working Environment
- Status



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The Motivators according to Herzberg are:

- 1) Achievement
- 2) Advancement
- 3) Possibility of Growth
- 4) Nature of Work
- 5) Responsibility

Satisfiers were related to the tasks being performed. They related to what a person did while dissastisfiers related to the situation in which the persons or employees or workers did what they did. Salary as a motivator to Herzberg worked only in a group and was not a satisfier in the true sense. For Herzberg, job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction acted independently of each other. In his view, satisfaction and dissatisfaction were not on a continuum, with one increasing and the other one decreasing. Hygiene factors caused dissatisfaction among employees in a work place and thus had to be lessened or removed. Once this is done, motivation factors could be increased to increase job satisfaction.

Herzberg's Theory of Motivation can be graphically presented as:



As cited in *Prasad et al., op. cit.*, we can reiterate that the *three* key principles of the Motivation-Hygiene theory are:

- "The factors involved in producing job satisfaction were separate and distinct from the factors that led to job dissatisfaction. Growth occurs with achievement and achievement requires a task to perform. Hygiene factors are unrelated to tasks.
- The opposite of satisfaction on the job was not dissatisfaction. It was not merely any job satisfaction. Satisfaction and dissatisfaction were discreet feelings. They were, as Herzberg described 'unipolar traits'.
- The motivators had a much long-lasting effect on sustaining dissatisfaction than

hygiene factors had on preventing dissatisfaction. Motivators were self-sustaining while hygiene needs can't be completely satisfied and have to be reapplied".

To create satisfaction, Herzberg believed that there was a need to address the motivating factors associated with work. He called this Job Enrichment. Let us now discuss Herzberg's views on it.

13.5 CONCEPT OF JOB ENRICHMENT

Job Enrichment is a management concept that involves redesigning jobs in order to make them more challenging and less repetitive. The concept is based on a 1968 *Harvard Business Review* Article by psychologist Frederick Herzberg titled "One More Time: How Do You Motivate Employees?" To improve employees' motivation and productivity, Herzberg believed that jobs should be modified to increase the motivators present for the employees. The purpose of Job Enrichment is to make the position more satisfying for the employees. Overall goals for the company often include increasing employees' job satisfaction, reducing turnover, and improving productivity of employees.

Herzberg argued that Job Enrichment (through motivators) should be a central element in any policy of motivation. Job Enrichment attempts to give employees greater responsibility by increasing the range and complexity of tasks they are called upon to complete and giving them the necessary authority. It motivates by giving employees the opportunity to use their abilities to the fullest. According to Herzberg, enriched jobs should contain a range of tasks and challenges at different ability levels and clear opportunities for achievement and feedback on performance. Job Enrichment would involve systematic training. Job Enrichment is possible through:

- Reduction of repetitive work.
- Enhancement of employees' feelings of achievement and recognition.
- Provision of employees' career enhancement.
- Focus on employees' non-promotion growth. That is personal growth in terms of skill and technique know-how (Dhameja and Mishra, 2016).

Principles of Job Enrichment

As per Herzberg, Vertical Job Loading meant enriching employees' positions. As against Horizontal Job Loading, it believed in changing the nature of work by making it more challenging. Herzberg provided a different framework for understanding motivation and its impact on work environments. He talked of horizontal loading of job instead of vertical loading. It meant challenging the employees by increasing the amount of production expected of them.

Herzberg has suggested seven principles:

- 1) Removing some controls while retaining accountability.
- 2) Increasing the accountability of individuals for own work.
- 3) Giving a person a complete, natural unit of work.
- 4) Granting additional authority to employees in their activity.
- 5) Making periodic reports directly available to the workers themselves rather than to supervisors.

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- 6) Introducing new and more difficult tasks not previously handled.
- 7) Assigning individuals specific or specialised tasks; enabling them to become experts.

By improving job content, employees get a higher sense of achievement and work enjoyment. When employees are happy with their jobs, the general mood improves and so does productivity. Thus, the advantage of this concept is that managers are able to actually work on basic needs, once identified, and then go to more complex needs of employees. Herzberg suggested Job Enrichment to satisfy individual needs. By Job Enrichment, he meant that the job should be challenging enough to utilize employees' abilities. Increased ability should be adequately rewarded with higher responsibility. Through Job Enrichment, managers could maximize intrinsic motivation of employees. If the job could not accommodate a specific ability in an employee, then it should have the potential to provide the employees with appropriate job of their ability.

| Check Your Progress 1 | | | | |
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| Note: i) | Use the space given below for your answers. | | | |
| ii) | Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | | | |
| 1) Expl | ain Frederick Herzberg's Two-Factor Motivation Theory. | | | |
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| 2) Describe the concept of Job Enrichment. | | | | |
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13.6 AN EVALUATION OF HERZBERG'S THEORY

Herzberg's Theory is appreciated on the ground that it provides an insight into the task of motivation by drawing attention to the job factors, which are often overlooked. It shows the value of Job Enrichment and the connect between motivation and Job Enrichment. However, Herzberg's Theory has been criticised on several grounds. Some of the criticisms include the following:

Bluecollar workers do not want challenging jobs. These employees may be totally bogged down by the work content. They might also be dissatisfied, even though their basic needs have been fulfilled. It is generally seen that less-educated employees do not have the need for achievement and self-actualisation. Basic Hygiene needs are all it takes to satisfy them. Also, certain Hygiene factors are motivators to some individuals. Take money for example. Money is a Hygiene factor, based on Herzberg's Theory, but it is a motivation for a lot of employees. It motivates them to work harder towards recognition and higher salary. Thus,

Frederick Herzberg

Herzberg's motivation may work more in white collar jobs. Engineers or doctors may like challenging jobs.

- Another criticism of Herzberg's Theory relates to the method of research and data collection used by him to reach his findings. Herzberg undertook his research in the 1950s by interviewing 203 engineers, accountants and managers at Pittsburgh, United States of America. However, by asking employees their best and worst experiences, the methodology did not rule out subjectivity and biases. Moreover, it is natural for people to take credit for satisfaction and to blame external environment for dissatisfaction. There was no broad measure of satisfaction that was used. Despite using the Critical Incident Methodology, Herzberg's methodology was limited to self-reports under controlled and good conditions.
- The validity of the deductions drawn by Herzberg is also questionable, as stated earlier, standardised scales of satisfaction were used. Herzberg failed to recognise the existence of substantial individual differences. Different individuals might have different needs and thus, different motivators. Factors that cause job satisfaction in one individual could cause job dissatisfaction in another. Herzberg did not take into account the various job factors that might cause satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Some job factor scales are not purely motivation or hygiene factors. No overall measure of satisfaction was used. A person may dislike part of a job yet think about the job as unacceptable. Herzberg could not take cognizance of nuances in satisfaction levels. Moreover, some motivators or satisfiers are 'neutral' in character. For instance, salary or pay could be both; a satisfier and a dissatisfier.
- Some feel that Herzberg gave more than required emphasis on Job Enrichment and totally ignored job satisfaction of the workers. He didn't attach much importance to pay, status or interpersonal relationships, which are generally held as great motivators.
- Herzberg also did not establish any connect between degree of satisfaction and levels of productivity. The premise that satisfied workers produced more could also not be generalised on the basis of a small sample of nine companies that he worked with.

Despite the criticism, we can conclude that Herzberg's theory has been widely read and used. His research has broadened the understanding of motivating factors and job satisfaction at work place. There would be very few managers who are not familiar with these recommendations. Herzberg's Theory provides valuable guidelines to the managers for restructuring their jobs in order to include such factors, which bring in satisfaction. Herzberg recognised that true motivation comes from within a person and not from the environment, or external factors. Herzberg's Theory has the potential of solving managerial problems to a large extent. It is easier to actually apply Herzberg's Theory coupled with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. This goes in favour of Herzberg's Theory, as it simplifies its application as a strategy to motivate employees.

| Check Your Progress 2 | | | |
|--|--------|---|--|
| No | te: i) | Use the space given below for your answer. | |
| | ii) | Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit. | |
| 1) Critically evaluate Herzberg's Motivation Theory. | | | |
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13.7 CONCLUSION

The Motivation or Socio-psychological Theories draw on those psychological aspects of human behaviour, which emanate from personal and professional human needs. These are noteworthy in many ways despite the criticism from various quarters. These theories have valued human preferences and desires. They have treated employees as humans capable of high levels of performance. These theories have formed a connect between personal and organisational selves. Like other Motivation Theories, Herzberg's Theory gave predominance to individuals' preferences and desires in an organisation. He treated individuals as active beings capable of producing more if reasonably satisfied and motivated. His Theory improvised on the already available basket of motivators linked with human needs at different individual and organisation levels. This Unit explained the Two-factor Theory in detail. It brought to light its key features and did a critical appraisal of the Theory.

13.8 GLOSSARY

Critical Incident Method

: It consists of procedures involving direct observation of human behaviour which are of critical significance. These observations on incidents are recorded as reference points to solve practical issues and formulate psychological principles.

Iceberg Behaviour

: A person's knowledge, skills and behaviour can be found above the waterline of the iceberg. The central element is what they do. Below the waterline we think and want, which focuses on abstract terms such as standards, values and beliefs, self-esteem, characteristics, personality and motives. These four invisible layers could reinforce one another as motives. However, they may also block the visible behaviour of the person in question.

Standardised Scale

 Tools to improve the assessment of psychopathological symptoms in terms of validity and reliability.

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13.10 ANWSERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Herzberg assumed that motivation, as a construct, has *two* separate dimensions:
 - Motivation factors which affect satisfaction.
 - Hygiene factors which determine dissatisfaction.
 - In Herzberg's view, hygiene factors or dissatisfiers could create job dissatisfaction, but their presence did not motivate or create satisfaction. Without them growth motivators, however, were adversely affected.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - As per Herzberg, Vertical Job Loading meant enriching employees' positions.
 - As against Horizontal Job Loading, it believed in changing the nature of work by making it more challenging.
 - Herzberg provided a different framework for understanding motivation and its impact on work environment.
 - He talked of horizontal loading of job instead of vertical loading. It meant challenging the employees by increasing the amount of production expected of them.

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - It is generally seen that less-educated employees do not have the need for achievement and self-actualisation.
 - By asking employees their best and worst experiences, the methodology did not rule out subjectivity and biases.
 - Despite using the Critical Incident Methodology, Herzberg's methodology was limited to self-reports under controlled and good conditions.
 - Different individuals might have different needs and thus, different motivators. Herzberg did not take into account the various job factors that might cause satisfaction or dissatisfaction.
 - Herzberg didn't attach much importance to pay, status or interpersonal relationships, which are generally held as great motivators.
 - Herzberg overlooked the fact that factors that cause job satisfaction in one individual could cause job dissatisfaction in another.



UNIT 14 CHRIS ARGYRIS*

Structure

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Chris Argyris : A Profile
- 14.3 Theoretical Underpinnings of Chris Argyris' Theories
- 14.4 Alternative Organisational Structures
- 14.5 Organisational Learning
- 14.6 A Critical Evaluation
- 14.7 Conclusion
- 14.8 Glossary
- 14.9 References
- 14.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

14.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Bring out the contributions of Chris Argyris to Socio-psychological Approach;
- Explain the Immaturity-Maturity Theory of Chris Argyris;
- Describe alternative organisational structures;
- Discuss T-group training; and
- Critically review the concepts given by Argyris.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

Chris Argyris was an eminent social scientist who belonged to the Socio-psychological School of Thought and his contribution to it is extremely significant. He is the contender of long-standing and most important traditional organisation system that follows mechanistic and technocratic principles. However, traditional organisations have paved the way for more mature (psychologically) and non-materialistic organisations. Argyris observed that there is an incongruity between management practices and adult personality. He believed that, every individual is constantly striving towards the psychological success and everyone achieves that success in varying degrees. The problem, as identified by Argyris, is that the formal organisational structures are not mature enough to appreciate and help an individual to achieve psychological success. In his view, this will lead to human and organisational decay.

For this, he looked for change in all-people, the organisation and their interpersonal relationships. His contribution has helped to understand the relationship between the people and organisations, organisational learning and action research. He advocated for change in individual personality and organisation management practices, which will

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Socio-Psychological Thinkers reduce conflict of interest and increase productivity. In this Unit, we would learn about "Immaturity-Maturity Theory", "Improving Interpersonal Competence", "Alternative Organisational Structures", "T-Group" and "Organisational Learning". Finally, we will examine a few criticisms of these theories.

14.2 CHRIS ARGYRIS: A PROFILE

Chris Argyris was born and brought up in Newark, New Jersey. He graduated with a degree in Psychology (1947) and gained an M.A in Psychology and Economics from Kansas University (1949). He did his Ph.D on Organisational Behaviour from Cornell University in 1951. In 1951 itself, he started his academic career at Yale University as part of the Yale Labour and Management Centre and subsequently became a Professor of Management Science. In 1971, he moved to Harvard University as a Professor of Education and Organisational Behaviour, until his retirement. He died at the age of 90 on 16th November 2013.

Chris Argyris' early research explored the impact of formal organisational structures, control systems and management on individuals and how they responded and adapted to them. This research resulted in the form of his Books *Executive Leadership (1953)*, *Personality and Organisation* (1957) and *Integrating the Individual and the Organisation* (1964). He then shifted his focus to organisational change, exploring the behaviour of senior executives in organisations [Interpersonal Competence and Organisational Effectiveness (1962): Organisation and Innovation (1965)].

From there on, he moved to an inquiry into the role of the social scientist, both as a researcher and an actor (*Intervention Theory and Method* (1970); *Inner Contradictions of Rigorous Research* (1980) and *Action Science* (1985) – (with Robert Putnam and Diana McLain Smith). His fourth major area is on research and theorising (in significant part undertaken with Donald Schön) individual and organisational learning and the extent to which human reasoning, not just behaviour, can become the basis for diagnosis and action (*Theory in Practice* (1974); *Organisational Learning* (1978); *Organisational Learning II* (1996) – all with Donald Schön). He has also developed this thinking in *Overcoming Organisational Defenses* (1990) and *Knowledge for Action* (1993). Contributions of Argyris and his colleagues are very much appreciated and influenced by academicians and practitioners of public administration and management.

14.3 THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF CHRIS ARGYRIS' THEORIES

Argyris and Schön(1978) were of the strong belief that an interrelationship prevails among organisational structure and individual personalities. It means they are mutually responsible for their development. Both organisation and actions of individuals should learn from one another and from the environment in which it operates. Further, changes in the environment will affect the work place, individuals learn and act as the learning agents for the organisation. Their contribution came at the turn of the mid-20th century when the world was witnessing the benefits from industrial growth, while also experiencing its adverse effects. Materially, urban standards of living improved steadily, not only in food, shelter, housing, and other material goods, but also in health care and education. In expensive books, magazines, newspapers, and improved public libraries, contributed to their intellectual lives. This gave impetus to change in the mindset of people from a more materialist to less/non-materialistic in the sense as rightly put forth by Maslow as Middle-level Needs (i.e., security and safety) and Higher-Level Needs (i.e., self-esteem,

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self-respect, respect for others, social recognition, and self-actualisation and fulfilment).

Argyris observed that, while the people's mindsets were changing, the old-formal organisation structures failed to respond to this change and were stuck to the 'carrot and stick approach' or 'materialistic approach' or 'mechanistic approach' in treating their employees. He argued that this age-old approach along with organisation structure and the leadership style, suppressed the individual from personal growth and development. It resulted into loss for both the individual and the organisation. It would only lead to human and organisational decay. It shall be a win-win situation for both when organisations assist and encourage individuals to develop their full potential. For this, Argyris developed the intervention strategies for organisational change. His theories include Immaturity-Maturity Theory, Improving Interpersonal Competence, Innovative Organisational Structures (Non-Pyramidal and Matrix) and Group Sensitivity Training (T-Group).

Let us now discuss these theories:

Immaturity-Maturity Theory

This Theory was developed and presented by Chris Argyris in his work on *Personality and Organisation*. It is one of the many theories that seeks to explain the relationship between the human nature and behaviour with the organisational structure. In this, Chris Argyris, compared bureaucratic/pyramidal values (the organisational counterpart to Theory 'X' assumptions about people) that still dominate many organisations with a more humanistic/ democratic value system (the organisational counterpart to Theory 'Y' assumptions about people). According to this Theory, a person's development is processed along a continuum of an immaturity to a maturity scale.

According to Argyris, still the age-old organisation structures are treating the people as "immature" characterised by laziness, lack of interest and apathy. People are still being believed as money hungry, wasteful and prone to errors. So, to keep them in pace with organisation goals, they are using old organisation principles of task specialisation, unity of direction, chain of command and span of control that require employees to be obedient, submissive, dependent, and passive or subordinate towards organisation leaders. These old organisation principles follow rigid and stringent rules and regulations and emphasise on managerial controls that make the employees feel dependent on their superiors and fearful of the staff personnel in charge of the various types of controls (Raghavulu, 1991).

Similarly, evaluative techniques are perceived as unfair in that they continually accent failures without showing why such failure may be necessary (Argyris, 1957; Raghavulu, *ibid*.). There is less scope for natural and free expressions of ideas and feelings among workers which result into poor, shallow and mistrustful relationships, decrease in interpersonal competence, etc. Argyris (*ibid*.) has observed, "without interpersonal competence or psychologically safe environment, the organisation is breeding ground for mistrust, inter-group conflict and so on, which in turn lead to a decrease in organisational success in problem solving".

Similarly, Argyris has found that this old organisation structures blame employees for any discrepancies in organisation and initiates programmes to "change people's attitudes" and to "make employees more interested in the organisation" (Raghavulu, *ibid*.). This problem-solving method stems in traditional leader's mind, because of 'autocratic and directive leadership style' imposed upon them by the logic and assumptions of age-old traditional organisational management practices. Argyris observed that this leadership style places the employees in a situation where they tend to:

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- Be passive, dependent, subordinate and submissive.
- Focus their activities on the organisation's and the leader's needs rather than the needs of all the followers; and
- Compete with each other for the leader's favour.

Argyris concluded that the impact of directive leadership upon the subordinates is similar to that which the formal organisation has upon the subordinates. Further he argued that, authoritarian leadership reinforced and perpetuated the 'damage' created by the (bureaucratic) organisational structure. On the contrary, a "mature" person is an active, independent, full of confidence and self-controlled human being. According to Chris Argyris (op. cit.), mature people are the human beings who accept more responsibilities, show willingness to handle variety of tasks, and have the ability to participate in decision making.

It is in parallel to Theory 'Y' assumptions of Douglas McGregor about the people. This personality is cultivated by *Humanistic Organisations*, where the system treats people as human beings, respect interpersonal competence, allows them to share their ideas and embed trusts, encourages participation and appreciates relationships, flexible rules and regulations, and so on. Here, both organisations and persons would get the opportunity to develop to the fullest potential. Similarly, Chris Argyris believed that managers who treated people positively, and as responsible adults, would achieve the highest productivity.

Argyris (*ibid.*) has suggested *seven* changes that may help the individual to move and witness growth from immature personality to mature personality (i.e., Personality change). These changes are:

- 1) Individual will move from a passive state as an infant to active state as an adult.
- 2) Individual would grow from being dependant to independent.
- 3) Individual will able to behave in lots of different ways than a few ways.
- 4) Individual's interests would become deep and strong, whereas as children they had shallower interests.
- 5) Individuals have a better grasp at the long-term perspective, past and future more than just the short-term perspective.
- 6) Individuals move from only being subordinate to equal or super-subordinate positions.
- 7) Adults have a higher level of awareness and have a stronger self-control.

In his opinion, these changes take place on a 'continuum' and the 'healthy personality' develops along the continuum from 'immaturity' to 'maturity'.

Improving Interpersonal Competence

We understand that organisation is an organised group of people with a goal or agenda. It is a collective effort that requires each person to cooperate and maintain good rapport with one another. For this, various interpersonal skills are necessary. Interpersonal competence refers to individual's ability to interact with others and with the greater community, say for example, an organisation. Argyris believed that the organisations, which followed mechanistic approach, showed a low interpersonal competence. As said above, employees of such organisations would be dubious, fearful, follow unhealthy

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competition, depict lack of co-operation, etc. All these factors would undermine the performance of the individual vis-à-vis organisation.

Argyris argued for the organisations, which would give more importance to improve intellectual and mechanical skills as well as interpersonal skills. He found that competence involving interpersonal skills was being neglected. He advocated that organisation functioned better if their members were more interpersonally competent. Interpersonal competence refers to the ability to deal effectively with an environment populated by other human beings. He postulated that there are *three* conditions or requirements for the development of interpersonal competence:

- 1) Self-acceptance: This refers to the degree to which the person values himself in a positive fashion.
- 2) Confirmation: By 'Confirmation', Argyris means the reality-testing of one's own self-image.
- 3) Essentiality: This third condition for interpersonal competence is defined by Argyris as one's opportunity to 'utilise the central abilities and express his central needs'.

In attempting to operationalise the concept of interpersonal competence, Argyris has specified several kinds of a behaviour that he regards as concrete evidence of interpersonally competent behaviour. These *four* types of behaviour are listed below and are arranged in order of decreasing frequency of occurrence and increasing potency for contributing to competence- as hypothesised by Argyris and apparently confirmed by his empirical data:

- 1) Owning up to, or accepting responsibility for one's ideas and feelings.
- 2) Being open to ideas and feelings of others and those from within one's self.
- 3) Experimenting with new ideas and feelings; and
- 4) Helping others to own up, be open to, and to experiment with their ideas and feelings.

| Check Your Progress 1 | |
|--|----|
| Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | |
| ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | |
| 1) Explain the Immaturity-Maturity Theory. | |
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| | |
| | |
| 2) What are the seven ways suggested by Chris Argyris that could change individu | ıa |
| behaviour? | |
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14.4 ALTERNATIVE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES

Argyris believed that a single type of organisational structure was not suitable to address all types of jobs or activities. As the nature of job varies, the organisational structure must also vary accordingly. According to him, the organisations of the future would be a combination of both the old and new forms of organisations. He proposed some *new* organisational structures as given below:

- 1) **Pyramidal Structure:** It is a rigid and classical structure suitable for routine operations or non-innovative activities. It is suitable for the people who are happy to do routine tasks, disdain psychological needs, etc.
- 2) **Modified Formal Organisational Structure:** It is a hierarchical structure but in terms of processes and operation, it is democratic in character. It is like System 4 propounded by Likert, which enables a subordinate to be a member of the superior's decisional unit. This organisational structure is comparatively more efficient than the pyramidal structure.
- 3) **Participative Structure:** This structure is comparatively less hierarchical and flexible. It is more organic in character, meaning each employee would have an equal opportunity in problem solving/decision making commensurate with his/her potential. This structure is suitable for activities, which require creativity and imagination. It can be applied for group activities, inter-departmental activities, etc.
- 4) **Matrix Organisation:** It is a superimposition of the project organisation onto a functional organisation. It is a flat organisation structure, where everyone has equal power and responsibility to deal with the assigned task. The members are expected to work as a cohesive unit. It is expected to eliminate superior-subordinate relationships and substitute with individual self-discipline. It can be applied for the tasks that need multiple skills or specialisation.

The difference between the structures is basically the degree of involvement required in making decisions. Pyramidal structure is furthest to the left on the continuum, while Matrix organisational structure is furthest to the right. Essentially then, pyramidal structure involves very few in the decision making, while Matrix organisational structure calls for each individual to have equal power.

Argyris made a point that no one of these structures should be used all the time. Instead the "... organisations (of the future) will tend to vary as per the structures that they use and according to the kinds of decisions that must be made". Argyris hypothesised that "decision rules" will need to be established to determine, which structure should be used under given sets of conditions.

T-Groups

Argyris adopted and used this laboratory programme technique of T-Group experiment as early as in 1960s. He suggested this technique for improving the personal effectiveness of employees. This programme focuses on understanding the self as well as other personalities, group functioning and organisational structure. It provides an opportunity to learn more about their behaviour, give and receive feedback, experiment with new behaviour and develop awareness and acceptance of self and sensitivity to the personalities of others. The T-group also provides the possibilities to learn the nature of effective group functioning (Bradford, Benne and Lippitt, 1964; Raghavulu, 1991, *op.cit.*).

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In this experiment, Argyris found many positive results. He observed that in this experiment, more responsibilities were delegated to lower level employees and getting more valid information up from the ranks, allowed free decision making. He acknowledged that the original aim of T-group training was personal growth or promotion of self-insight and the focus was on changing the individuals, not necessarily to change the environment in which they worked. But, this approach has gradually led to organisation improvement. Finally, he stated that, he and his fellow scholars were not of the opinion of administering the formal organisation like T-groups. However, they recommended such groups in formal organisational structures for certain selected decisions.

T-Group and Public Administration

Argyris suggested the widespread use of T-Group technique in public administration. Especially, after the assessment of United States Department of State, he insisted for intervention in organisational socio-emotional processes. According to Argyris, reforms in governmental organisation should aim at providing employees with higher order need satisfaction. This required a long-range change programmes, which would focus on the behaviour and leadership style of the senior participants' and the introduction of organisational changes that would inculcate in the participants attitudes that were favourable to taking more initiative, enlarging responsibilities and adopting innovative behaviour. Argyris also suggested radical revisions in the personnel practices in order to reduce the system's defences.

14.5 ORGANISATIONAL LEARNING

Another important contribution of Argyris is towards Organisational Learning. He, along with Donald Schön undertook studies and conceptualised the learning processes in organisational settings. They argued that the organisations are not merely collection of individuals, but there is no organisation without such collections. In other words, organisational Learning is not merely individual learning, but organisations also learn through the experience and actions of individuals (Argyris, 1978; Raghavulu, 2010). Organisational Learning occurs when members act as learning agents for the organisation, responding to changes in the internal and external environments by detecting and correcting errors in organisational theory-in-use and embedding the results in private images and shared maps of organisations (Raghavulu, 2010, *ibid.*).

According to Argyris and Schön (1978, op.cit.), learning involves the detection and correction of error. If something goes wrong, initially it was suggested by many people to look for another strategy that will address and work within the governing variables. In other words, given or chosen goals, values, plans and rules are operationalised rather than questioned. According to Argyris and Schön (*ibid.*), this is *Single-Loop Learning*. An alternative response is to question governing variables themselves, to subject them to critical scrutiny. This they describe as *Double-Loop Learning*. Such learning may then lead to an alternation in the governing variables and, thus, a shift in the way in which strategies and consequences are framed. Thus, when they came to explore the nature of organisational learning. This is how the process is described in the context of organisational learning:

"When the error detected and corrected permits the organisation to carry on its present policies or achieve its present objectives, then that error-and-correction process is *single-loop learning*. Single-loop learning is like a thermostat that learns when it is too hot or too cold and turns the heat on or off. The thermostat can perform this task because it can receive information (the temperature of the room) and take corrective

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action. *Double-loop learning* occurs when error is detected and corrected in ways that involve the modification of an organisation's underlying norms, policies and objectives"

Single-loop learning seems to be present when goals, values, frameworks and, to a significant extent, strategies are taken for granted. The emphasis is on 'techniques and making techniques more efficient' (Usher and Bryant, 1989). Any reflection is directed toward making the strategy more effective. Double-loop learning, in contrast, 'involves questioning the role of the framing and learning systems, which underlie actual goals and strategies. In many respects, the distinction at work here is the one used by Aristotle, when exploring technical and practical thought. The former involves following routines and some sort of present plan—and is both less risky for the individual and the organisation and affords greater control. The latter is more creative and reflexive and involves consideration notions of the good. Reflection here is more fundamental: the basic assumptions behind ideas or policies are confronted... hypotheses are publicly tested... processes are discomformable and not self-seeking (Argyris, 1982, *op.cit*.).

14.6 A CRITICAL EVALUATION

Chris Argyris and his ideas have been criticised on several grounds. *First*, Argyris view of man in relation to the organisation and his characterisation of the concept of self-actualisation seems to be an ideal concept without any precise operational indicators. Authors like Simon raise objection to Argyris' concept of self-actualisation and compared it with anarchy. They have suggested the practical solutions like reducing the working hours and enhancing leisure to enable employees to seek self-actualisation. *Secondly*, Argyris' antipathy to authority is without any analogues. The view that 'structure is devil' is influenced by Argyris' obsession with the need for power (Simon, 1973; Raghavulu, 1991, *op.cit.*). As Simon points out: Argyris...tend to choose de-emphasis of authority relations as the way out, but at the price of neglecting the consequences for organisational effectiveness...what corrupts is not power, but the need for power and it corrupts both the powerful and the powerless (Simon, 1973, *ibid.*).

Thirdly, Argyris has advocated job enlargement and T-group sessions for increasing interpersonal competence. This remedial approach seems myopic in nature and cannot get to the root of the problem so long as the basic conflict of interests between the employers and employees exists. Rather these techniques cannot serve better than maintaining the status quo.

Fourthly, Argyris holds that management philosophy has moved from Scientific Management and Human Relations Approach. Practically, an effective management requires the right combination of both the approaches i.e., a judicious blend between the organisational structural and human dimensions in organisations.

Fifthly, objections are raised on the methodological ground of some of the key propositions of Argyris. For example, there is little empirical weight in favour of the statement that people in organisations are opposed to authority. On the contrary, in many organisations, employees seem to accept authority and organisation goals because such acceptance is in parallel with their values and interests.

Sixthly, Argyris' generalisation of pursuit of the goal of self-actualisation is questioned. It appears that not all individuals, under all circumstances, would like to self-actualise themselves and that there are many who feel happier under conditions of directive leadership (Raghavulu, 1991).

Finally, Chris Argyris advocated job enlargement and T-group sessions for increasing interpersonal competence. This remedial approach seems myopic in nature and cannot get to the root of the problem so long as the basic conflict of interests between the employers and employees exists. Rather these techniques cannot serve better than maintaining the status quo.

14.7 CONCLUSION

As other theories, Argyris's theory also drew a lot of flak from different authors. They observed that individual personality differed from person to person, and was not Argyris' major focus. Argyris advocated a cognitive approach to intervention in organisations. The aims were to improve the relationship between individual and organisation and to increase the adaptability and effectiveness of organisations. Keeping aside the limitations, criticisms and practical difficulties in their application, Argyris' contribution is a historical landmark in the study of human relations and participative schools of thoughts in organisations. His objective was to understand the behaviour of individual and create a change in the mind-set of employees, leadership styles, and organisational structures for effective organisational productivity. His aim was to create an appropriate environment for individuals to attain self-actualisation. This Unit brought to fore theoretical underpinnings of organisations, alternative structures of organisations, as well as single-loop and double-loop organisational learning.

14.8 GLOSSARY

Humanistic Organisations

It focuses on use of intrinsic motivation to grow personnel qualifications. It emphasises on setting up of organisational goals keeping humanistic values in mind. The central tenets are participative decision making, socially-conscious policies, effective interpersonal relationships, team work, human-resource development, goal adherence and individualised motivation packages.

Interpersonal Competence

: It means an ability to interact with others in an organised set up. People who have interpersonal skills have greater self-awareness, which they use to nurture beneficial relationships. The three 'Cs' of Interpersonal Competence are: Consistency, Congruence and Coherence.

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14.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - The Theory seeks to explain the relationship between human nature and behaviour within an organisation.

Chris Argyris

- As per the Theory, a person's development is gauged on a continuum of an immaturity to maturity scale.
- It intends to look at evaluation of human behaviour on the basis of new parameters, different from old parameters that are ingrained in old theories/approaches.
- Without interpersonal competence and psychological safe environment, the organisation only perpetuates mistrust.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Individual should be active.
 - Individuals should leave dependency.
 - Individual interests become deep and strong.
 - Individuals should move from subordinate position.
 - Adult individuals have higher level of awareness.
 - Adult individuals have better grasp of retraction and self-control.
 - Individuals behave in multiple ways.

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - T-group.
 - Pyramidal structures.
 - Modified formal organisational structures.
 - Participative structures.
 - Matrix organisations.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Organisation Learning occurs when members act as learning agents for organisation.
 - Organisation Learning involves detection and correction of error.
 - There are two types of learning: Single-Loop Learning and Double-Loop Learning.
 - Reflection is most fundamental to Organisational Learning.





BLOCK 5 MANAGEMENTAND PUBLIC POLICY THINKERS

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UNIVERSITY



UNIT 15 DWIGHT WALDO*

Structure

- 15.0 Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Dwight Waldo: A Biographical Account
- 15.3 Dwight Waldo's Views on Public Administration
 - 15.3.1 Administration and Politics: Two Related Domains
 - 15.3.2 Administration and Politics: A Nuanced View
- 15.4 New Public Administration under Waldo
- 15.5 Conclusion
- 15.6 Glossary
- 15.7 References
- 15.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

15.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Describe Dwight Waldo's life and viewpoints;
- Examine the contribution of Waldo to New Public Administration; and
- Analyse Waldo's views on administration and politics.

15.1 INTRODUCTION

Dwight Waldo is essentally known for his management theories, which revolve around bureaucracy. He pioneered the New Public Administration movement. He felt that public administration suffered from an identity crises that needed to be addressed. His focus was on development of a theory of development administration; Public administration with a social purpose was the major concern. He wrote about issues in public administration in 1970s, which bear resonance even today. He focused on conflict between bureaucracy and democracy, as well as dichotomy between bureaucracy and politics. He basically was looking for a value-laden public administration that is change-oriented, goal-oriented and ethical. In this Unit, we will discuss Dwight Waldo's views on public administration and also his focus on the relationship between administration and politics.

15.2 DWIGHT WALDO: A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

Dwight Waldo (1913-2000) was born in a farming family in rural DeWitt, Nebraska. He attended Nebraska Wesleyan College but unable to afford the expenses, transferred to Nebraska State Teachers College in Peru. After graduation, he wished to become a

^{*} Contributed by Dr. Sanghamitra Nath, Assistant Professor, Bajkul Milani Mahavidyalaya, Vidyasagar University, West Bengal.

high school teacher, but teaching jobs were unavailable as the country was on the threshold of World War II. He was offered a graduate assistantship at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln and completed his Master's Degree. However, once again he failed to get teaching jobs in the market. With hardly any option in hand, he found a scholarship to attend Yale University. At Yale, he met Professor Francis Coker, who introduced him to the subject of public administration, *albeit*, from the perspective of American political theory. Though Waldo loathed the new subject, he grew interested eventually so much so that he took it up in his doctoral dissertation, which later got published as 'The Administrative State' (Carroll and Fredrick, 2001).

'The Administrative State' has been counted as a seminal work of Waldo by scholars worldwide. In this Book, Waldo studied: (1) the role of federal government in determining the American economy and society in the first half of the 20th century, (2) the relation between scientific management and public administration and found them to be rooted in Positivism, and (3) the shift from orthodox scientific administrative management (1920s and 1930s) to the heterodox public administration (1940s onwards) in the United States. By the time he finished his Ph.D. at Yale, America was on the verge of World War II and he found a job at the Office of Price Administration, where he learnt about the challenges confronting an effective public administrator. At the end of the war, he accepted an assistant professor's position at Berkeley, where he was required to teach political theory as well as other political science courses. The years spent at Berkeley were probably the most rewarding for him not only as a teacher but also intellectually with publications such as *The Administrative State* (1948), *Ideas and Issues in Public Administration* (1953), *The Study of Public Administration, and Perspectives on Administration* (1956) (*Ibid.*).

Waldo was appointed as the director of the Institute of Government at the University of California at Berkeley. Later, he left Berkeley to join Maxwell School at Syracuse University, New York. He was also the editor-in-chief of the Public Administration Review (PAR) from 1966 to 1978. With 12 years to his credit, Waldo had the longest tenure till date at PAR. During his tenure, he widened PAR's status from being a quarterly to a bimonthly journal of national and international repute. Every issue had contributions from exceptional scholars at that time on contemporary topics. He served as president of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) from 1977 to 1978. In 1979, the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) started the Dwight Waldo Award, the highest honour, to recognise his academic contributions to public administration. In 1987, he was awarded the John Gaus Lecture award by ASPA for lifetime achievement in political science and public administration (*Ibid.*).

15.3 DWIGHT WALDO'S VIEWS ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

15.3.1 Administration and Politics: Two Related Domains

During 1920s and 1930s, a widespread perception prevailed to delink politics from administration. Also called the politics-administration dichotomy, it had roots in the Progressive Reformism of Western cultural history (Marini, 1993). The politics-administration dichotomy intended to separate administrative tasks from political maneuvering. Simply put, it aimed to exclude politicians from administrative policy making and policy implementation (Svara, 2008).

Woodrow Wilson, one of the pioneers of the orthodox model of public administration,

Dwight Waldo

said, "[t]he field of administration is a field of business. It is removed from the hurry and strife of politics" (1887). Matters of administration were different from matters of politics. Though politics determined administrative duties, it should not interfere in the discharge of administrative functions. Since administration was often found tangled with politics, he believed that civil service reform in particular and administrative reform in general could ensure separation of administration from politics. Administration, devoid of politics, would help to improve methods of appointment and carrying out executive functions as well as establish the sanctity of public office and restore public trust (Wilson, *ibid*.).

Dwight Waldo held views contrary to the orthodox model of public administration. His experience in the field of public administration witnessed intertwining of politics and administration. This explained his averseness to the very idea or model of strict division between politics and administration expected to eliminate risks of bureaucratisation of politics and politicisation of administration (Svara, *op. cit.*). In the words of H. George Frederickson, Waldo's critique challenged the basic axioms of public administration "particularly the assumption that public administration is the neutral and objective management of State affairs" (Lowery, 2001).

In the Book, 'The Administrative State: A Study of the Political Theory of American Public Administration' (1948), Waldo made certain essential observations: (1) the rigid separation of politics from administration was untenable. The positions of public servants required doing more than merely implementing policies crafted by elected representatives. Administrative policies, procedures, and actions were located within political assumptions and preferences so that administrators based their work within the framework of constitutional democracy, (2) bureaucracy (connected with values of scientific management) and democracy (related to values of humanistic management) were found to be in a strained relation so that career public servants were compelled to adhere to democratic principles, (3) efficiency (as propounded by scientific management movement) had to be negotiated with due process and public access to government, and (4) the business-like view of government was not feasible because public servants were bound to uphold the Constitution and other democratic imperatives (Lowery, 2001; Werlin, 2001).

15.3.2 Administration and Politics: A Nuanced View

In his earlier writings (from 1940s to 1950s), Waldo adopted a pragmatist view where politics and administration (rather than politics-versus-administration) were a reality. Herbert Simon, Paul Appleby, H. George Frederickson, Kevin B. Smith, and many others credited Waldo for demolishing the pre-World War II belief in politics-administration dichotomy (Brown and Stillman (1986). In the seventh chapter of 'The Administrative State' Waldo(1948) coined the term "heterodoxy" to signify the mid 20th-century critical position against politics-administration dichotomy and saw himself as a representative of heterodoxy. The critical attitude towards dichotomy was carried forward in Waldo's other works such as 'The Study of Public Administration' (1955), and lecture series on 'Perspectives on Administration' (1956). Thus, most of Waldo's early publications echoed his dissatisfaction with the politics-administration dichotomy (Overeem, 2008).

Curiously, Waldo never used the word "dichotomy" in any of his works. In 'The Administrative State', he called it politics-administration "formula" (1948: 115, 121, 208), "distinction" (1948: 116), "notion" (1948: 115, 123), and "axiom" (1948: 110). He used the words "politics-administration" (1948: 75, 207) and "dichotomy" individually. While dichotomy meant separation, the rest of the terms indicated allocation or balance or expounded spheres of administration or class of officials (Svara, *op.cit.*)

Overeem (*op.cit.*) questioned exactly what was Waldo ardently rejecting in his writings. He noted that Waldo rejected the orthodox model of strict separation of politics from administration, which was popular prior to World War II. His heterodoxical stance disagreed only with the "spirit of rigid separatism" between deciding and executing. Moreover, Waldo rejected the separation of decision-making from execution arising from Constitutional division of powers. As a result, he rejected comparison of administration with execution because administrative work was more than "a mechanical application of political decisions made elsewhere, but is suffused with politics and concerned with policy making" (*Ibid.*).

One may consider Waldo's later writings (from 1970s onwards), where the focus still remained on Waldo's notion and appraisal of the dichotomy (Marini, op. cit.). After his acquaintance with Max Weber's writings on bureaucracy, his focus shifted from interceding politics and administration or deciding and executing to negotiating democracy and bureaucracy (Overeem, op.cit.). He described democracy substantively (involving values of humanistic management such as equality, liberty, free association, widespread debate, representation, opportunity, and dissent) while he defined bureaucracy procedurally like Weber (involving values of scientific management such as hierarchy, expertise, discipline, control of communication, efficiency, legalistic and formal procedures, and impersonal relationships). Now, Waldo re-evaluated politicsadministration dichotomy where "he clearly spoke up for the dichotomy" suggesting that the stiff institutional distinction might be possible in theory but not quite so in practice (*Ibid*.). Waldo's lifelong fascination with politics-administration dichotomy requires a nuanced understanding. Overeem marked that Waldo was "neither a champion nor an opponent of the dichotomy" because he added qualifiers to his earlier criticism of dichotomy and he remained elusive about the idea of dichotomy by attaching it to a wide range of issues (Svara, op.cit.).

| Check Your Progress 1 | | |
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| Note: i) | Use the space given below for your answer. | |
| ii) | Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit. | |
| 1) Exam | nine Dwight Waldo's views on Public Administration. | |
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15.4 NEW PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION UNDER WALDO

The first Minnowbrook Conference held in 1968 under the chairmanship of Dwight Waldo was special for it marked the advent of the expression, 'New Public Administration'. Dwight Waldo, then Professor at Syracuse University, organised and financed the Minnowbrook Conference to ascertain the domain of public administration from the perspectives of young students, teachers and practitioners. Most of the delegates agreed that public administration lacked a consistent set of concepts, ideological-philosophical framework, and techniques to explain and practice contemporary

Dwight Waldo

administration. Furthermore, it was argued that the instrumentalist role of public administration led to inefficiency or unresponsive and unimaginative methods. It should not turn into "instruments of repression" but become "humane" (Waldo, 1972). By the end of the Conference, New Public Administration emerged as a reaction or an unofficial theme against the current trend of public administration (Page, 1969). The final proceedings of the meeting were converted into a Report, entitled Toward a New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective (1971) by Frank Marini (Patil, 2014).

The emergence of New Public Administration (NPA) may be traced to external and internal environment of public administration comprising a range of factors from urban riots and racial prejudice and discrimination prevalent in America to America's involvement in Vietnam War. It originated during the phase of political turbulence in America. Firstly, NPA required public organisations to find ways to represent constituent aspirations adequately. Secondly, it stressed on the importance of study of external consequences of administrative actions. Thirdly, it necessitated introspection of interorganisational relationships and behaviour, as well as intra-organisational techniques and patterns (Page, *op.cit*.).

According to George Frederickson (1996), NPA may be distinguished from public administration based on *six* parameters. These were concepts of change; relevance and empowerment; theories of rationality; theories of organisational structure and design; theories of management and leadership; and epistemology, methodology, and the issue of values. To begin with the concept of change, it was the central feature of NPA incorporating: (1) reform of status quo in administration/bad bureaucracy and substituting it with good bureaucracy, reorganisation and institutionalisation of change procedures, (2) rapid social change as well as capitalising from it; and (3) adjustment of hitherto organisational machinery to uncertain-complex and rapid change, and huge investments in decrements and devolution. The concept of change was, therefore, process oriented as well as based on systems' logic and standards of effectiveness. Moreover, NPA, far from being techno-centric, argued technology to be the reason for organisational or policy problems (*Ibid*.).

NPA also asserted relevance, responsiveness and empowerment. In doing so, it dwelt on ethical issues of social equity in the context of provision of public services, and individual and collective public service responsibility towards the execution of public policy. NPA's concern with rationality was, in the words of Frederickson, "buffered rationality" meaning rationality devoid of its undesirable consequences. With regard to organisational structure and design, NPA relied on systems of coproduction or public-private partnerships, decentralisation, lesser hierarchies, project sponsorship, and outsourcing. It demonstrated inclination towards greater institutionalisation and managerial aspects (*Ibid.*).

The theories of management and leadership in NPA appealed for democratic and participatory work-group practice and teamwork. It aimed to make public service satisfactory and effective, as well as shift the focus from internal management of an organisation to management of public relations with citizens, other government agencies, interest groups, and elected executives and legislators. Furthermore, it intended to achieve equitable implementation of public policy. Epistemology, methodology, and values were another set of concerns for NPA. Particularly, emphasis was laid on values such as better performance, greater innovation and more sensitive management. It accorded much importance to politics, democratic government, majority rule and minority rights, as well as customer orientation (*Ibid.*).

| Check Your Progress 2 | | |
|-----------------------|-------|---|
| Note | e: i) | Use the space given below for your answer. |
| | ii) | Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit. |
| 1) V | What | do you understand by New Public Administration? |
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15.5 CONCLUSION

Waldo will always be remembered for his seminal contribution to the field of public administration. He remained a key figure in the politics-versus- administration debate and first Minnowbrook Conference, where young progressive scholars emphasised on transforming public administration into New Public Administration. He gathered his experience as an administrator during his stint at the Office of Price Administration and the Bureau of the Budget. Based on his experience, he believed that the orthodox politics-administration dichotomy was unsustainable in practice. As a result, as has been pointed out, he challenged half a century-old principles and the pervasive notion of value neutrality in public administration. Waldo's early and later writings, whether published or unpublished, asserted administration could never be a dispassionate, scientific, and mechanical job. Rather, it was active and informed as well as inclusive of democratic values. Waldo saw administration and bureaucracy as fundamental aspects of modern civilisation and culture. While he respected and defended administration, he was aware of its shortfalls and as observed called for reforms to rectify its constraining and limiting tendencies. This Unit explained Dwight Waldo's views on New Public Administration and his understanding of politics-administration dichotomy.

15.6 GLOSSARY

Minnowbrook Conferences

Heterodoxy

Axiom

Ax

considering long-term and uncertain scenario, a short-term and less fundamental approach should be taken by policy makers

: Not conforming to accepted orthodox beliefs and standards. Being at variance with established positions.

: The first Conference was organised in 1968 at Minnowbrook under the chairpersonship of Dwight Waldo. Subsequently, a second Minnowbrook Conference was organised in 1988 under H. George Fredruckson and a third one under the chairpersonship of Rosemary O'

Leary *et.al.* in 2008.

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15.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Waldo attempted at intertwining of politics and administration.
 - He was not in favour of politics-administration dichotomy.
 - He wanted administrators to work within the framework of Constitutional democracy.
 - He called politics-administration dichotomy as politics-administration 'formula'.
 - Waldo rejected the separation of decision-making from execution, rising from Constitutional division of powers.

 His focus was on democracy involving values of humanistic management such as equality, liberty, free association, undeterred debate, representation and opportunity.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - New Public Administration (NPA) was a dynamic movement that came about during the Minnowbrook Conference.
 - It stressed on the importance and consequences of administrative actions.
 - NPA necessitated introspection of inter-organisational relationships and behaviour.
 - NPA focused on intra-organisational techniques and patterns.
 - Its objectives were change-organisation, goal-orientation, leadership, decentralisation, rationality and values.
 - NPA assisted relevance, responsiveness and empowerment.
 - It appealed for democratic and participatory work.
 - NPAs focus was on decentralisation, lesser hierarchy, public-private participation and outsourcing.



UNIT 16 PETER DRUCKER*

Structure

- 16.0 Objectives
- 16.1 Introduction
- 16.2 A Biographical Sketch of Peter Drucker
- 16.3 Concept of Modern Management
- 16.4 Major Contributions of Peter Drucker
- 16.5 Drucker's Management Theory
- 16.6 Appraisal of Drucker's Line of Thought
- 16.7 Conclusion
- 16.8 Glossary
- 16.9 References
- 16.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

16.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the concept of Modern Management;
- Examine the contribution of Peter Drucker to Modern Management; and
- Bring out the relevance of Drucker's principles in contemporary times.

16.1 INTRODUCTION

Peter Drucker is one of the best-known and most widely influential thinkers and writers on the subject of Management Theory and Practice. His writings have predicted many of the major developments of the late twentieth century, including privatisation and decentralisation; the rise of Japan to economic world power; the decisive importance of marketing; and the emergence of the information society with its necessity of lifelong learning. Although, Drucker's main domain is that of management, his concepts and theories are widely studied and recognised in the discipline of Public Administration. The concepts evolved by him are widely and universally applicable across administration and serve as a management booster for all organisations, whether public or private. Therefore, it becomes important to study Peter Drucker keeping in mind the organisations in private as well as public administration. This Unit will explain the basic principles of Peter Drucker related to modern management. It will also examine their relevance to public administration.

16.2 A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF PETER DRUCKER

Peter Drucker is called the Father of Modern Management. His contributions as a writer, teacher, management consultant and business visionary are exemplary. Peter

^{*} Contributed by Dr. Sandhya Chopra, Consultant, Faculty of Public Administration, SOSS, IGNOU, New Delhi.

Drucker was born in Vienna, Austria on November 19, 1909. The household in which he grew up in a highly intellectual environment. His parents, Adolph and Caroline, regularly held participatory sessions with economists (including Joseph Schumpeter, who came to have a tremendous influence on Drucker), politicians, musicians, writers and scientists. "That was actually my education," Drucker later observed. Soon Drucker moved from Austria to Germany to study Admiralty Law at Hamburg University before shifting to Frankfurt University, where he studied Law at night. He also became a senior editor in charge of foreign affairs and business at Frankfurt's largest daily newspaper, the *Frankfurter General-Anzeiger*.

Drucker received his Ph.D in International Law from Frankfurt University in 1932. Three years later, he moved to England. In Cambridge, Drucker attended a lecture by leading economist John Maynard Keynes, and there had an epiphany (realisation), which made him realise that others were interested in the behaviour of commodities and he was interested in that of people. Drucker also served as a correspondent for several British newspapers, including the *Financial Times*. He eventually began teaching economics, part time, at Sarah Lawrence College in New York. Drucker's invitation to take a close peek inside General Motors resulted in the publication of his landmark book *Concept of the Corporation* in 1946. Drucker also became professor of philosophy and politics at Bennington College and received the Presidential Citation at NYU, the School's highest honour. He published the classic *The Effective Executive in 1966*.

In 1971, Drucker became the Marie Rankin Clarke Professor of Social Sciences and Management at what was then called Claremont Graduate School. In 1973, Drucker authored his Magnum Opus, *Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices*, which soon became the playbook for generations of corporate executives, non-profit managers and government leaders. The Claremont Graduate Centre of Management was renamed the Peter F. Drucker Management Center in 1987. Drucker published eight new titles during the decade in addition to maintaining active teaching and consulting activities. In 1989, he produced *The Nonprofit Drucker*, a five-volume audio series featuring insights into the management of the social sector.

The Peter F. Drucker Foundation for Nonprofit Management (today called the Frances Hesselbein Leadership Institute) was established in 1990. Drucker delivered the prestigious Godkin Lecture at Harvard University in 1994. The Drucker Center became the Peter F. Drucker Graduate School of Management in 1997, and the Drucker Archives (a repository for Drucker's manuscripts, letters and other material) was inaugurated in 1998. At the age of 87, Drucker was featured on the cover of *Forbes* under the headline: "Still the Youngest Mind". Drucker was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor and called "the world's foremost pioneer of management theory". by President Bush. In 2004, the Drucker Graduate School of Management became the Peter F. Drucker and Masatoshi Ito Graduate School of Management.

16.3 CONCEPT OF MODERN MANAGEMENT

Peter Drucker, turned Management Theory into a serious discipline. He revolutionised modern business practices, influencing far-reaching developments in the areas decentralisation, privatisation and empowerment. Drucker was among the first to address the emergence of the Information Society, and in 1959, coined the now-defining term "knowledge worker". Drucker was of the belief that management has become the constitutive organ and function of the Society of Organisations. It is no longer "Business Management", but the governing organ of all institutions of modern society. He was

Peter Drucker

successful in establishing the Study of Management as a discipline in its own right based on People and Power; Values, Structures and Constitution; and above all responsibilities-that is, the focus was on the Discipline of Management as a truly liberal art.

Drucker believed in business as a human-driven enterprise that could be profitable *and* socially responsible. Among the contemporary management thinkers, Peter Drucker outshined all. He had varied experience and background, which included psychology, sociology, law, and journalism. Through his consultancy assignments, he developed solutions to a number of managerial problems. Therefore, his contributions have covered various approaches of Management. Peter Drucker articulated his 'management vision' throughout a lifetime of scholarship, teaching and advising some of the most famous global companies. In all he wrote 39 books and countless other Articles and Write-ups. He influenced and created nearly every aspect of Business Management as an academic and corporate process, including the key concepts of decentralisation, privatisation, and empowerment. Among his numerous sayings, the term "knowledge worker" has become central to our understanding of business culture.

His more important books include; Practice of Management (1954), Managing for Results (1964), The Effective Executive (1967), The Age of Discontinuity (1969), Management: Tasks, Responsibilities and Practices (1974), and Management Challenges for 21st Century (1999). From his early beginnings as a financial reporter in Frankfurt, Germany to his pioneering study of General Motors and the Book that made his name—

The Concept of the Corporation—and his subsequent academic career, Dr. Drucker has changed the way we perceive and look at business. At Claremont Graduate University, he helped to develop one of the country's first Executive MBA Programme for working professionals and later, the Management School that now bears his name.

| Check Your Progress 1 | | |
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| Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | | |
| ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | | |
| 1) Give a brief account of Peter Drucker's career graph. | | |
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| 2) Discuss the concept of Modern Management. | | |
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16.4 MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS OF PETER DRUCKER

Some of the major contributions of Peter Drucker are as follows:

• Nature of Management

Drucker was against 'bureaucratic management' and visualised Management with creative and innovative characteristics. The basic objective of Management is to lead towards innovation. The concept of innovation in his view is quite broad, which includes development of new ideas, combining of old and new ideas, adaptation of ideas from other fields and as a catalyst in encouraging others to carry out innovation. Drucker is generally placed in 'empirical school of management'. He treated Management as a discipline as well as a profession. As a discipline, Management has its own tools, skills, techniques and approaches. However, Management is more a practice rather than a science. While talking about Management as a profession, Drucker does not advocate treating Management as a strict profession, but only a liberal profession which places more emphasis that managers should not only have skills and techniques, but also the right perspective putting the things into practice. They should be good practitioners so that they can understand the social and cultural requirements of various organisations and countries.

• Management Functions

According to Drucker, Management is the organ of its institution. It has no functions in itself, and no existence in itself. He sees Management through its tasks. Accordingly, there are *three* basic functions of a manager, which he must perform to enable the institution to make its contribution towards:

- the specific purpose and mission of the institution whether business, hospital or university.
- making work productive and the worker achievement-oriented; and
- managing social impacts and social responsibilities.

All these *three* functions are performed simultaneously within the same managerial action. A manager has to act as an administrator, where he has to improve upon what already exists and is already known. He has to act as an entrepreneur in redirecting the resources from 'seas of tow' or diminishing results to areas of high or increasing results. Thus, a manager has to perform several functions: setting of objectives, making, organising and motivating. Drucker has attached great importance to the objective of setting functions and has specified *eight* areas where clear objective setting is required. These are: market standing, innovation, productivity, physical and financial resources, profitability, managerial performance and development, worker performance and attitude, and public responsibility. These features are common to the study of public administration and can be studied parallelly.

• Restructuring Government

Drucker was against the bureaucratic structure because of its too many dysfunctional effects. Therefore, he wanted that it should be replaced. He thus emphasised *three* basic characteristics of an effective organisation structure and these are:

• Enterprise should be organised for performance.

- It should contain the least possible number of managerial levels; and
- It must make possible the training and testing of tomorrow's top managerresponsibility to a manager while still he is young.

He identified *three* basic aspects in organising Activity Analysis, Decision Analysis, and Relation Analysis. An Activity Analysis shows what work has to be performed, what kind of work should be put together, and what emphasis is to be given to each activity in the organisation structure. Decision Analysis takes into account the *four* aspects of a decision: the degree of futurity. In the decision, the impact of decision over other functions, number of qualitative factors that enter into it, and whether the decision is periodically recurrent or rare. Such an analysis will determine the level at which the decision can be made. Relation Analysis helps in defining the structure and also to give guidance in manning the structure.

Federalism

Drucker advocated the concept of Federalism. It refers to centralised control in decentralised structure and decentralised structure goes far beyond the delegation of authority. It creates a new Constitution and new ordering principle. Drucker emphasised the close links between the decisions adopted by the top management on the one hand and by the autonomous unit on the other. In a federal organisation, local management should participate in the decision that set the limits of their own authority. Federalism has certain positive values over other methods of organising.

These are as follows:

- It sets the top management free to devote itself to its proper functions.
- It defines the functions and responsibilities of the operating people.
- It creates a yardstick to measure their success and effectiveness in operating jobs;
 and
- It helps to resolve the problem of continuity through giving the managers of various units education in top management problems and functions while in an operating position.

Management by Objectives

Management by Objectives (MBO) is regarded as one of the important contributions of Drucker to the discipline of management. He introduced this concept in 1954. MBO has further been modified by Edward C.Schleh, which has been termed as 'Management by Results'. MBO includes methods of planning, setting standards, performance appraisal, and motivation. According to Drucker, MBO is not only a technique of management, but it is a philosophy of managing. It transforms the basic assumptions of managing from exercising to self-control. MBO works from bottom-up as well as from top-down. At organisational level, MBO links objectives of one level to another, and at a personal level, it provides specific performance objectives. MBO programmes have *four* elements: goal specificity, participation, time period and performance feedback for an MBO system to work, The organisational objectives must meet *four* criteria:

- i) They must be hierarchically put from most important to least important.
- ii) Quantification of objectives.
- iii) Specific goals.
- iv) Consistent goals.

Therefore, in order to practice MBO, the organisation must change itself. MBO has become such a popular way of managing that today it is regarded as the most modern Management Approach. In fact, it has revolutionalised the management process.

• Organisational Changes

Since rapid changes are occurring in the society, human beings should develop philosophy to face the changes and take them as challenges for making the society better. This can be done by developing dynamic organisations, which are able to absorb changes much faster than static ones. Drucker's contributions have made tremendous impact on the management practices. "Drucker shows certain farsightedness and understanding of the development prospects of modern production when he opposes the view that worker is no more than an appendage of machine. Moved by a desire to strengthen the position of capitalism, he endeavored to give due consideration also to some objective trends in production management. Drucker, therefore, tells the industrialists not to fear a limited participation of the workers in the management of production process. He warns them that if they do not abandon that fear, the consequences may be fatal for them". Drucker is perhaps the only Western management thinker who has attracted so much attention of the Communist World.

• Rethinking and Abandonment

Drucker rejects the concept of downsizing organisations, which could prove fatal in the long run. So he proposes rethinking, which relates to identifying activities that are productive and need to be strengthened, promoted and expanded. He also suggests that that there is a need to rethink on the organisational set-up based on activities and suggestions. Peter Drucker coined leadership terms and strategies that are still used today. He advocated a more flexible, collaborative workplace, and the delegation of power across the board. According to Drucker, "Management is doing things right; Leadership is doing the right things". Unlike many early Management Theorists, Drucker thought that subordinates should have the opportunity to take risks, learn and grow in the workplace.

16.5 DRUCKER'S MANAGEMENT THEORY

Drucker's Management Theory embodies many modern concepts and these are:

Decentralisation

Drucker was focused on decentralising management in the workplace. He wanted all employees to feel valued and empowered, like their work and voice mattered. He believed in assigning tasks that inspire workers and bringing supervisors and their subordinates together to achieve common, company goals.

Knowledge Work

Knowledge workers are those whose jobs require handling or using information, such as engineers or analysts. Drucker placed high value on workers who solved problems and thought creatively. He wanted to cultivate a culture of employees who could provide insight and ideas. Drucker also correctly forecast a decrease in blue-collar workers. Today, there is an increasing number of knowledge workers in the business world.

Management by Objectives

Drucker conceptualised "Management by Objectives" (MBO) as a process that encourages employees of all levels to work together. Each worker has an equal say,

Peter Drucker

sharing their own insight and opinions to reach common ground. From there, teams establish shared goals and delegate tasks according to skill sets and interests.

There are *five* steps of MBO:

- 1) Review goals.
- 2) Set objectives.
- 3) Monitor progress.
- 4) Evaluate performance.
- 5) Reward employees.

S.M.A.R. T.

In his MBO practice, Drucker used S.M.A.R.T., a process coined by George T. Doran, that increases efficiency in work-related tasks. The acronym calls for each objective to be:

- Specific
- Measurable
- Achievable
- Relevant
- Time-oriented

Drucker believed that managers should, above all else, be leaders. Rather than setting strict hours and discouraging innovation, he opted for a more flexible, collaborative approach. He placed high importance on decentralisation, knowledge work, Management by Objectives (MBO) and a process called SMART. Drucker was also of the view that if some of these approaches are adopted then it would lead to better efficiency and output in an organisation. He also upheld the following goals, which he felt every organisation should follow and these are:

• Delegate Equal Power across the Board

It is important that employees respect their manager, they shouldn't feel that they are much subordinate to him. Every worker should have the opportunity to speak up and share ideas with their team, whether it is during staff meetings or one-on-one conferences. When workers are treated as equals, they are more confident and motivated in their work, which benefits the company as much as it benefits them. General discussions should take place between employees and they should feel that their role is as necessary as the top-level decision makers, and realise that they have a say in the organisation.

• Encourage Collaboration

Collaboration is a crucial part of every organisation. Rather than pitting employees against each other, or fostering an environment where employees keep to themselves, they should be urged to work together by sharing ideas, tips and guidance. This does not mean that employees should not work individually, but they should not feel that they cannot ask for help or inspiration from others. There should be team spirit, and the manager should serve as their coach.

• Increase Efficiency

The main aim should be to prioritize productivity, utilise the concept of MBO, a process that calls for workers of all levels to work together to reach a common goal. There are five steps to MBO that have already been mentioned. These goals should be SMART, or specific, measurable, achievable, relevant and time-oriented. The team should get together and discuss the SMART goals to ensure everyone is on the same page and understand their part in the overall objectives of the organisation.

• Boost Innovation

Workers should be confident and willing to take risks. Create an innovative atmosphere and lead by example, showing the employees that mistakes are not shortcomings. The team should see the human perspective and that effort does not always lead to success. If such an atmosphere prevails they should feel more comfortable risking failure. Efforts have to be made to be more transparent with them, support their ideas and never punish creativity.

16.6 APPRAISAL OF DRUCKER'S LINE OF THOUGHT

Most critics assess the substantive contribution of Drucker's works to the discipline of professional management. Drucker's thought is far more valuable for its *manner* than its *matter*, more so because it has integrative quality. Drucker also appreciates the historical universe of traditions and structures out of which they emerged and the cultural universe of norms and values in which they participate. Also, there is a need to know about the many forms of capitalism that have evolved over time and the particular strengths of each form. One must be aware of competing economic ideologies and their underlying premises. In short, one must be able to recognise the major shifts in human aspirations as well as the fixed limits of human adaptation. Drucker also opines that it is important to supplement an understanding of management with insights from other fields of knowledge, regularly comparing it with the experience of other large-scale organisations and different cultures.

Drucker's thinking rests on an equally broad familiarity of technology. From what he calls the first technological revolution- the appearance in the ancient world of "irrigation cities" and their attendant civilisations-he abstracts a series of lessons that apply with comparable force to the present. Such a revolution, no matter when it occurs, demands major innovation in social and political institutions. Although the form of that innovation must follow the new objective reality created by technological change, the values that shape it and the human ends it has to serve still lie within human control

Many who have read Drucker have argued that his mind gravitates neither to the isolated fact nor to the mechanically causal explanation. Instead, Drucker responds most richly to the kaleidoscopic patterns and configurations among facts and to the process-based explanation of their significance. The same is true of Drucker's analyses of management. For example, his insistence on marketing as *the* essential, ubiquitous task of management attests to a view of business as a process necessarily oriented toward the creation and satisfaction of customers. Similarly, he extrapolates a few ideal patterns from the mass of individual variations of production and organisation principles. In fact, when Drucker writes of the profession of management, he invariably conceives of it as a discipline that teaches its practitioners to identify the constellations of significance in the otherwise chaotic flow of information and circumstance.

Drucker's Concept of Management provides the main stage for achievement of personal freedom and for assumption of responsibility through self-control. If the institutions of business *cannot* meet the cumulative needs of economic performance, society, and the individual, nothing stands between any of us and the forces of chaos and terror. No wonder, then that Drucker puts such great emphasis on the character of managers and on the immense responsibilities they bear. Drucker's core concepts, like "Management by Objectives" have also been criticised for not working effectively. Drucker agreed that Management by Objectives did not always work; however, he believed the causes of failure were in the implementation and were not inherent in the basic procedure. All said and done, Drucker has contributed greatly to the discipline of Management and that in turn has helped Public Administration to carve out certain important principles of administration, which have no doubt helped in the evolution of Public Administration.

| Check Your Progress 2 | |
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| Note: i) | Use the space given below for your answers. |
| ii) | Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. |
| 1) Explai | n Drucker's major contributions to Management. |
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| 2) Discus | ss Drucker's Management Theory. |
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16.7 CONCLUSION

Peter Drucker is called the Father of Modern Management. He looked at Management, from the point of view of efficiency, effectiveness, goal-orientation and time specificity. His concepts of Knowledge Work, Management by Objectives, S.M.A.R.T Management, Restructuring Government, Delegation and Decentralisation are relevant for Management even today. Drucker's concepts have been liberally used in public as well as private organisations. Public administration has greatly benefited from Ducker's teachings. His contribution to Management and Public Administration remains unparalleled till date. This Unit discussed Drucker's major concepts and examined their contemporary relevance.

16.8 GLOSSARY

Admiralty Law

: It is a body of law that governs the private maritime disputes and nautical issues. It consists of both domestic law on maritime activities and private international law governing private use of ocean-going ships.

Knowledge Worker

: A person who uses knowledge as capital to perform tasks. Knowledge work is different from the works as it entails convergent and divergent thinking. It involves handling and distribution of information.

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16.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Peter Drucker was born in 1909.
 - His writings were influenced by Joseph Shumpeter.
 - Drucker received his PhD in International Law.
 - In 1971, Drucker became a Professor of Social Sciences.
 - At the age of 87, Drucker featured on the cover page of Forbes Magazine.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Drucker turned Management into a services discipline.
 - He wrote 39 books and countless other publications.
 - He gave business the status of human enterprise which could be economically profitable and socially responsible.
 - He revolutionised modern business practices, influencing far-reaching developments in the areas of decentralisation, privatisation and empowerment.

- Drucker was among the first to address the emergence of the Information Society, and in 1959, coined the term "knowledge worker".
- Drucker was of the belief that management has become the constitutive organ and function of the Society of Organisations.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Nature of Management.
 - Management functions.
 - Restructuring government.
 - Federalism.
 - Management by Objectives.
 - Organisational changes.
 - Rethinking and Abandonment.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Decentralisation.
 - Knowledge Work.
 - Management by Objectives.
 - Delegation.
 - Collaboration.
 - S.M.A.R.T.



UNIT 17 YEHEZKEL DROR*

Structure

- 17.0 Objectives
- 17.1 Introduction
- 17.2 Yehezkel Dror: Life and Career
- 17.3 Supra-discipline of Policy Sciences: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach
 - 17.3.1 From Management Sciences to Policy Sciences
 - 17.3.2 From Systems Analysis to Policy Analysis
- 17.4 Knowledge Systems and Policy Sciences
- 17.5 New Features of Policy Sciences
- 17.6 Optimum Utilisation of Policy Sciences
- 17.7 Policy Making in Developing and Developed Countries
- 17.8 Resource Utilisation in Optimal Policy Making
- 17.9 Elements of Policy Sciences
- 17.10 Normative Optimal Model of Policy Making
- 17.11 Critique of Dror's Model
- 17.12 Conclusion
- 17.13 Glossary
- 17.14 References
- 17.15 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

17.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- Assess the contribution of Yehezkel Dror towards Administrative Thought;
- Understand the different types of knowledge and its relation to Policy Sciences;
- Comprehend the concept of Policy Sciences;
- Highlight the key characteristics of Normative-Optimal Model;
- Describe the important elements of public policy; and
- Examine the policy issues and processes in developing and developed countries.

17.1 INTRODUCTION

Yehezkel Dror is a pioneer of Public Policy Studies. He has contributed to academics with 15 Books published in 12 languages. He has written immensely on Management, Policy Sciences, Public Administration, Capacities to Govern, Leadership and Security

^{*} Contributed by Ms. Daisy Sharma, Assistant Professor, Department of Public Administration, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, Rajasthan.

Yehezkel Dror

Issues. His Book 'Public Policy Re-examined' is recognised as a fundamental treatise on Policy Studies. Dror has used integrated and multi-disciplinary approach in the field of Policy Sciences. He uses Policy Analysis, Behavioural Science and Systems Approach in his model of policy making. His writings have left a deep imprint on the latest paradigm of public administration i.e., Public Policy. In this Unit, we will explain the multi-disciplinary approach to Policy Sciences. We will discuss the new features of Policy Sciences with special reference to the Optimal Model of Policy Making. We will also make a critical analysis of Dror's Model.

17.2 YEHEZKEL DROR: LIFE AND CAREER

Yehezkel Dror was born in Vienna (Austria) in 1928 and migrated to Israel in 1938. He took his education in Jerusalem at Hebrew and Harward Universities. He joined the Political Science Department of Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel in 1957, where he is, at present, a Professor of Political Science and Wolfson Chair Professor of Public Administration, Emeritus. In his long career, Dror has worked in senior positions in Israeli Government including posts such as Senior Policy Planning Advisor in the Office of the Defence Minister, and the Prime Minister's Office, chairman and member of public service commissions dealing with various policy issues, founder-president of the Jewish People Policy Planning Institute etc. Dror is a recipient of several awards, including First Annual Harold Lasswell Award of Policy Studies; Thomas R. Dye Award for outstanding service to the Policy Studies Organisation; Landau Prize for outstanding contributions to Social Sciences, Israel Prize in Administrative Sciences for outstanding original scientific and applied work in policy-making, capacities to govern and strategic planning and Rosolio Award for his contributions to the advancement of the study and practice of public administration in Israel.

17.3 SUPRA-DISCIPLINE OF POLICY SCIENCES:A MULTI-DISCIPLINARY APPROACH

Dror has argued in favour of the need for bringing dissimilar social sciences disciplines under the umbrella of a supra-discipline called Policy Sciences. Dror has used a multidisciplinary approach in his thinking and writing process. He has been of the view that fast growing information and its abundance has resulted in specialisation. Unity of Command can not do justice with the growing information overload. But at the same time, it is equally necessary that the specialists have broader outlook with multidisciplinary approach. So that they can render effective services to human beings who are surrounded by complex environment with so many factors playing different roles and effecting each other. It was due to his multidisciplinary approach that he rung the death bell of politics-administration dichotomy. He believed that administration is interlinked with its environment, which has varied political, social, economical and cultural aspects. Hence, administration can not be separated from the politics and political environment. They both work in close affinity and influence each other. He replaced this politics-administration dichotomy with Policy Sciences, thus widening the area, scope and importance of public administration, and increasing its relevance in modern times.

17.3.1 From Management Sciences to Policy Sciences

A major contribution of Dror lies in taking away the 'administration' from Management Sciences, hence increasing its utility and providing a separate identity to public administration. Though Dror has used multidisciplinary approach and has himself applied Management Sciences in his writings, he has focused more on Policy Studies. He preferred Policy Sciences over Management Sciences. Dror has stated that under

pressure of complex social issues and with an effort to find their solution, thinkers have been focusing on Management Sciences. No doubt that Management Sciences help in improving economy and efficiency of the organisation, but to solve the social problems, it needs something extra. We can not solve the social problems with the help of Management Sciences because it has many limitations like neglect of institutional contexts, inability to handle political needs, limited innovation capacity, dependence on quantification, and ignorance of strategy choices.

Management Sciences can help in policy making by facilitating unity and rationality in the organisation. However, to solve social issues, it needs a broader orientation. They must incorporate policy analysis to handle complex issues. Firstly, one must be able to analyse not only the organisational needs, but the broader and indistinct needs of the issue. Secondly, there should be changes in the processes, strictness and personnel so that administration can be more prompt, easy, fast, responsive and accountable. These *two* changes mean a "Scientific Revolution" resulting in new set of paradigms oriented towards development of humanity. And this paradigm is only provided by Policy Sciences Hence, to make public administration more lively and responsive, we must move from Management Sciences to Policy Sciences.

17.3.2 From Systems Analysis to Policy Analysis

Dror has observed that development issues of developing countries can not be fully understood with Systems Analysis. For the treatment of basic and critical problems of development administration, we need a broader approach of Policy Analysis. Systems Analysis is only a part of policymaking. According to Dror, Systems Analysis helps in chasing the right inputs by comparing the expected outputs. But in the development issue which lack clear goals, predictable results, value judgements and other qualitative decisions like social change, power attainment, Systems Analysis is not of much help. Moreover, in developing countries we neither have good and sufficient resources like data, tools to analyse it, nor do we have appropriate resource persons or specialists who can analyse the data with innovation, so we need to restructure the government in order to have right Systems Analysis with sufficient data and resource persons. This must be done on a regular basis, so that we can have proper consideration of policy issues on quantitative as well as qualitative fronts.

17.4 KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS AND POLICY SCIENCES

According to Dror, a rational policy formulation needs identifying problems and evaluating resources, revising policy production systems and determining policy making strategies. He rejected instrumentalism since we do not have abundance of appropriate knowledge, which is required for policy making. Dror has divided knowledge into *three* levels:

- 1) Knowledge related to control of environment.
- 2) Knowledge related to control of society and individuals.
- 3) Knowledge related to control of controls themselves; that is meta control.

He has further explained the scope of *three* levels of knowledge and finds that human beings have made significant advancement as far as knowledge about control of environment is concerned. All the scientific and technological development has helped us in a better understanding of the environmental issues and problems. Humankind has also made some progress in control of society and individuals, understanding its relations and problems surrounding it.

Yehezkel Dror

The control related to environment is dealt through the domain of science and technology. The control of individual and society is dealt through humanities and social sciences. The control in excess of control is not dealt through anybody. So, when it comes to knowledge about meta control i.e., control of controls themselves, we have the least knowledge about it. We have very less knowledge of the design and operation of the control mechanism itself. Dror calls the overall social control system as "Societal Direction System". According to him, this domain should become the main focus of Policy Sciences. Dror has observed that growth of knowledge in certain areas and their lack of growth in certain other areas always creates problems. So, every generation should take a total view of knowledge and fill in the gaps. The one-sided, incomplete growth of knowledge is dangerous, as the society loses its capability to manage its affairs if certain sectors grow faster than the other sectors. This situation calls for societal direction systems.

He has further observed that since we lack in social direction system, it affects the human values in society. Due to lack of available knowledge, society is subjected to innumerable stringent controls. Thus, we need to advance our knowledge in societal direction system and integrate it for the betterment of humanity. Dror has observed that apart from increasing our knowledge in the control systems, we need to have a new value and belief system for controlling society. Scientific knowledge to control society is increasing, but it is not creating suitable value systems.

Dror has held that the rapid advancements in the area of science and technology would trigger offchanges without supplying the necessary values. Based on this understanding, Dror formulated a law called Dror's Law: "While human capacities to form the environment, society, and human beings are rapidly rising, policy making capabilities to use those capacities remain the same". This law suggests that society should be able to have a direction system. This knowledge should also increase the level of rationality among the society so that they can properly use this power to control the humanity. So we need to develop scientific knowledge in the area of policy making.

Dror has described that knowledge about policy making is very crucial and the only answer or solution to social problems. But he knew that there are many difficulties in developing a scientific body of knowledge for policy making. Dror has observed that available knowledge for policy making is fragmented, whereas we need a Multidisciplinary Systems Approach. Whatever research is done at a micro level. It is focused more on instrumentalism and not on creativity. It has neglected many critical elements like politicians, political institutions, which have a critical role in policy making. Dror has maintained that to add scientific fervor, researchers have focused on rationality but have ignored extra rational factors like intuition, gut feeling, creativity etc. He has also stressed on the dichotomy between behavioural and normative approaches, as there is for a need a complimentary mix of both for solving practical problems.

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| No | te: i) | Use the space given below for your answers. |
| | ii) | Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. |
| 1) | | do we need Policy Sciences instead of Management Sciences to solve issues? |
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| Policy Thinkers | |

17.5 NEW FEATURES OF POLICY SCIENCES

Dror has observed that some interest in Policy Sciences emerged due to persistent problems and the efforts required to look for solutions. The growing interest of social scientists further gave it a boost. To strengthen the little efforts in the policy making so far, Dror has suggested some new features of Policy Sciences:

- Policy Sciences should primarily relate to macro-control systems. It should cover all aspects, which can help in understanding of societal direction system like policy analysis, policy evaluation and feedback, improvement of meta policy etc.
- Policy Sciences should have a multidisciplinary approach. It should include Behavioural Science, Physical and Life Sciences, Systems Approach, practically everything that is relevant to the issue concerned.
- Policy Sciences, should do away with the gap between pure and applied research.
 It should accept both tacit knowledge, personal experience and source of knowledge.
- Dror has argued that since Policy Sciences deal with social issues, it can not be a value free science. So it must find operational theory of value by working upon value implications, value consistencies and value costs.
- Policy Sciences should not only focus on the historic development, but also try to predict the future.
- Policy Sciences uses not only rational knowledge, but also extra-rational processes and irrational processes.

17.6 OPTIMUM UTILISATION OF POLICY SCIENCES

Dror in his Book, "Ventures in Policy Sciences, has maintained that such policy making arrangements are needed, which can assure that knowledge of Policy Sciences will be correctly appreciated and taken into account. We need to have arrangements that assure that its under-utilisation and over-utilisation are avoided. There is a need for:

 Pervasive utilisation of Policy Analysis for consideration of issues, exploration of alternatives and clarification of goals.

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- Encouragement of explicit mega-policy decisions, as distinct from discrete policy determination.
- Encouragement of comprehensive mega-policies, in which discrete policy issues are measured within a broader context of basic goals, postures and directives.
- Systematic evaluation of past policies in order to learn from them for the future. Special structures and processes should be intended to encourage better consideration of the future in modern policy making.
- Search for methods and means to encourage creativity and invention in respect to policy issues.
- Establishment of a multiplicity of policy research organisations to work on main policy issues.
- Development of extensive social experimentation, designs and institutions able to engage in social experimentation.
- Advancement of citizens' participation in public policy making. The necessity of Policy Sciences leads to development of new formats for presenting and analysing public issues in the media.

17.7 POLICY MAKING IN DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Yehezkel Dror in his Book, "Public Policy Re-examined (1968) has talked of the policy making process in the developing and developed countries. According to him, in developing States, policy making is based on inheritance and legacy. Policy strategy is not consciously determined. There is lack of systematic institutional arrangements for learning feedback. In some of the cases, just trial and error methods are applied. It is very hard to ascertain the real output of a policy due to lack of proper methods and infrastructure.

Voters have rather insignificant role to play in policy making. Role of intellectuals is also limited. Legislatures have a secondary role to play in policy making as political executive is stronger. Acute shortage of manpower badly affects the policy making system. There is lack of proper knowledge and information with those who are part and parcel of the process. The optimal excellence of policy making is much low as policy making is of an average quality.

Policy making process in developed States is realistic, having economic and political feasibility. Prioritisation of values and operational goals are well-spelt out. Intense search for policy alternatives is made. Separate institutions exist in some of the countries for the purpose of undertaking long-range policy-making surveying; knowledge for handling research and development of policy making. In democratic systems, the voters exert important power on policy makers through elections. The intellectuals play a major and substantive role in policy making. The Heads of the Governments have prominent and most significant role to play in policy making. Legislature as an institution has a major role to play in policy-making in democratic systems and a minimal role in dictatorial systems. Political parties have a crucial place of importance in policy making. Though the interest groups have a narrow and conditioned attitude towards values and goals, yet they perform a significant role in policy making. The professional civil service is developing as a major contributor to policy making process. Policy making in developed States is up to the mark for ensuring their survival and satisfying the genuine needs and wants of the population.

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| Not | Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers. | |
| | ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit. | |
| 1) | What are the new features of Public Policy as suggested by Dror? | |
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| 2) | How can we achieve optimum utilisation of Policy Sciences? | |
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| 3) | Explain the features of policy making in developed countries. | · • |
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17.8 RESOURCE UTILISATION IN OPTIMAL POLICY MAKING

The policy involves possessions used for its formulation and implementation. In the words of Dror (*op.cit.*), "Optimal public policy creation necessarily specifies and evaluates its possessions just as it does its troubles: Optimal meta policy creation must systematically and periodically scan present and future possessions and troubles; make an estimate of the potential payoff of possessions through using both knowledge and intuition; explicitly evaluate the supply of and demand for each resource; and specify needs for additional possessions and further the development of new possessions".

The possessions used for any policy, whether in conditions of money, manpower or infrastructural or formulation facilities should be quantified in terms of money. The benefit to resource outcome should always be more than the resources used. If a policy takes more resources than it produces, then the policy does not have a positive impact. While attempting to know the impact of the policy vis-à-vis the possessions used, we must try to discover 'which, where and how' has a given scrupulous resource used not provided desired results or has been used more than required. Such information would give enough feedback to have a check in future and to rectify the error.

17.9 ELEMENTS OF POLICY SCIENCES

There are certain elements, which should be the standard characteristics of a policy formulating method. It helps us to understand the dynamics of several policy making approaches and models proposed. Yehezkel Dror has listed *nine* such elements in his Book. These are:

- There should be clarification of values, objectives, and criteria for decision making. The method should contain identifying the alternatives, with an effort to consider new alternatives (through surveying comparative literature, experience, and accessible theories) and to stimulate making of many alternatives.
- The method should contain preliminary estimation of expected payoffs from the several alternatives, and decision whether a strategy of minimal risk or innovation is preferable.
- If the first expected payoffs are considered, the incremental-change model should be followed. If the issue is of minimal risk or of innovation, the after-step is establishing a cutoff horizon for considering the possible results of alternative policies, and identifying the major expected results, relying on accessible knowledge and intuition.
- Analysis of the alternatives should deal with both quantitative ("economic") and qualitative ("political") factors, in order to overcome the limitations of current Systems Analysis and advance toward PolicyAnalysis.
- The method should contain an effort to decide whether the issue is significant enough to render more comprehensive analysis worthwhile.
- Theory and experience, rationality and extra rationality, will all be relied upon; the composition of the mix necessity depend upon their availability and on the nature of the problem.
- Explicit techniques, such as Simulation and the Delphi methods, should be used as much as possible, as they are appropriate, and knowledge from several disciplines should be brought to bear on the issues involved.
- The method should contain explicit arrangements to improve policy making through systematic learning from experience, stimulating initiative and creativity, developing the staff, and encouraging intellectual efforts.

17.10 NORMATIVE OPTIMAL MODEL OF POLICY MAKING

In public policy, models constitute frameworks through which the problems faced and processes involved in the making of public policies are analysed. According to Dror, Lindblom's Incremental Model is conservative and unsatisfactory. He finds that Incremental Approach is unjust because it creates gap between those who have little power and those who have more power. People with little power face difficulties in bringing change. He criticised Lindblom's Approach, as he felt that partial change as a solution to a problem is not possible as the inertia of the previous problem or the bigger problem will still persist and eat up these small and insignificant changes. One of the limitations of the Incremental Model is the absence of the dynamic equation of power and how it impacts the policy making process. He suggested a combination of rational factors as well as extra-rational factors linked with the decision and situation. He suggested

a qualitative approach through a feedback mechanism. He was also in support of studying decision making as a subject of Social Sciences and making it interdisciplinary, where knowledge and techniques from other Social Sciences subjects can be mixed and applied to decision making to broaden its scope and achieve maximum results.

Dror has hence adopted a 'normative-optimal' model, which maintains the elements of rationality as prescribed by Simon, however he is practical in understanding the role of tacit knowledge and experience in the process of policy making. Dror's concept of 'normative optimalism' argues that policy analysis must acknowledge that there is a role of extra-rational understanding based on tacit knowledge and personal experience with the motive to induce decision makers to expand their thinking to deal with this complex world. Thus, this model adopts not only the economic efficiencies of cost and benefit analysis, but also is influenced by value judgements, tacit bargaining and coalition formation skills. His model is less prescriptive; it rather provides a framework to analyse policy in a given context. Basically, Dror's Optimal Model is a combination of economically rational model and extra-rational model.

We can say that Dror's Normative-Optimal Model accepts:

- i) Need for Rationality.
- ii) Need for introduction of management techniques for increasing rationality of decision making at lower levels.
- iii) Policy Sciences Approach to deal with complex problems requiring decisions at higher levels.
- iv) Need to take account of values and irrational elements in decision making.

In short, the Model has the following characteristics:

- Qualitative.
- Includes rational, extra-rational elements.
- Concerned with meta-policy making
- Contains inbuilt feedback.

The main purpose of Dror has been to enhance the rational content of government and build into his model the 'extra rational' dimension of decision making. He says, "What is needed is a model which fits reality, while being directed towards its improvement also, which can be applied to policy making while motivating a maximum effort to arrive at better policies". Thus, Dror proposes a modified form of rational model, which can move policy making in a more rational direction. He argues that the aim of analysis is to induce decision makers to expand their framework to deal better with the complex world.

This Model consists of around 18 steps divided into following *three* stages:

- Meta-policy Making Stage.
- Policy Making Stage.
- Post-policy Making Stage.

The Meta-policy Making Stage concerns itself mainly with processing values, the policy making stage with allocation of resources and post-policy making stage with the execution of policy. By this approach, Dror seeks radical reform of the public policy

making process. Thus, in place of a purely rational model, Dror offers a more complex Model of 18 stages listed as below:

Meta-policy Making Stage:

- 1) Processing values.
- 2) Processing reality.
- 3) Processing problems.
- 4) Surveying, processing and developing resources.
- 5) Designing, evaluating and redesigning the policy making system.
- 6) Allocating problems, values and resources.
- 7) Determining policy-making strategy.

Policy Making Stage:

- 8) Sub-allocating resources.
- 9) Establishing operational goals, with some order of priority.
- 10) Establishing a set of major alternative policies including some 'good ones'.
- 11) Preparing a set of major alternative policies, including some 'good ones'.
- 12) Preparing reliable predictions of the significant benefits and cost of the various alternatives.
- 13) Comparing the predicted benefits and costs of the various alternatives and identifying the 'best' ones.
- 14) Evaluating the benefits and costs of the 'best' alternatives and deciding whether they are 'good' or not.

Post-policy Making Stage:

- 15) Motivating the execution of policy.
- 16) Executing the policy.
- 17) Evaluating policy making after executing the policy.
- 18) Communication and feedback channels interconnecting all phases.

Normative Optimalism combines both descriptive and prescriptive approaches. According to Dror, there is a need to bring about changes in the personnel, and in structure and process, as well as in general environment of policy making. Thus, Dror's Model aims at analysing the real world, which involves values and different perceptions of reality, and has created an approach, which combines core elements of the Rational Model with extra-rational factors.

Check Your Progress 3

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

- ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.
- 1) Explain the elements of public policy.

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| 2) | What are the main features of Dror's Normative Optimal Model? |
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| 3) | Explain the <i>three</i> stages of Dror's Policy Making. |
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17.11 CRITIQUE OF DROR'S MODEL

Dror has been of the view that improving public policy making process is necessary for human progress, but he has given limited attention to 'public' in his model. Dror has combined both rational and extra-rational elements in his Model, but has not given any strategy for the same. His Model is quite useful not in terms of prescription dimension but in terms of the framework in which he analyses the public policy. However, he only looks at a bird's eye view of policy as a top down process and has no recognition of public engagement in the policy making process.

Dror is also a critique of the Specialist vs. Generalist issue. He has found it a meaningless controversy plaguing public administration. He has observed that in the past, due to country's class structure and educational system, we have had administrators with these clusters of attributes. Now, changes in socio-economic conditions, advances in knowledge and teaching of Social Sciences and Systems Approach and Analysis make it possible to educate professionals who can deal with problems in a broad, innovative and openminded way"— experts in generalism". Similarly, new patterns of civil service management for example, rotation and exchange of positions may do away with rigid careers based on perpetuating Specialist-Generalist assumptions. Thus, we need to develop new types of public administration professionals and achieve a synergetic mix between varieties of differently qualified persons.

17.12 CONCLUSION

Yehezkel Dror, in his Book, 'Public Policy Re-examined', has observed, "A sudden transformation of the public policy making system is not possible; neither am I advocating one. Improving public policy making is and needs to be a continuous endeavour, requiring sustained effort in excess of a long period. The most harmful effect of the incremental-change argument (which devices the possibility that important improvement could be made in public policy making through some innovative jumps) is that it paralyses efforts, and therefore tends to be self-fulfilling prophecy". Dror has advocated for adoption of best policy by a judicious evaluation of goals, values, alternatives, costs, benefits based on maximum use of available information and scientific technology.

Dror has consistently been of the view that a long-term strategy to improve public policy-making is necessary for human progress. Dror seems to have very little regard for the public in policy-making. To quote Dror (1989): "But if the success of democracy depended on the people's ability to judge the main policy issues on their merits, then democracy would surely have perished by now". It may be of relevance to point out that the real strength of Dror's analysis is not in terms of the prescription dimension of his model, but more so in the framework, as it provides to analyse the policy making process. This Unit gave us an idea of Dror's viewpoints on Policy Sciences, the elements of Policy Sciences and resource utilisation in optimal policy making.

17.13 GLOSSARY

Generalists

: Generalists in public administration are persons who possess knowledge, aptitude and skills to do a variety of tasks across departments and administrative fields. They do not possess specialised knowledge for any specific task or field.

Incremental Model

: This Model is based on incremental decision making. It believes that decision cannot be totally based on rationality, as complete facts and knowledge are rarely available with decision-makers. Propounded by Charles Lindblom, it espouses smaller number of alternatives and consequences at each stage. It breaks down decision-making into small steps. Policy making is dependent on simplicity and flexibility.

Rationality

: In Weber's words 'rationality' is increasingly concerned with efficiency; achieving maximum results with minimum efforts. It is a state of being rational, based on agreement with reason. Rationality is relative. Amitai Etzioni has observed how purposive reasoning is subordinated by normative considerations.

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17.15 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Complicity of social sciences calls for Policy Sciences.
 - Other reasons of shift from Management Sciences are: neglect of institutional contact, mobility to handle political needs, limited innovation ability and governance of strategy choices among others.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Knowledge related to environment.
 - Knowledge related to control of society and individuals.
 - Knowledge related to control of controls themselves.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Macro control systems.
 - Multi-disciplinary Approach.
 - Both tacit knowledge and personal experience.

- Value-laden social sciences.
- Prediction of future.
- Extra-rational processes.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Pervasive utilisation of policy analysis.
 - Encouragement of explicit mega policy decisions.
 - Encouragement of comprehensive mega policies.
 - Systematic evaluation.
 - Citizens' participation.
 - Multiplicity of research.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Legislature has a major role.
 - Interest groups have an attitude.
 - Professional service.
 - Separate institutions for policy-making.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Preliminary estimation of expected pay offs.
 - Following an Incremental-change Model
 - Analysis of quantitative and qualitative factors.
 - Reliance on rationality and extra-rationality.
 - Use of Simulation and Delphi Methods.
 - Stimulation of initiative and creativity.
- 2) Your answer should include the following points:
 - It finds incremental approach unjust.
 - Combination of rational and extra-rational factors.
 - Qualitative approach through feedback mechanism.
 - It is influenced by value judgements.
 - It deals with complex problems.
 - Concerned with meta-policy making.
- 3) Your answer should include the following points:
 - Meta-policy Making Stage.
 - Policy Making Stage.
 - Post-policy Making Stage.

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