BLOCK 2

CLASSICAL THINKERS

UNIT 3   WOODROW WILSON*

Structure

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 on the 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

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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 securityand 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

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 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

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) Explain 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 answer should include the following points:

- New Freedom Campaign.

- League of Nations.

- Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Check Your Progress 2

1)   Your answer 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

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.

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

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

ii)   Check your answers with that given at the end of the Unit.

1)   Why is 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 on 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 Foremen*

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*

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 Clerk • Instruction Card-Clerk • Time and Cost-Clerk • Shop Disciplinarian	• Gang Boss • Repair Boss • Speed Boss • Inspector

● *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

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

ii)   Check your answers with those given at the end of the Unit.

1)   Describe the principles of Taylor's Scientific Theory of Management.

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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

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

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the Unit.

1) Critically 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

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.

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* 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.

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, Co-ordination 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) Describe 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*

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:

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                    A
             B             H
          C                   I
       D . . . . . . . . . . . . . J
      E                            K
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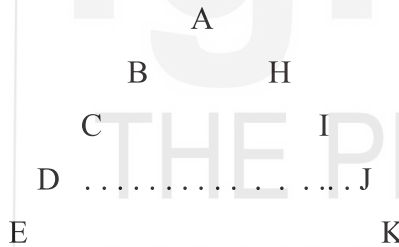
So, if 'D' follows the principle of communication and if 'D' has to communicate with 'J', then it has to follow all the five channels through 'C', ' B' and so on covering all the levels. It is, however, possible that through a 'gangplank' we cover or connect with our immediate superiors i.e., 'D' connects 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)   Explain the concept of 'Gangplank' and bring out its relevance.

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2) List the fourteen principles of administration.

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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

Gang plank   : 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. Classical 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

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

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 long-run 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 are fairly 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) Explain the meaning of the term "Bureaucracy".

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2) What is the historical context of Max Weber's Bureaucratic Model?

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3) Describe 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.

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 commitment among 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

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

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

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 mid-eighteenth 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 BUREAUCRACY

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 inter-personal 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

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

Arbitrary	:	A decision based on individual will rather than the rule of law.
Aristocracy	:	A form of government in which power is held by people on hereditary basis.
Bureaucratic Leviathan	:	The term 'leviathan' was used to refer to a sea 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 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 answer 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

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 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).

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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 Follett 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

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 and Urwick, 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 Follett, 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.

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

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   PLANNING AND 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:

1) **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 organisationwill 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 LEADERSHIP AS A NECESSARY 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 Follett, "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

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.

7.10 REFERENCES

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7.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1) Your answer should include the following points:

   ● Conflict is not a wasteful outbreak of incompatibilities.

   ● Domination.

   ● Compromise.

   ● Integration.

2) Your answer should include the following points:

   ● Four principles of giving orders.

   ● Important steps for forming habits.

   ● Depersonalising orders.

3) Your answer should include the following points:

   ● Achieving integration.

   ● Breaking up of the whole.

   ● Anticipation of conflict.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Your answer 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.

2) Your answer 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 answer should include the following points:

- Leaders are functional ones and not authoritarian.

- Three types of leadership.