Development Administration and Bureaucracy in Developing Countries

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ABSTRACT

The essence of Development Administration lies in the capacity to bring about a structural and behavioural change in administration, to improve the capacity of institutions by embracing change orientation. It is the means through which governments bring about a perceptible change in the economy of a country. "Development administration" refers to the administration of policies, programs and projects that contribute to the development of a nation and have significant socio-political and socioeconomic impact on the countries involved. In this paper, I am highlighting the demanding role of bureaucracy in order to enhance development administration with the motto of securing welfare state worldwide. Basically, I’ll focus over the developing countries with special emphasis over India. I am highlighting how politics-administration dichotomy is a threat to the concerned concept. I would also bring light over the remedy and essential suggestions so that we could get an opportunity to again think how actually the bureaucracy can work upon to enlarge the scope of Development Administration.

INTRODUCTION

Development Administration (DA) is one of the newest branches of Public Administration, having its inception after the post 2nd world war period when most of the countries in the world became independent. It is the mechanism through which countries achieve socio-economic progress and usher in development. The essence of DA lies in the capacity to bring about a structural and behavioural change in administration, to improve the capacity of institutions by embracing change orientation. Development administration is the means through which governments bring about a perceptible change in the economy of a country. "Development administration" refers to the administration of policies, programs and projects that contribute to the development of a nation and have significant socio-political and socioeconomic impact on the countries involved. There is no uniform definition to DA, but there are many characteristic features which have universal acceptability and applicability. Edward Weidner is the first to explain the definition of DA. However, the term “Development Administration” was first used by the Indian civil servant U. L. Goswami in 1955 in his article “The structure of Development Administration in India”. The conceptualization and early patronage to the subject was first given by American scholars’ viz., George Gant, F. W. Riggs, Edward Weidner, John Montgomery, Hahn Been Lee, Milton J. Esman and Ferrel heady etc. Many of these scholars have sought to differentiate DA from traditional administration.

CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

Before we move on to analyse the meaning of Development Administration it is very important to understand the concept of ‘Development’. Development is a complex concept to define, generally it means moving or graduating to a better stage of condition. Development means change plus growth. Development is a process of acquiring a sustained growth of a system’s capability to cope with new, continuous change toward the achievement of progressive political, economic and social changes. However, though growth is a pre condition for development it is not a synonym for development and the two should not be taken to mean the same because mere growth of economy does not make it a developed economy, there will be a number of other issues that are either caused by the development like extreme poverty or there will be issues that are standalone like illiteracy, etc. Growth of economy or economic growth is easy to achieve but economic development is not an easy achievement. Economic development is when the means of production are more technical savvy and institutionalized and its distribution is equal among everyone for social justice.

According to planners in India, the concept of development must incorporate the following elements:

1. Economic growth does not mean economic development. There is no surety that a growth in investment, capital formation, industries and national income would alone bring in overall development and social justice. Therefore, we must view development in its totality as one single, unified concept incorporating social, political, cultural and economic angles/dimensions.
2. Social justice is basic to development that is it provides the base and foundation and principle and objective/goal of development.
3. Development has to be a participative exercise and not a one sided or lobbying affair where only those who are elite and wield power have a say.
4. Self reliance is an important and inseparable aspect of development. In detail it asserts that developing countries should be able to participate in the development process on basis of complete equality in international relations and affairs for reaching an agreement that will be beneficial mutually to both parties involved.
5. Scarcity of natural resources calls for maintaining their balance and not be exploited in the name of development.
The essence of Development Administration is to bring about change through integrated, organised, and properly directed governmental action. When Riggs was busy testing the traditional theories of Administration in developing countries like Thailand in 60's he realised the futility of the experiment because the problems that plague the developed societies do not plague the developing countries and so the former's administrative practices did not work in the latter's ecology. He found that in order to bring the developing nations onto the platform of the developed there has to be a lot of development to be done and so these countries were so busy in their welfare and development activities that they developed their own ways and practices of administration in order to sustain the same. Therefore, that is where the concept of development administration was conceptualised. Development Administration as an area of study was propagated as a means to bridge the gaps and missing links in administrative theory between the developed and developing countries.

It is performed by bureaucrats who are talented and highly experienced. Development administration models are driven by the desire for change. Most development functions have specific objectives, and planning for both resources and time is crucial to the model. The traditional approach towards administration has been limited in its scope and premise, the core of which was strict adherence to laid down rules and hierarchy. In essence it has limited the role administration to that of a fire fighter or overseer of law and order in the comfort of laid down principals. While, nothing is wrong in this approach, if society is utopian but, in a more practical sense it causes problems. Since, bureaucracy is that arm of government which is responsible for executing plans and allocating resources at the grassroots, it is imperative that they take some risks and be innovative in approach, especially more so when the nation is a developing one. Development Administration is about projects, programs, policies and ideas which are focused at development of a nation, with the point of view of socio-economic and socio-political development of society in general, carried out by talented and skilled bureaucrats.

A model of Development Administration must contain the certain points. It should reject status quo and be directed towards change and more so towards results. It is result oriented at its core and every development function should have a defined objective. Planning is essential to decide the framework of resources and time to be allotted for a development function. It is dynamic in approach and encourages new and better ways to achieve objectives. It should focus on planning for the people as well as with the people. It is people-centered, must empower society as a whole and not product or profit-centered. The concept of Development Administration should be understood using two concepts Administration of Development and Administrative Development.

Administrative Development: For effective Development Administration the structure of Administration itself must be empowered, large and capable enough to sustain the pressures by the developmental activities. In simpler words it means to develop administrative health by rationalizing and institution building and bringing about a radical change in the administrative framework, from the traditionalist approach, to handle and create socio-economic and political development and social change. Bureaucracy as a social and administrative institution has been at the centre of attention in capitalist, socialist as well as the developing countries. The consequences of bureaucratisation in the three worlds are, however, significantly different. The dilemma of the developing countries is especially severe. In the absence of alternative instruments of implementation of the programmes of social and economic change, the state has increasingly depended upon the bureaucracy as its principal machinery.

Theoretically as well as policy wise, the important question is: to what extent is the bureaucracy a viable instrument for implementation of development administration. Basically, are the values of bureaucracy and development administration congruent or is there any incompatibility between the two. And if there is, what are the options? The present study examines these issues through empirical investigation and arrives at a set of new propositions. These deserve the attention of scholars and practitioners of public administration with a view to developing policy alternatives and options. All the more so as India is embarking upon new and more ambitious and complex plans and programmes of development with special emphasis on rural areas.

Amartya Sen (Development as Freedom, Oxford 2000) has defined development in the following words: “Development can be seen as a process of expanding the real freedom that people enjoy. Focusing of human freedoms contrasts with narrower views of development, such as identifying development with growth of gross national product, or with the rise in personal incomes or with industrialisation or with technological advance or with social modernisation”. Here he has used the concept development into two senses — one is broader and the other is narrower. In his opinion, development has a broad meaning—it is the expansion of real freedom. Through development people can have opportunities to expand their freedom. In backwardness or in less developed society people are generally deprived of abundant or real freedom. Hence, for the desired proliferation of freedom development is the real vehicle. He further observes: “Development requires the removal of major sources of un-freedom poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities.” We can treat it also as another definition of development. Rather, it is the second definition. This second definition is relevant for the present purpose. The concept development implies the removal of poverty, social deprivation, and poor economic opportu-nities. He has asserted that when poor economic opportunities are removed, social deprivation is stopped and public facilities are open to all the orbit or area of freedom will expand.

MEANINGS OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION GIVEN BY VARIOUS SCHOLARS

For Harry J. Friedman development administration means (a) Programme implementation for socio economic progress and monitoring of nation building progress and (b) Administrative reforms to keep the bureaucracy updated.

For Hahn Been lee, development administration involved management of government or of an agency to ensure capability to cop up with social change and sustained growth.

Gant observed that development administration is “that aspect of Public Administration in which focus of attention is on organizing and administering public agencies in such a way as to stimulate and facilitate defined programmes of social and economic progress.”
Edward Weidner defined it as “The process of guiding an organisation toward the achievement of progressive political, economic and social objectives that are authoritatively determined in one manner or the other”.

Merle Fair soul regarded development administration as “a carrier of innovating values, it embraces the way of the new functions assumed by developing countries embarking on the path of modernisation and industrialisation.

F. W. Riggs mentions that the study of Third World administration, interpreted largely as development administration, became the central concern for and synonymous with comparative public administration. As a concept, he defines development administration as the combined process of both the ‘administration of development’ (implementation of development policies and plans) and the ‘development of administration’ (improvement of administrative capabilities).

To Montgomery, Development Administration connotes “carrying planned change in the economy or capital infrastructure and to a lesser extent in the social services especially, health and education”.

Weidner stated that Development Administration means “an action oriented and goal- oriented administrative systems.” Weidner emphasised that the study of development administration can help to identify the conditions under which a maximum rate of development is sought and obtained.

ESSENCE OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

In modern times, of all acts of civilized society, perhaps, governance is one of the most difficult tasks, as it deals with issues – political, economic or social, that directly affect public life of living human beings, who are full of psychological and sociological complexes and prone to unpredictable behaviour. Good governance is the foundation stone to build a forward-looking society.

Earlier in the nineteenth Century the main tasks of an administration were universally the maintenance of law and order and revenue collection. But in the post war period in general, development consciousness and development efforts, emerged in the new nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and parts of Europe, which required a civil service of integrity, equipped with administrative ability and practical sagacity for development. The emphasis in administration has shifted to the welfare plans, national reconstruction and development.

French Revolution, Bolshevik Revolution, Industrial Revolution and Contemporary developments had a great impact in widening the scope of State activities. Poverty and misery, which were earlier accepted as the lot of masses, are no longer regarded as inevitable. The ultimate aim of governance is to help common men live a peaceful, safe and secure life. Today, this simple and powerful truth is too often forgotten. Common-men themselves have started demanding, with persisting insistence, better standard of living, better housing, better education and better medical facilities. The masses now wish themselves to be benefited as much as possible, from the resources of their nation. The desire of public to go forward quickly and to establish a new economic order, in which common people could have better deal, gave rise to the concept of ‘Welfare State’ and Developmental Administration, the

former being the objective and the later the machinery to achieve these objectives.

In a welfare state the government assumes and aims at improving the quality of life of its masses and the responsibility of its citizens from ‘womb to tomb’. It tries to bring about ‘social, political and economic justice’. The main aim of initiating and nurturing this concept is to bring about betterment to the lots of weaker section of society by building up a rapidly expanding and technologically progressive economy. It aims to uplift the marginalized sections of society. Provision of basic necessities to all irrespective of their caste or creed, the voluntary abdication of riches and power – that these riches brings and establishment of a productive, vigorous and creative political and social life are the aims of a national government.

In short its objective is a massive attack on five major evils of society – want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness. The welfare concept of state has no utility in itself unless it is translated into action. The instrument deployed for achieving welfare goals – national reconstruction and development – is that of the development of administration through the institution of civil service, which puts all its energies at bringing about socio-economic and political development of the nation as a whole. An efficient administration can successfully comprehend what is attainable, what is practical and what can help the agencies in the community to formulate plans and policies, by which the community can seek to assure welfare of all its members.

Maintenance of law and order all over the country is still very important. Then only, desired objectives for the sustainable development of the nation could be achieved. Those engaged in the task of governance could yield maximum results with minimum labour and resources within time and cost parameters and provide convenience to public at large. In the post war period in general, development consciousness and development efforts, emerged in the new nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and parts of Europe, required a civil service of integrity, equipped with administrative ability and practical sagacity for development.

REQUIREMENTS FOR EFFICIENT GOVERNANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

Mental framework: It should never be conservative. It should have a scientific outlook and should be progressive, innovative, reformist and even revolutionary in mental attitudes and approaches.

✓ Knowledge: It should have knowledge of science, technology and social sciences.

✓ Skills – It requires conceptual skills (ability for innovative problem – analysis), planning skills, technical skills, managerial skills and human skills.

✓ Vision: A development bureaucrat requires the vision of a statesman and not that of either narrow-minded politicians or a rule-minded bureaucrat.

✓ Structures: It requires less hierarchical and more team-like structures such as Commissions, Boards, and Corporations etc.

✓ Behaviour: The behavioural pattern should consist of (a) action and achievement orientation (b) responsiveness (c) responsibility (d) all round smooth relations inside with juniors and seniors and outside with clientele and the public (e) commitment to development ideologies and goals.
Besides, there should be: A working partnership between the civil servants and the people. A sense of service, a spirit of dedication, a feeling of involvement and a will to sacrifice for the public welfare. A pragmatic application of the basic democratic principles. Higher civil servants should provide the required leadership to the lower levels of administration. Constant field inspection by senior officials to provide the government with the ability to be in constant contact with the people; and to make the people conscious that the government is alive to their problem; Smooth relation between generalist administrators and experts specialists. Training from time to time to understand the success already achieved in the field of development administration and the efforts to be initiated in future.

DECAYING TRENDS IN INDIA

Correct diagnosis is necessary for curing a disease. If diagnosis is not correct, it would be difficult to treat the disease properly. Similarly if a nation is not able to assess correctly its weaknesses, which are putting hurdles on the way of its development and tackles it properly, it would become difficult for it to achieve its targets within time and cost parameters.

India has everything, a nation needs for its development – like tremendous amount of skilled and unskilled manpower, all kinds of raw materials in abundance, a good legal system, a huge market and potential to export virtually everything, provided cost of its inputs are kept at international levels. Still success is far away and still much more is required to be done to achieve its desired goals. Everything depends on how those in the realm of authority perceive and handle them. In India, there are many factors, which have made good governance difficult. As a developing nation, it is reeling between many internal contradictions like between prosperity-poverty, between plenty of resource endowments-scarcity of their management, between its culture of peace and tolerance-its tendency of sliding towards violence, intolerance and discrimination.

Somehow, by the late sixties, a spirit of frustration and despair with ‘development administration’ and with ‘development’ in general had set in. For one thing, it became evident that externally induced modernization had failed to eradicate the basic problems of under-developed, it purported to solve. Whilst some significant increase in GNP had indeed taken place, poverty, disease and hunger had either worsened or remained unaltered. The same could be said of the growing gap between the rich and the poor nations or between different social strata within a nation. By seventies, the decaying trends had become noticeable in all the nations of developing world. Events like the major industrial countries and a crisis of liberal democracy in the seventies and the early eighties have dampened most traces of early optimism.

Due to arbitrariness of few powerful groups or persons, lawlessness is prevalent all over the country. There is a sense of frustration, distrust, venom and agitation/violence amongst masses, which threatens to shake the whole system and its structures. General public has become so inured that any amount of harassment, violence, assaults on human dignity and human rights, bloodshed, caste-wars, carnage, riots, corruption, scams or scandals hardly fazes him anymore. One feels secure, until not affected personally, but how long?

The greatest damage to the nation has been done by intellectuals belonging to six main constituents of national elites of the country – political executive, legislators, businessmen, organized workers, surplus farmers and bureaucrats. In recent past, some unpleasant developments have taken place and are continuously happening in the character, role and inter-relationship of these groups. In such an atmosphere, it is not easy for upright bureaucrats responsible for the good governance of the country to give free and frank opinion to their political masters. For their own security and career prospects, they have to play safe. One of the main reasons behind it is that there is difference of opinion amongst decision making authorities about the issues to be tackled on priority basis and its possible solutions. Like “Four Blind Men and the Elephant”, different people and groups in power echelons or leaders of political parties perceive and project disparate parts of nation’s issues differently. Usually they ignore harsh realities/facts and see only those aspects of a problem what pleases them ignoring the root cause of the problems or bothering about the psyche of the common men. Damage is usually done by vested interests of various pressure groups, which usually form opinions on half cooked knowledge or incomplete data. They are interested in short term gains.

It is easier for the authorities to play on emotions of the populace rather than to make efforts address real issues. To divert mob attention from real issues, most of the politicians put emphasis on abstract ones based on the emotions of the people, like “Equity”, “Secularism”, “Social Justice”, “reservation” etc., which gives at-least some hope to the people. But the end result of all this is that instead of bringing prosperity, it has incited people to pit emotional venom against each other, bred in them intolerance, inflexibility, narrowness, unadulterated materialism or/and feeling of otherness/estrangement. The result is persistent backwardness and endemic instability.

REMEDY

Making civil service capable to serve development is not an impossible thing. It requires a development of administration itself. Development of Administration means “a pattern of increasing effectiveness in the utilisation of available means to achieve prescribed goals”. (E.H. Valsan – Development Bureaucracy – A Tentative Model) Administration mainly means increasing the effectiveness of the human resource of administration termed as personnel or civil service. For an effective development administration, the role of entire personnel system should be efficient. But relatively speaking, the role of the higher civil service or the managerial class of service is always more important, because in development administration, it can generate and apply with vision, values, ideas, plans and programmes necessary for the development of the nation as a whole. Mr. Bata K. Dey has rightly said, “By and large, for development administration, the bureaucrats of major interest are those, who occupy managerial roles, who are in some directive capacity in either central agencies or in the field, who are concerned with the policy and plans formulation, programme implementation and evaluation”. The directing services are obviously the higher generalist, specialist and managerial services.

An appropriate designing and sincere shaping of the civil service for making it an effective instrument for the required purpose can be done by: Renovating the Administrative structure; and Re-patterning the behaviour of civil servants. Behavioural changes in bureaucratic patterns are obviously more important. These dimensions can be achieved either
through reforms (structural) or through proper education and training of higher civil servants.

Apart from renovating the bureaucracy, the development of nation demands awareness and a sense of responsibility amongst masses as well. Political leaders need to find out honestly the real issues posing challenges before the government rather than wasting their efforts on peripheral/abstract issues for their short terms gains. Everybody together needs to make sincere efforts to address basic problems. Until and unless basic issues are analyzed and tackled sincerely and honestly taking the total scenario in view, it will be difficult for India to achieve the sustainable development of the nation as a whole.

Bureaucracy is the sovereign factor in public administration. It is also called manpower management, personnel management, labour welfare management and so on. But bureaucracy has wider meaning; it deals with classification, recruitment promotion compensation, discipline and retirement benefits of the personnel in government. It is a career service in the sense that its members take up public service as a lifetime occupation. Its members are skilled in the sense that they become expert in their profession due to continuous work experience. It is organized on the principle of hierarchy in which a chain of command stretches in a pyramid fashion from the lowest office to the highest. Neutrality that is its members serves different political regimes impartially. Anonymity that is its members works without praise or blame.

**IMMEDIATE SUGGESTIVE MEASURES**

1. **Implementation of Policy:**
   It is the most important and fundamental function of civil servants. They execute laws and policies to attain the goals of welfare state that is social equity economic development and so on.

2. **Formulation of Policy:**
   Formulation of Policy is the function of political executive. But civil servants have also come to play role in it. They aid and advise the ministers in policy making. Political executives being amateurs cannot understand the technical complexities of policies and hence depend upon the expert advice of professional civil servants.

3. **Delegated Legislation:**
   This is a quasi legislative function performed by the civil service. Due to lack of time, pressure of work and increased complexities of legislation the legislative makes laws in skeleton form and delegate’s power to the executive to fill in the details. Thus, civil servants make the sub-laws, rules and regulations, but within the limits of the parent law enacted by the legislature. Delegated legislation is also known as executive legislation or subordinate legislation.

4. **Administrative Adjudication:**
   This is a quasi judicial function performed by the civil service. The civil servants settle disputes between the citizens and the state. For this purpose, the Administrative Tribunals with judges are established. The Income Tax Appellate Tribunal, Industrial Tribunals, Rent Tribunals and Railway Rates Tribunals are some of the examples of such tribunals in India. These tribunals function outside the ordinary court system.

In addition to the above, the civil service also performs the following functions—Administrative planning, Administration of public enterprises a Assisting the ministers in fulfilling their responsibilities towards the parliament and its committees, handling financial operations of the stat reforming and improving administration through O and M and public relations.

**CHANGING ROLE OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION:**

As we had discussed earlier that the period of the 50's were a period of development where developing nations imitated developed nations administrative practices in order to develop but that was found to be unsuitable and in fact created a host of new problems and so the period of crisis of that theory began in late 60's and 70's when the CAG/Comparative Administration Group was formed.

Then began the period of rejection of the western ideas and prescriptions and develop their own practices suitable to them. These radical like Franck stated that the West were only interested in exploiting the developing countries and nothing else through their policies and funds in the name of development they were providing to the backward nations. This led to a shift in the strategies of the International Labour Organisation and World Bank towards the goal of 'growth with equity'. But this was termed as a new way of fooling the developing nations once more through bureaucratic stranglehold. But, the western practitioners stated that their principles and theories were the solution but they were not being implemented properly in these developing countries due to various reasons and that is the reason for their failure. The 1980's was a radical turn in the concept of Development Administration where scholars wanted administration to be flexible and people should be included in the process. Towards the 90's the very influential 'New Right Philosophy' sprung up which was neo-liberal(modern form of the liberal approach prevailing in earliest time of society) and also the Public Choice Theory(Discussed in previous articles on this blog) emerged that brought a new paradigm to the concept of Development Administration. This led to the Good Governance concept. New Public management also made a huge impact where it was suggested that administration should become more managerial and market based in its approach in order to survive and be efficient. It stated that the state cannot sacrifice social values for achieving efficiency and not go beyond its constitutional limitations.

Nowadays, the Discourse theory of Development Administration is doing the rounds that asserts that development administration should have two major criteria:

a) Human need based approach
b) Sustainable approach

They examined five strategies (liberal capitalism, communist strategy, liberation theology, Islamic fundamentalism, Sarvodhaya/socialist) to find out which one catered to both these criteria. It was found that Sarvodhaya was the only model that contained both the above criteria and if implemented properly will lead to optimum results in Development Administration. Sarvodhaya (social uplift) is being studied right now and if found can replace the current prevalent strategy which is Development Management and Good Governance Agenda.
CONCLUSION

Bureaucracy and development are two components of development philosophy if seen from an overview seem to possess opposing values (ideas) as Bureaucracy represents static or orthodox and rigid values while Development advocates dynamic (moving) values. Bureaucracy viewed by the Weberian model and other theorists pertains to same routine, unchanged and repeated procedures that enable it to continue, achieve its pre-established goals and handle its problems like a system without being influenced by external factors. Development as a concept on the other hand is seen as a phenomenon influenced by the concept of change and is quick to adapt and adjust to changes coming in through both external as well as internal factors on the way to development. It is the administrative process evolved for developing countries. And in the developing countries till now Bureaucracy by shedding its Weberian character is the only neutral, biggest existing and stable machinery that can achieve and lead the way towards the process of development in the developing countries. Therefore in the context of developing countries Bureaucracy and development are complementary and inter dependant instead of being hostile to one another for the purpose of Development Administration. In order to sensitise the bureaucracy for development processes it is suggested to provide them training in attitudinal changes and incorporate dynamic and social values in them to know the requirement, preparation of strategy and implementation of programmes in the present ecological setting in order to uplift the socio-cultural and economic status of the country. Bureaucracy, apart from its own duties like development policy formulation and implementation as well as educating people about the policies has been suggested to utilise their specialist knowledge in order to play the role of a friend, facilitator, coordinator, guardian, philosopher and guide to the factors like market and civil societies as well as other instruments of development administration (as listed above under the same heading) in the process of development and the bureaucrats have been asked to patiently assist people in the same. Therefore, as one can understand now that overall evaluation and implementation of Development Administration programmes are carried out by the Bureaucracy playing the leading role in developing nations.

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