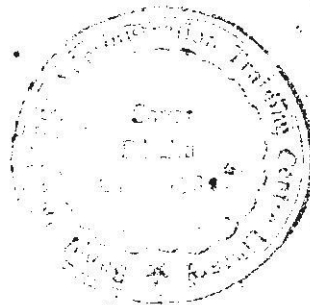


Transparency in Bureaucracy

Prepared by Group-A

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Gp. Capt. Mohiuddin Alamgir
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A Syndicate Study as Part of the 14th Senior Staff Course of BPATC.

P R E F A C E

The focal theme of Fourteenth Senior Staff Course is Transparency and Accountability in Administration. Pivotal to administration is the bureaucracy which, working between 'trickle down' and 'bottom up' concepts of development administration and economics, has drawn the attention of our Government. The focus as also the target is the people. Because the politicians envision, the bureaucrats enhance and the people entreat the promotion of public service, transparency in administration, more aptly, in bureaucracy is welcome. Assuming so, Syndicate Group 'A' has been given to study 'Transparency in Bureaucracy' and also to produce a paper on the subject.

The syndicate consists of the following five participants who have since long been working in the public sectors of GOB :

- * Syed Anwar Yusuf : Chief Engineer, Hydrology, BWDB.
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- * M. Enamul Haq : Addl Director, Deptt of Agriculture Ext. (Field Services Wing). Previous two appointments : Dy. Director, Horticulture, Horticulture Dev. Board and Addl Director, DAE, Ctg. Region).

Besides, the participants have held vital posts on secondment/deputation at home and/or abroad. They extensively drew on their resources to meet the contingencies of the assignment.

The task has been fairly challenging, no doubt. But BPATC also provided the software for the paper. The Rector's remote sensing, MDSs' counselling, Course Director's guidance, Facilitators' support and, probably, Dormitory No. 3's project sustainability (environment) did the job. Needless to emphasise that Syndicate Discussions, Workshops/Group Discussions under the guidance of the Faculty Members/Participants contributed largely towards the fulfillment of the task. MDSs always took pains to enrich the participants and Resource Persons delivered excellent ideas as well as study materials. BPATC Library has been bountiful for harvesting knowledge !

The Group is grateful to all who came in on the work and would like to acknowledge their help and assistance in the preparation of the Syndicate Paper.

Savar, March, 1992

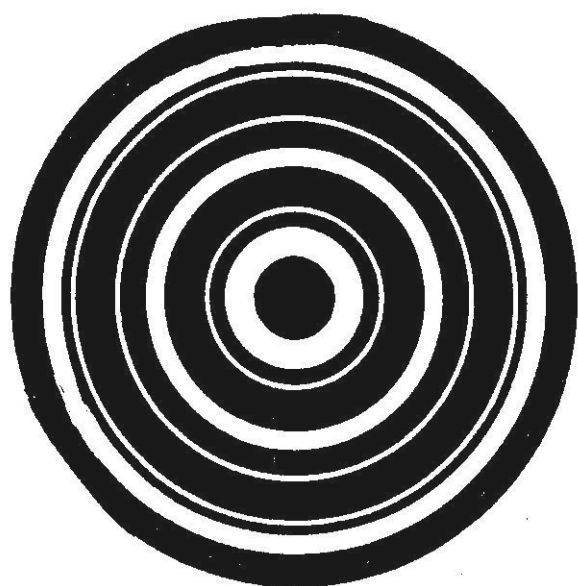
- Participants of Syndicate
Group 'A'

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SYNDICATE PAPER
ON
TRANSPARENCY IN BUREAUCRACY

BY
THE PARTICIPANTS
OF
GROUP 'A'

Fourteenth Senior Staff Course
21 Dec 91 - 08 Mar 92

Bangladesh Public Administration Training Centre (BPATC)
Savar, Dhaka - 1343

Syndicate paper prepared in partial fulfilment of the requirements for successful completion of the Fourteenth Senior Staff Course held at BPATC, Savar, Dhaka - 1343 during 21 Dec 91 to 08 Mar 92.

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Syndicate Supports

- 1.1 The field of enquiry - transparency in bureaucracy - as it appears to us, has not yet been probed either intensively or extensively. Current knowledge of it is therefore highly circumscribed. Public administration literature - science and art - zeroes in on the bureaucratic behaviour as the end product of governmental policy and dismisses the public behaviour as the mere recipient of bureaucratic favours or actions. To that extent transparency in bureaucracy relates to the bureaucratic behaviour in organization. "The administrative culture of the people - although linked with the bureaucratic behaviour - tends to remain out of focus."¹
- 1.2 The behavioural analysis of 'bureaucracy - public' group interactions tends to be more of sociological/social studies which vary from country to country, regime to regime, and, elusively though, from system to system.
- 1.3 The two key terms - transparency and bureaucracy - may be briefly defined operationally for facilitating the present discussion. The term transparency is employed here in the meaning 'appearing across' which is suggestive of 'visibility'

1. Anisuzzaman, M. Administrative Culture in Bangladesh : The Public Bureaucrat Phenomenon, published in Bangladesh studies : Politics, Administration, Rural Development and Foreign Policy, Edited by Khan, M M. & Husain, S.A. Centre For Administrative Studies, Dhaka University, 1985.

or 'openness' in the administration. The accepted norm of behaviour of the bureaucrats and the public locked up in interaction producing an action mutually satisfying is addressed to 'bureaucracy' as an institution in the present context. Open government and administrative culture help functioning democracy more meaningfully rather than merely being a sporadic exercise in voting by private citizens as tax payers. On the one hand, administration is to be responsible to the people's needs, aspirations and grievance, and the people, on the other hand, are expected to be eternally vigilant of the functioning of the administration. "An eternal and enlightened vigilance is, thus the best guarantee of democratic government."²

- 1.4 A major hypothesis of this paper is that it is impossible for any government to be transparent without involving both the bureaucrats and the politicians i.e. the representatives of the public. The people remaining outside the organization receiving goods and services that the bureaucrats are authorized to provide through delivery systems, is a proven criterion of administration. Finally, the bureaucrats, the politicians and the public are mediated by rules/regulations framed under legal authority of the state.

2. Roy, J.G. Open Government and Administrative Culture in India, published in The Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. IV, No. 1, Jan, 1990.

1.5 "Bangladesh has experienced a series of constitutional changes right from British period down to the present day. Some of the important constitutional reforms are the Act of 1919, Act of 1935, Indian Independence Act of 1947, Constitution of Pakistan 1956, Constitution of Pakistan 1962, Bangladesh Constitution 1972 and the subsequent Martial Law Proclamations, Orders and Regulations. Thus apparently there has been a tremendous change in public administration of the country each time. But in fact in public administration and more particularly in the field administration there had been little change throughout the period in forms and spirits with few exceptions like the Upazila (now defunct) scheme or the earlier Basic democracies system. Even these efforts are only devolution, deconcentration, decentralization or delegation of authority, while the basic formats of public administration remaining almost unchanged."³

1.6 The syndicate paper has been developed from the study of the bureaucratic systems of civil service regimes in country and, in special cases, from similar situations as obtaining in leading word democracies viz. India, USA. The votaries of the theme of this syndicate paper are some of the faculty

3. Rahman, S.R. Administrative Science Review Vol. XII, No. 4 (December 1982), pp. 51 - 63.

members of the BPATC who have helped develop the concept.⁴ To conclude, the paper is neither a survey report nor a complete research but an interpretation of the issues involved in the study. For its success the institution may be esteemed. However, its failures are alleged to the participants of Syndicate Group 'A'.

4. Muslim, S.N. Deputy Director, BPATC for 'Transparency in Bureaucracy : A Conceptual Framework' lecture notes and Mortuja, Q.A. Deputy Director, BPATC for 'Dynamics of Field Administration' lecture notes (BPATC/PPA/1479).

Part 1

Retrospection - Introspection

TRANSPARENCY IN BUREAUCRACY

Chapter - I

Introduction

1.1 The 'bureacratic system' is the opposite of the 'spoils system'¹. The latter is, indeed, no formal system of recruitment by an independent agency. In the spoils system it is through a prescribed procedure i.e based on prescribed qualifications, appointments are simply made at the will of those who are in position of authority. Obviously, such an spoils system could be definitely worse than the bureacratic system. According to Max Weber the very concept of bureacracy is the maintenance of high standards in administration. Hence, the study of the institution of bureacracy as an 'ideal-type' requires transparency in the matrices of modern administration.

1.2 Here, of course, the Parkinson's Law appears in all its full glory: "Bureaucracy goes on proliferating for its own sake rather than for the sake of work to be done for the people". What work do the people want to be done by the bureaucratic regime(s) of a particular time in a specific society ? Since the bureaucratic system is the hub of administration, what else could wield the reign of the government in a given state. In a 'welfare state' it is the bureaucracy that looks after governmental responsibilities, in relation to citizens 'from womb to tomb' or from 'cradle to grave'. The instrument of bureaucracy today assumes the responsibility for direct economic management of 'public enterprises'. Thus specialized bureaucracy has travelled into the realm of technology and taken charge of management in the wonder

1. A study of civil service regimes devotes a great deal of space to the description and analysis of system viz. British, German, French and US Civil Service. In reality, no regime can be reduced to a system.

world of technocracy. Economic development in the context of social change calls for planning, monitoring and evaluation of projects for national development. Maintenance of law and order, and collection of revenue having long been the thumbnail charter of duties for them, bureaucrats outshine all else as they have become ubiquitous .

- 1.3 The bureaucratic culture is, however, a pejorative expression. Bureaucratic evils are permeating in the world societies. Lately, Japan, by law, has laid down an absolute restriction on the size of bureaucracy. Margaret Thatcher reduced the size of the British Bureaucracy by a fair margin (10 to 20 percent). Even in India, restrictions have been imposed on fresh recruitment of bureaucrats; Pakistan initiated administrative reform during Late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's premiership. And, of course, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman too saw for himself the bureaucratic feet growing bigger than their shoes/sizes.
- 1.4 Following the trend of *outré* behaviour of the bureaucrats world over, public relations wings have been opened in several bureaucratic organizations to help the citizens in obtaining the services from government departments. In order to make bureaucracy answerable to democratic institutions, it has to appear before Committees of Parliament and Legislative Assemblies like the Public Accounts Committee and the Committee on Public Undertakings. At the field level bureaucracy is answerable to elected government institutions.²

"Spoils system" / "merits system" / "career system" are the culminations of a slow evolution due to transformations in the public mind and social behaviour, little though due to sudden social changes.

2. The British and the Indian (South Asian) bureaucratic regimes have grown separately, independently and discriminatively under the common

1.5 Malpractices in bureaucracy are being curbed by keeping vigilance machinery alert. Alas ! it has to be again inevitably manned by bureaucracy . The 'necessary evil' as the bureaucratic institution is termed, is to be looked upon as an essential institution in the modern state and has to be nurtured and strengthened to play its role effectively but in a manner responsible to people.

Union Jack, though. In the subcontinent , the field level bureaucracy did not evolve conceptually, ~~did not~~ exist practically at all. Whereas in the US public administration, field level bureaucracy remains a hot favourite of the people. People adore bureaucrats, and bureaucrats love people.

Chapter - II

Transparency in Administration : A Conceptual Framework

2.1 The developing countries do not satisfy the conditions necessary for a bureaucracy to develop in the traditional Weberian form. Such conditions include differential of functions, complexity of different sphere of various groups in the society.³ In the absence of strong political institutions, bureaucracy in the developing countries is likely to play a predominant role. The situation calls for maintaining a balance between political and administrative development. As regards transparency-accountability linkage in administration, the Weberian system is extremely handicapped because of its inflexibility. "Every bureaucracy seeks to increase the superiority of the professionally informed by keeping their knowledge and intentions secret" - Max Weber. From the fictional Cabinet Secretary's mouth in 'Yes Minister', we hear, "Open Government is a contradiction in terms. You can be open or you can have government". - Sir Arnold Robinson.

2.2 The public bureaucracy is considered to be a sub-system of the political system in which it operates. Therefore, the behaviour of the sub-system is bound to be shaped by the nature of the political system. Bureaucracy plays a more predominant role in policy-making function in a parliamentary system than in a presidential system. Bureaucracy/bureaucratic organization has more interaction with the political system than with the economic or socio-cultural system. "The environment of bureaucracy may be visualised as a series of concentric circles, with bureaucracy

3. The civil service regime of a country is closely linked with its political and social conditions. Therefore, the new states - particularly those attaining independence from the colonial powers/legacies, consciously try to adapt to their own resources, needs and mentality.

at the centre.* The small circle generally has the most decisive influence and the largest circle represents a descending order of importance as far as bureaucracy is concerned. We may visualise the largest circle as representing all of the society or the general social system. The next circle represents the economic system or the economic aspects of the social system. The inner circle is the political system : it encloses the administrative sub-system and bureaucracy as one of its elements" (Ferrel Heady). However, interaction between the bureaucracy and the political system varies through time and cross-nationality. For example, Marle Fainsod has outlined five patterns of bureaucracies : representative bureaucracies, party-state bureaucracies, military dominated bureaucracies, ruler dominated bureaucracies and ruling bureaucracies. This clearly reflects the character of the political role of the bureaucracy in different political systems.

2.3 The 'civic culture' of a country helps developing the bureaucracy.

F.W. Riggs maintains that improved administrative technology cannot make the administration effective unless it is adequately directed by a "mature political process capable of exerting its will on the bureaucracy". Therefore, efficient administration is dependent on the growth of strong political institutions which can provide resources for and exact performances from each other. In the absence of strong political institutions and functionally specific interest groups, bureaucracy will monopolise the power of these groups and thereby will reduce its effectiveness as policy-implementing body. Extra-bureaucratic institutions must be strengthened to increase the effectiveness of the bureaucracy. Ferrel Heady also maintains, "when the bureaucracy monopolises political power, it actually retrogresses in its capacity to make productive use of available resources".

* See Annex I

Chapter - III

Organization : Transience of Bureaucracy

3.1 Revolutionary attempts to transform organization at all levels of management is the order of the coming ad-hocracy.⁴ There is scarcely an important department or ministry in the government of the technological nations that has not undergone successive organizational change in recent years. 'Most organizations have a structure that was designed to solve problems that no longer exist' (John Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Washington, 1965). The 'self-renewing' organization, he defined as one that constantly changes its structure in response to changing needs. Organizational change-self-renewal, as Gardner puts it - is a necessary, an unavoidable response to the acceleration of change. With each change, he must reorient himself.

The high rate of turnover is most dramatically symbolized by the rapid rise of what executives call 'project' or 'task force' management. Here teams are assembled to solve specific short-term problems. This is unlike the functional departments or divisions of traditional bureaucratic organization, which are presumed to be permanent; the project or task force team is temporary by design. Aerospace industries viz. the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, the National Aeronautics and Space Agency, are legendary organizations to cite examples. The project 'proposal' by 'the pre-proposal project team' and the 'proposal writing teams' are often available together for a few weeks only. Once the proposal is submitted, the teams are disbanded. The project team that worked for

4. Ad-hocracy refers to transient teams, whose members come together to solve a specific problem and then separate. They are particularly

about a year and a half, perhaps, to gather data and analyze the job even before the govt formally requested for it consisted of approximately one hundred people borrowed from various functional divisions of the company.* Such prompt actions are possible because task forces and other ad-hoc groups are now proliferating throughout the govt and business bureaucracies in advanced countries. Incidentally, USAF System Command at Dayton, Ohio, runs a school to train executives for project management.

So long as a society is relatively stable and unchanging, the problems it presents to man tend to be routine and predictable. Organizations in such an environment can be relatively permanent. But when change is accelerated, more and more novel first-time problems arise, and traditional forms of organization prove inadequate to the new conditions. Politically speaking, the movement is from bureaucracy to ad-hocracy. In this, phenomenon, one of the identifying characteristics of bureaucracy, is undermined; and thus we are driven to relentless conclusion : migration from organizational structure to organizational structure. Unless bureaucrats break through from the 'routine' to the 'non-routines' programmes, they remain under finesse.

3.2 Having shedded elected bureaucrats apart, (viz. mayors of city corporations, for example) governmental bureaucrats have to face private/corporate/business bureaucrats proving the efficiency of laissez-faire economy built on the elassical nation of competitive individualism. Anything that is not individual has been made a suspect at best and an evil at its worst. Suffice it to say, that governmental bureaucracy has been characteristic of science and help account for the kinetic quality of the scientific community. Its members are constantly on the move organizationally, if not geographically.

* Refers to the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation.

identified as an essential evil not without some such legacy, and business (private/corporate) bureaucracy has largely escaped attack by successfully personifying itself.

- 3.3 Governmental bureaucracy has further been subjected to the calculated assault and on-slaught by the power of technocrats within and/or without the government in collaboration with the military in key positions, particularly in LDCs. Thus the technocrat breed of bureaucracy and the military bureaucracy jointly outplay governmental bureaucracy to confront the political hierarchy which is supposed to be the core of the concentric pattern of the development of the government in charge of the state mechanism.* It is the duty of the party (political) bureaucracy to protect governmental bureaucracy from the obvious polarisation of technocrat-military power base(s). "For, legal authority is not only the most advanced type of legitimate authority, but also the most relevant to modern bureaucracy".

Chapter - IV

Transparency in Bureaucratic Administration: Bangladesh Perspective

4.1 "A house divided against itself cannot stand", (Lincoln, A. Speech 18 June, 1858) may well be the plight of Bangladeshi bureaucracy today. It is the bureaucrats themselves who cannot win the unanimous support of the people, cannot be efficient i.e. profitable, and cannot successfully pursue the equity goal i.e. providing for the economic protection of the people even in the permeation of democracy. Also the impersonal character of the government makes our bureaucracy an unlikely folk hero. Governmental bureaucracy suffers from lack of business entrepreneurship. The erratic pattern of business investment in macroeconomic management is attributed to governmental bureaucracy. The gap between the marginal efficiency of capital and the cost of capital is expected to be closed by investment; new technology and new products are expected to be ushered in by investment. However, investment here seems to have some element of 'creative destruction'. Since investment typically comes in waves, investment booms lead to excess capacity. Hence, the question whether a bureaucratized economy can cope up with this problem better than an individualistic economy.

4.2 Modern bureaucracy is expected to exercise rationality equating with efficiency. Professional bureaucrats appreciate that politicians are basically amateurs and therefore expected to be figureheads in the hierarchy of governmental organizations. Yet the bureaucrats cannot accept politicians drafting their favourite lawyers, businessmen, and

other talents from outside the bureaucracy to run the administration in an impervious manner. Indeed, politicians have learned the easy way and effective method of breaking the seemingly solid bureaucratic system. Once the personnel matters are in the hands of politicians, the bureaucrats' job security and neutrality is virtually lost. Lately, of course, it has transpired that some senior bureaucrats have used their bureaucratic career as a stepping-stone to a political one. This has lowered the morale of bureaucrats, resulting in a lower quality of operability in the cohesive politico-bureaucratic climate of governance.

4.3 The issue remains whether today's bureaucracy in Bangladesh is better than older forms. Is today's bureaucracy conducive to effective mass administration? Rationality in bureaucratic environment is brought to bear the brunt here. Bureaucracy's strength is perfection; this perfection, however, could also be considered its greatest weakness. The tendency to eliminate anything and all that does not follow the established model (ideal-type) is erroneous. The bureaucratic organizations cannot operate in a vacuum, completely separate from the constantly changing internal and external conditions. On the contrary, adaptation through active participation in the environment is a must for bureaucracy. Social conditions form this environment, and it is hardly possible to keep a bureaucratic system free from the outside influence of the changing society. Historical changes which took place in 1971 and socio-political upheavals of 1989 in Bangladesh have overbearing effects on the bureaucratic system of the country. Such developments of geo-political and socio-economic nature have corresponding influence on the monolithic

character of the bureaucratic institutions which, of necessity, must make slow but steady structural adjustments and orientate themselves with mass communicative strategies of public administration.

4.4 Bureaucracy arranges, instead, a language barrier around itself. One-directionality and casualty are the two major characteristics of bureaucracy, and lately of computer being an advanced case. Agenda-setting within bureaucracies tends to favour those with wealth, power, expertise, time and information. Bureaucracy also subverts politics within and outside itself. This duality consists in the institution of bureaucracy being political on the one hand, and the exercise of power being a bureaucratic act on the other hand.* People's participation in nation building programmes is further hampered by the self-destructive impulses within modern bureaucracies of LDCs. Bureaucracy, initially an exemplary pulpit of leadership on pre-existing problems, becomes in the longrun a leadership trap. Bureaucracy remains preconstructed and unchanged in the polity and its leadership pattern follows ethos of anonymity in the selfsame dialectical relationship with politicians.

4.5 Identification of bureaucratic order with impersonality leads to a serious decrease in organizational potential when manifold human abilities are corbed to fit a pre-established model or matrix. The large number of people who are looking for innovations, instead, witness threatening invasion of their hopes and aspirations (human elements) in the widening gap between the ruling political elite and the bureaucratic bulwark. In this study too Bangladesh bureaucrats

* See Annex - II

cannot rise from languid slump . The process of intellectual slump leads to the conspiracy of mediocrities, which means mediocre people dominate, the more ambitious and enterprising individuals get eliminated from bureaucratic institutions. Thus the cause of innovators and organizational non-conformists becomes hopelessly subordinated to the cause of mediocrities who provide status quo. In the long run there is a growing cleavage between the surviving bureaucrats and the changing environment. The complex organizations run by mediocrities become mediocre in themselves. The process of institution building turns out to be sordidly painful and destructive investment of resources.

4.6 Myopic bureaucracy causes the ~~estrangement~~ of the institution from the realistic needs of society. The symptoms of the estrangement process become crystallized (transparent) in a number of ways :

- a. Selection and promotion occur according to 'loyalty' and not productivity.
- b. Organizations tend to be larger to perpetuate the 'conspiracy of mediocrity'.
- c. Big enterprises influence the market, manipulate governments, as well as their own shareholders, and do as they please with their profits.
- d. The management changes/degenerates from leadership to manipulation.
- e. At the expense of the public, social and economic programmes serve the interest of politicians to stay in power and the bureaucratic execution of power becomes an end in itself.
- f. Opportunistic inclination rather than creative spirit in educational and cultural institutions prop and proliferate rituals, gradually displacing missions.

- g. Bureaucratic interest to polemize disquieting situations to find selfactualization in work follows.
- h. The law of sinecure and success to move up in the bureaucracy operates.* The separation of bureaucracy (establishment) from society wanes their influence on the young generation.

Bureaucratic anomie and malaise split human relations along to organizational lines, spread impersonality and anonimity, impose the procedural approach to all problems, idolize the institution over and above human good, enforce rigidity, and substitute sincere commitment for goal fulfillment by the pretentious manipulation of facts, material and human beings. This power of bureaucracy depends on the ability to counter-vail and rival socio-political forces, as well as to achieve internal cohesiveness.

- 4.7 One of the obstacles in the introduction of reforms is the fact that bureaucracies constitute a conglomeration of various interrelated power groups which are in constant disagreement but are all vitally interested in the preservation of the existing order. Anything that may seriously endanger this order appears to them suspect and risky; therefore various interest groups join coalitions oriented against the reform. For example, the Upazila system (1983) faced strong opposition at the induction stage not only from major political parties but also from within the bureaucracy. In the wake of abolition of the upazila system (1992) major political parties in the opposition advocate for retention of the upazila system. Interestingly, the bureaucrats who disfavoured the idea of manning Upazila positions sacrificing the comfort of urban life, have become

* See Annex - III

vocal to preserve this sub-system of local Govt. The political approach of the opposition parties in this situation is to win the sentiments of rural electorate; the bureaucratic approach is to wield power through administrative sub-systems that sprawl out into the countryside, and the political party in power (govt.) translates into action the means of staying in power for fulfilling their objectives. The primordial society of the rural Bangladesh may have to content itself either with the Upazila at times or with Union Parishad and/or Gram Shaskar sub-systems of governance from time to time. 'The play within the play' (Shakespeare) reveals that people are alienated from the administration which as a machinery survives in mediocrity climate, and politics whirls in a pool of marsh. The bureaucratic institution being perfectly weak and remaining in pure mediocrity, cannot rise from languid slump. In here, people's participation is a distant cry - a cry in the wilderness !

- 4.8 From the above quagmires of political manoeuvres to stay in power (and also to win back power when displaced) and the bureaucratic impersonality as well as rationality to sprawl the network (however inefficient) of administration, it transpires that people (for whom they are called 'public servants') are rendered directionless. The result is obvious, and depicted in the canvas (murals) of the rural Bangladesh of today.

Part 2

Passivism - Activism

Chapter - VBureaucratic Policymaking and Risk Taking vis-a-vis Bureaupathology

- 5.1 As a universal hallmark the skills of bureaucracy are specialization, fragmentation, and access and group action. Specialization stems from the increasing frequency of complexity and technicality of policy issues and problems. Policy formulation would therefore call for expertise which is not the sole province of the bureaucracy. Fragmentation leads to functional specialization originating with the emphasis on checks and balances and separation of powers among the branches of government. The result of this fragmentation is a process in which agencies, indeed all parts of government, act as interest groups in pursuit of their own objectives. 'Access and group action' refers to the roles that administrative agencies play in providing channels of contact and inquiry through which groups or organized segments of the public can pursue and influence policy formulation by making their views known.
- 5.2 Bureaucratic responsiveness has capacity to regulate the pressure system (external and internal). Bureaucratic risk taking should come into play here. Extraordinary action, generally resisted by the persons in charge, taken by a public servant who commits the government to a profitable course of action, blocks the execution of an illegal or immoral order, or exposes corruption, deceit, or an unlawful act taking place within the bureaucracy.*

* See Annex VIII, p 74, entry 'bureaucratic risk taking'.

5.3 Against these norms of bureaucracy we may examine the pathological or dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy. The symptoms are :

- a. Exaggeration of the official non-technical aspects of relationships and suppression of the technical and the informal.
- b. Stress on rights, not abilities. (A feeling of insecurity insistence on prerogatives/protocols/procedures).
- c. Effecting minor changes in the wording of a document.
- d. Insistence on exclusive contact with the counterpart at a higher organization level . Thereby controlling communication channel, authority and influence were retained at higher echelon.

Chapter - VI

In Defence of the Bureaucracy

6.1 Bureaucratic oppositions i.e. challenging abuses at the workplace/work setting, are formidable - to say the least. The phenomenon that 'all goals and sub-goals are not shared' i.e. there is disagreement about whether certain goals are to be pursued, and administrators do not always act rationally (opposed to Weberian characteristic of rationality). Bureaucrats want higher incomes, promotions, discretionary authority, security and a variety of work place amenities. They will promote these goals in the context of the institutional setting in which they find themselves. For, they follow the axiom, "There is no such thing as a free lunch". In newly emerged third world countries (ex-colonies) the politicians dicker and bicker, the bureaucrats run the government, Political instability leads to an increase in public disorders - demonstrations, strikes, and riots etc; the bureaucracy pays lip service to the democratic process of decision making by the legislature. The bureaucrats - committed to economic development apprehend failure to meet the national goals. The military leaders become increasingly restive also - well aware that military forces must either be backed by a strong economy or be overly dependent on support from foreign governments. As the legislative bodies get weaker, a rule by the civil and military elite follows. Though the control of the instruments of force remains with the military, the bureaucracy too settles on power sharing instead of 'impersonal-rational' duties of office. Academics and journalists let a 'kibitzer'* take over the entire game.

* A German word. By definition, a 'kibitzer' is not responsible for the consequences of his advice and therefore cannot be expected to have the degree of commitment/task etc commensurate with the importance of the policy proposal involved.

- 6.2 Bureaucrats are such a make that problems do not exist (for them) until they have appeared. As a result, their advice tends to come late, rather too late. They also prefer abstractions to concrete facts. Though their minds are sensitive to new stimuli, they get easily bored by repetitions. However, they keep believing that they have more influence on real world politics than they actually have. So they remain earnest kibitzers.
- 6.3 Bureaucrats content themselves with gimmick, follow rules of bureaucratic business, adopt principles of non-responsibility, adhere to the law of sinecure, lean on research tycoonism, develop executive escape hatch and turn out management magicians. Thus a 'country gets the government which it deserves'. Upto this point bureaucratic rule may expedite national development. In a bipolar division of political power between a weak political party in power and a hard military force, the denizens of bureaucratic elite survive all and sundry.
- 6.4 In short absence of true democratic environment, lack of awareness reflect poorly on the orientation of the bureaucracy in LDCs.

Chapter - VIITowards a New Culture of Administrative Openness

- 7.1 To bring the ethos of our administration in tune with the requirements of an open government, we should remember that in bureaucracies everyone is a role player within a limited sphere. Thinking from a systems perspective, bureaucracy is only one of the subsystems interacting to carry out its functions. Bureaucracy cannot act in isolation from people and political institutions.
- 7.2 A look at the following dichotomies of bureaucratic understandings and misunderstandings is well worth :
- a. Socially bureaucrats deal with people < deal with cases.
 - b. Culturally bureaucrats care about communion < care about control and efficiency.
 - c. Psychologically bureaucrats are people like us < are personality type.
 - d. Linguistically bureaucrats speak the open language < speak their own secret language.
 - e. Politically public bureaucracies are service institutions < are control institutions.

Thus bureaucracy tends to be radically different from life and society.*
 Bureaucracy has been modelled as a means of transforming social action into rationally organized action (cf. Oxbridge bias, ICS/CSP cult).
 In a developing country like Bangladesh inculcating right attitudes

* Max Weber. Ref Annex V.

among the bureaucrats in the context of open government is absolutely necessary. Training of public functionaries must be the first major step in resolving the dichotomies scribed above. Training of trainers, preparation of material for pre-service, in-service and special orientation programmes, and periodical evaluation of training programmes and training methods are recommended. For, habits often inhibit actions.

7.3 Drastic amendments in the Conduct Rules for Government servants would have to be made to enable them to disseminate to the people as much information as possible. The Government servants Conduct Rules, 1979 forbids sharing of official secrets with a fellow government servant, not to speak of any member of the public. The Official Secrets Act, 1923 permits communication of official matters only on 'need to know' basis. The 'development psyche' of officials determines largely their endeavour to disseminate information to the people who need it. However, the tendency to withhold information works as an impediment to open government mass communication system.

7.4 Administrative culture of openness is also the prime responsibility of the Council of Ministers. Civil service anonymity also requires to be reviewed in the context of parliamentary form of government which cannot afford to be inhospitable to people who want to participate in micro and low level development, administration and welfare programmes.

7.5 Unnecessary over classification of documents make the administrative functionaries susceptible of 'leakology'*. The delicate play between 'leak'** and 'brief' for bureaucrats versus politicians mar the working

* 'Leakology' is a formal word for Watergate, Contra type disclosures.

** What the bureaucrat calls 'leak', the politician calls it 'brief'.

A dichotomy between bureaucratic and political approach to the issue.

relationships of the executives and public leaders both in line and staff functions. A comprehensive public relations policy aiming at openness in government's functioning, and a flow of information, are the two needs of the time.

7.6 The balance of such initiatives may be achieved if the leadership of our politicians (political executives) and the adjustability of our bureaucrats (administrative executives) in the backdrop of socio-economic and politico-cultural pluralism interlock. However, both parties should be mindful of the pitfalls of their new initiatives. For, the constraints of openness in government are due to :

- a. Lack of orientation.
- b. Lack of education and awareness.
- c. Colonial legacy and old habits.
- d. Absence of true democratic environment.
- e. Rise of non-conformists and dictatorial powers.*

The mass movement of 1989 in Bangladesh has manifested that people are aware of the abuses of democratic principles by an autocratic power which with the help of ambitious bureaucrats (with a bias of technocracy cum ad-hocracy) and non-conformists military junta played the role of kibitzers.^{**} The question is: 'who will keep the keepers themselves'. The survival orientation of civil service from the crisis of conscience lies between means to means (efficiency) and means to end (effectiveness of governance).

* The mood is specially against military intrusions in politics. Ref Annex VI.

** Ref Annex VII.

7.7 Administrative reforms in the civil service of Pakistan (1948-1964)

were contemplated time and again; in 1953 Rowland Egger prepared a report on 'The Improvement of Public Administration'; in 1955 Gladieux made a study on 'Reorganization of Pakistan Government for National Development' (Vol. 1. Part-III; Chapter-VI, First FYP). In December, 1958 Administrative Reorganization Committee (ARC)* under the chairmanship of a senior officer from the Police Service, five members from the CSP and one from the Audit and Accounts Service put up its recommendations to the Govt of Pakistan. In 1962 under the chairmanship of Justice A R Cornelius, Chief Justice of Pakistan Supreme Court, the 'Pay and Services Commission' (PSC) submitted its report to President. In 1973 Bhutto's Administrative Reforms were introduced in Pakistan which, inter alia, compelled CSPs to concede their carefully nurtured power bastion against any reform of administration.

* Note that in a committee of seven, five were CSPs. The military (Ayub regime) and the top bureaucracy (CSP elite) came in league against the nonchalant politicians of Pakistan.

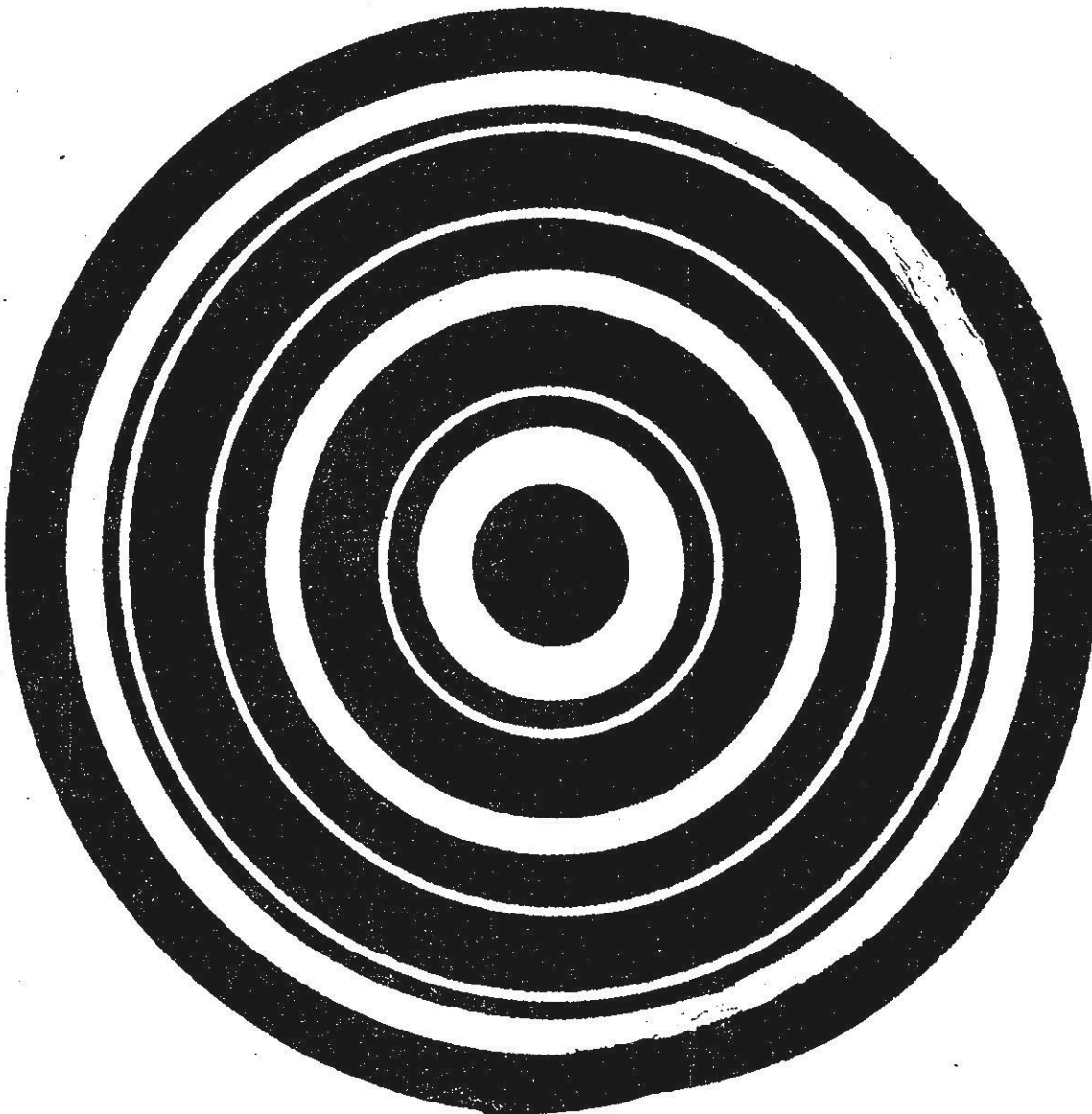
Chapter - VIIIConclusions

- 8.1 Democracy assumes that citizens can hold government officials accountable for what they do. By shielding official action from public knowledge and review, secrecy makes such accountability impossible. Citizens can scarcely influence decisions they know nothing about. Where secrecy reigns, government officials are in a position to rule virtually at their own discretion.
- 8.2 The media of communication can help clear opacity of government systems and sub-systems (of administration) being more communicative, and encouraging the bureaucrats from being less anonymous in conformity with press, publication, evidence and vindication rules of conduct for the government servants.
- 8.3 The Parliament, courts and the Ombudsman (Article 77 of the Constitution) too operate on the principle that there are large areas of apolitical government activity which do not threaten the government's authority and prestige. The Ombudsman need only inspect those authorities which he believes are unsatisfactory.
- 8.4 Sensitive matters of defence, finance, trade and commerce may well be treated otherwise with due regard to public service and state secrecy. However, 'management government must mean abandonment of the present introspective habits of secrecy'.

- 8.5 The frustrated public keeps urging the government to do more, and the government responds to the pressure by increasing the size of its bureaucracy. Politicians try to get things done quickly bypassing the bureaucracy to remove public's discontent. As a result, public demands fail to be implemented into effective policies, and lack of planning persists.
- 8.6 Government has no business to run business. It must encourage the private sector to produce goods and services, employment, and public's savings for future investments. This would promote people's participation as interest groups. The bureaucrats are overburdened with responsibilities and tasks; at the same time they are underused in their capacities to act as counsellors and planners.
- 8.7 Emulating the instance of traditional bureaucrats, Bangladeshi bureaucrats defend and protect the selfish interests of its elite in the face of impending reforms to solve their dichotomous position between the people and the politicians.
- 8.8 Bangladeshi bureaucrats must keep pace with fast growing technology of economic partners. For, technocrats have already taken the lead over bureaucrats in the Western World, and in Japan. The accelerative thrust in the realm of information has proliferated the Ad-hocracy of the adaptability of organizations; but it strains the adaptability of men.*

* a dichotomous situation between the adaptability of organizations and the adaptive burden on individuals (reared and educated for life in a slow-paced social system) manifests clearly. It is here that the danger of future shock lies. Ref Annex IX - XIII -

FIGURE-1



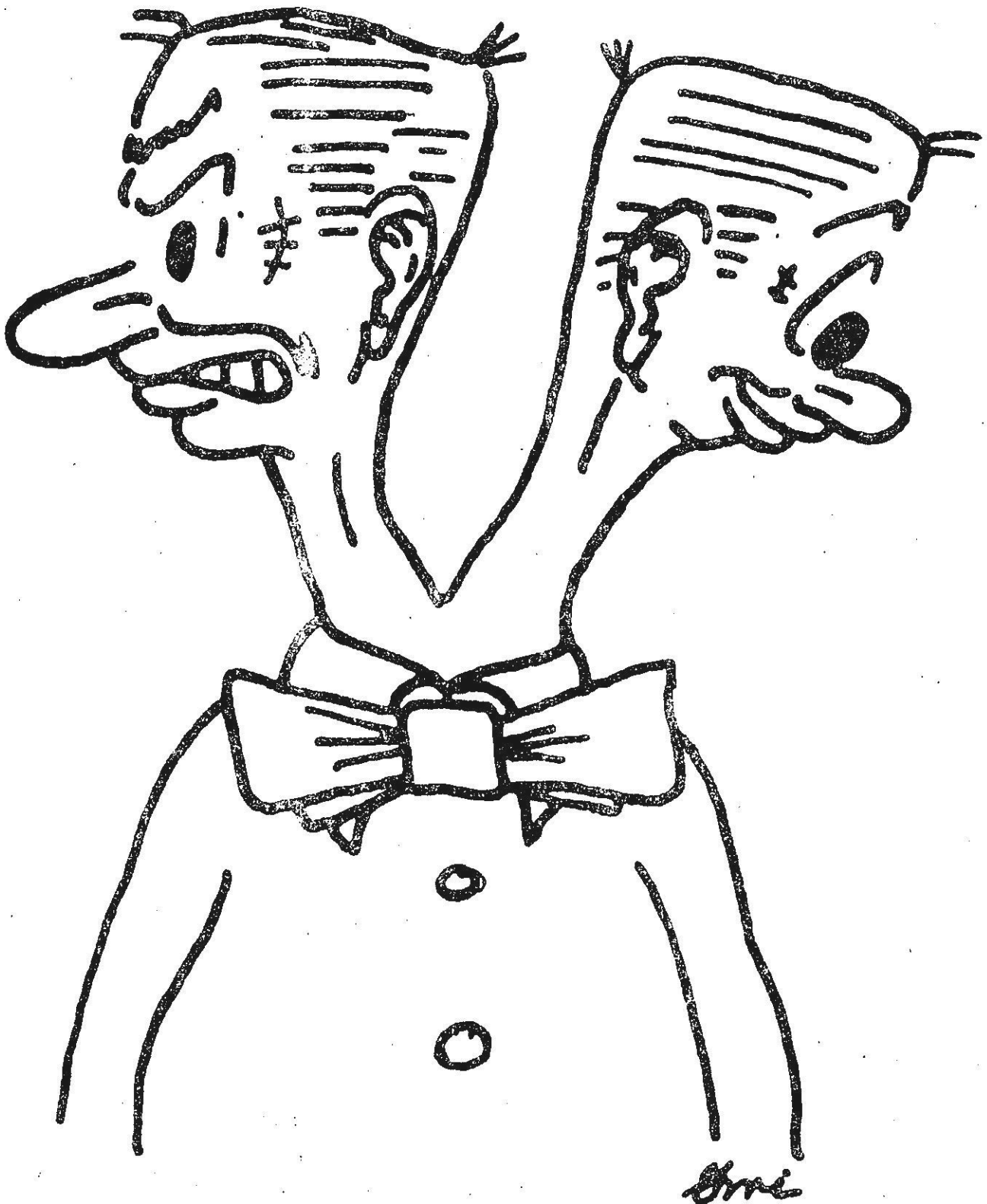
WHAT DO THE THICK WHITE CIRCLES REPRESENT IN THIS CONTEXT ?

FIGURE-2



WHO AM I, GUESS ?

FIGURE-3



IS THERE A DUALITY OR A DICHOTOMY IN ME ?

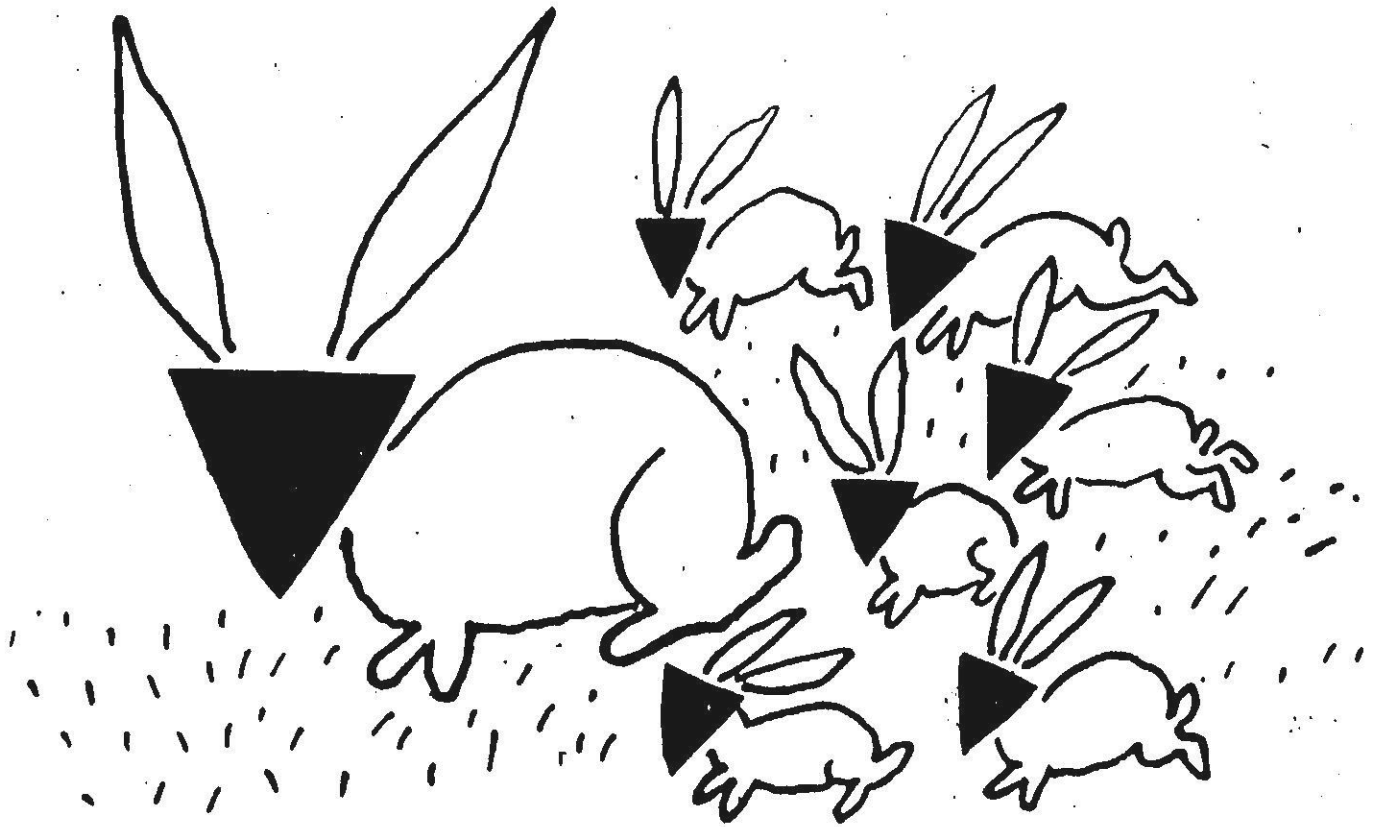
FIGURE-4



LIBRARY
Public Administration
Training Centre
Bhavnagar.

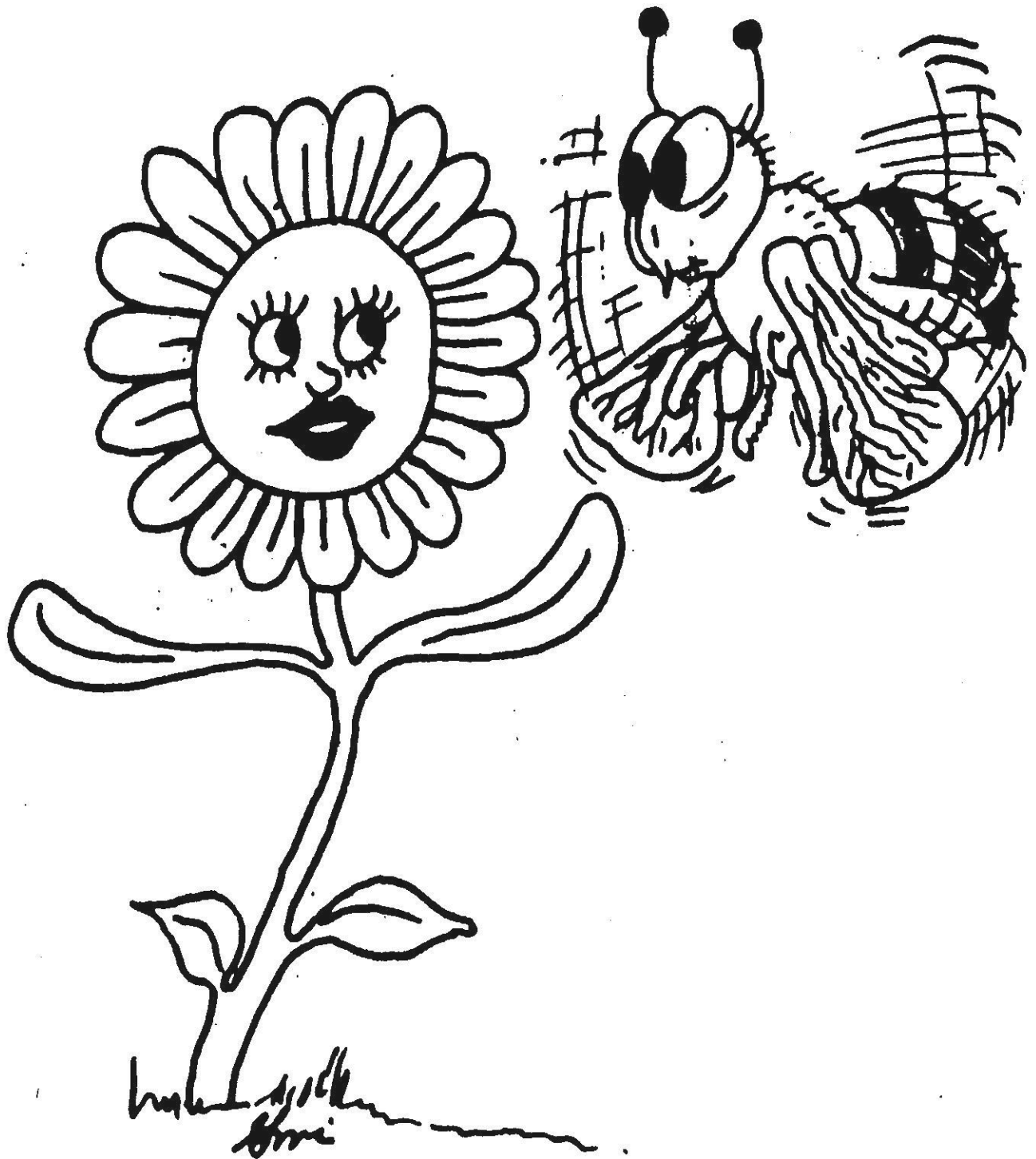
SINECURE AND SUCCESS I

FIGURE-5



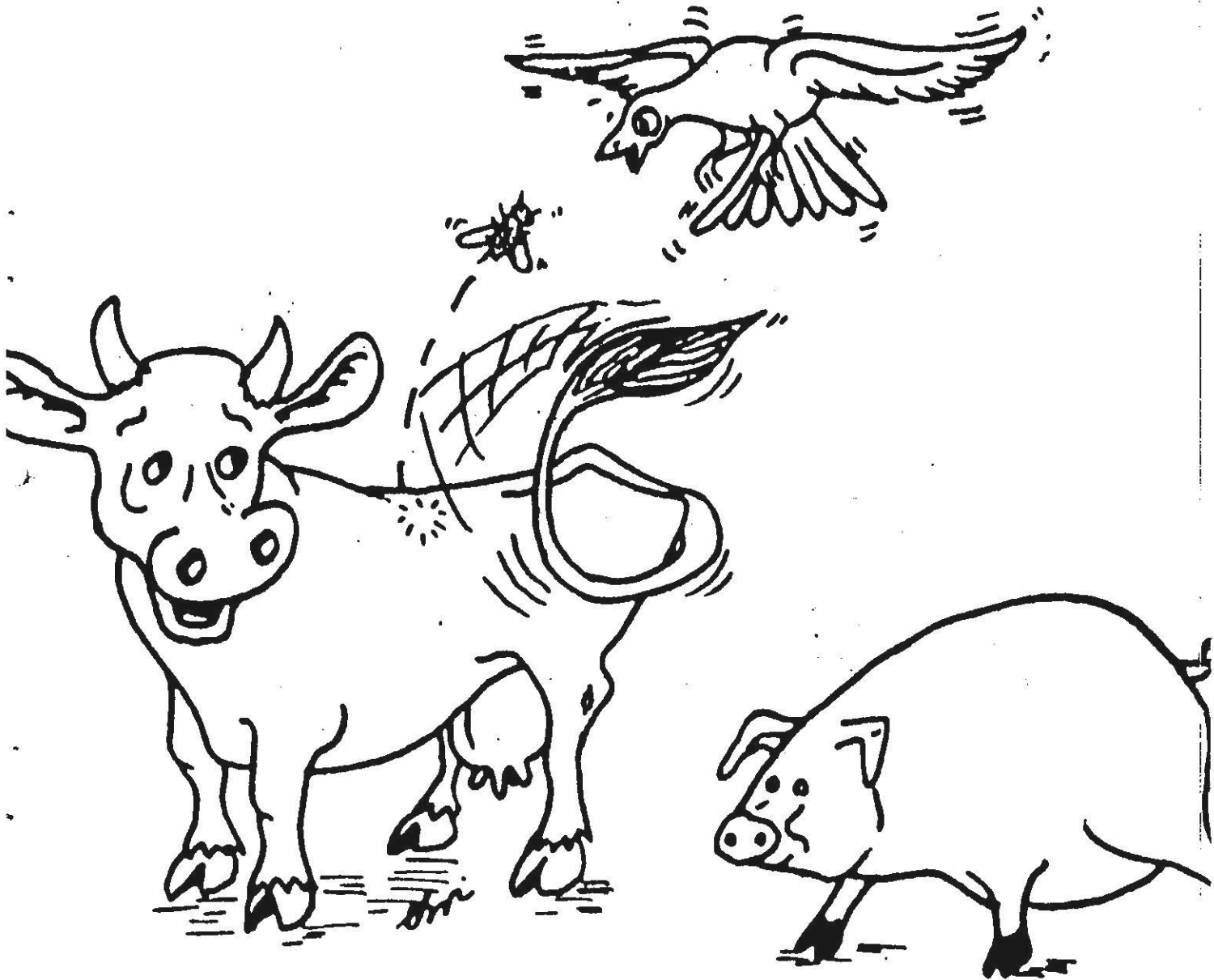
THE CHOIR OF MY COTERIE, INDEED.

FIGURE-6



A CONSPIRACY OR A ROMANCE ?

FIGURE-7



HEADING FOR A NEW GROUND I

FIGURE-8



THE
FACTS ON FILE
DICTIONARY
OF

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

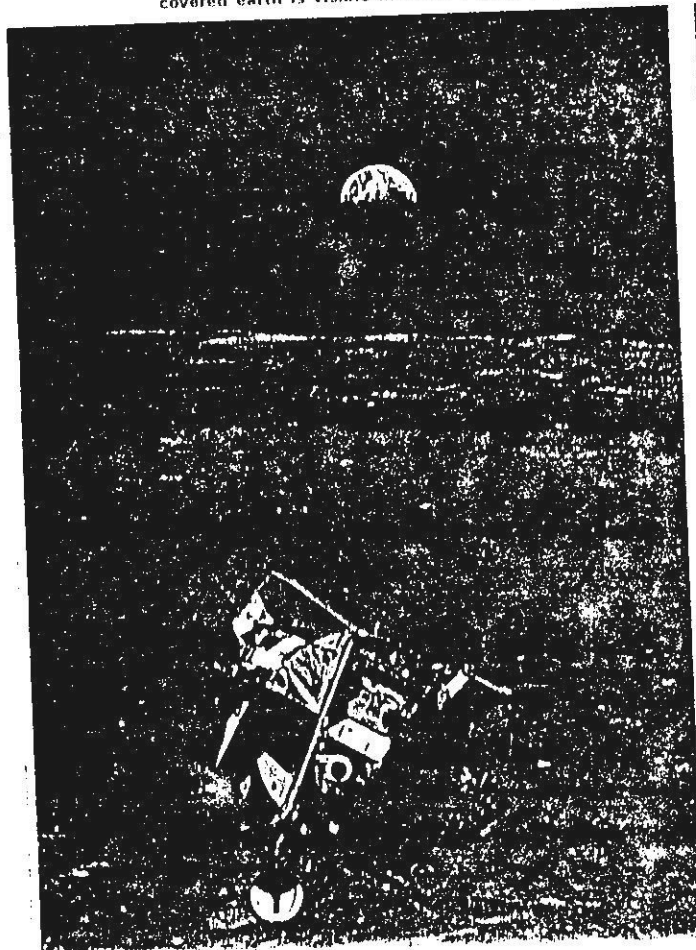
JAY M. SHAFRITZ

RECOMMENDED READING.



Apollo 11 astronauts Armstrong and Aldrin were the first men to land on the moon, on July 20, 1969. They took this photograph from a height of 101 km (63 mi). Twisting rilles and many craters are visible. Dark object at left is part of lunar module.

Lunar module, after leaving the moon, is about to re-join command module piloted by Michael Collins. Cloud-covered earth is visible in moon's black sky.



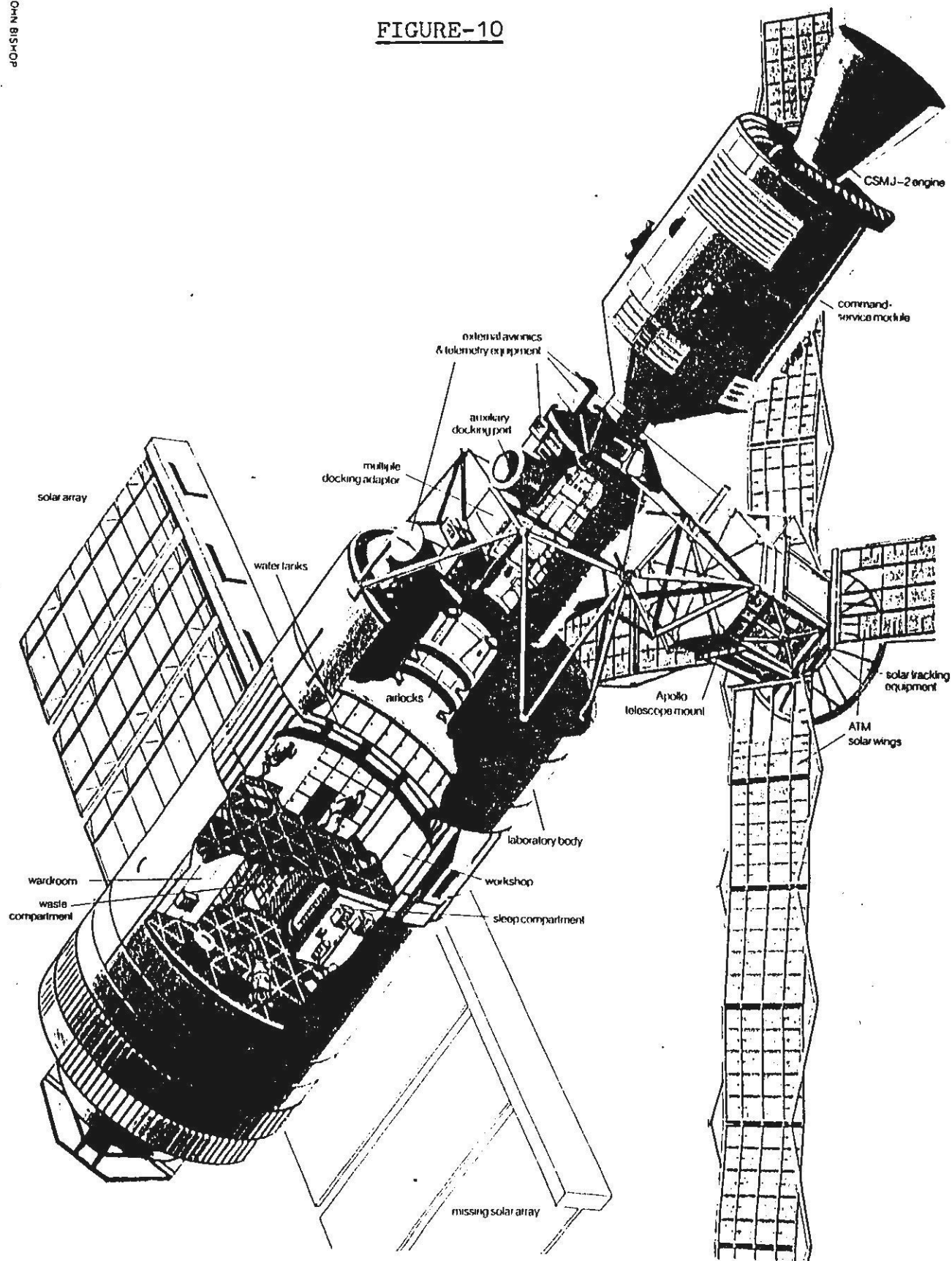
Lunar module of Apollo 11 landed on Sea of Tranquility. Aldrin stands on sea's pitted surface. Visor reflects his shadow, figure of Armstrong, and lunar module.



FIGURE-9

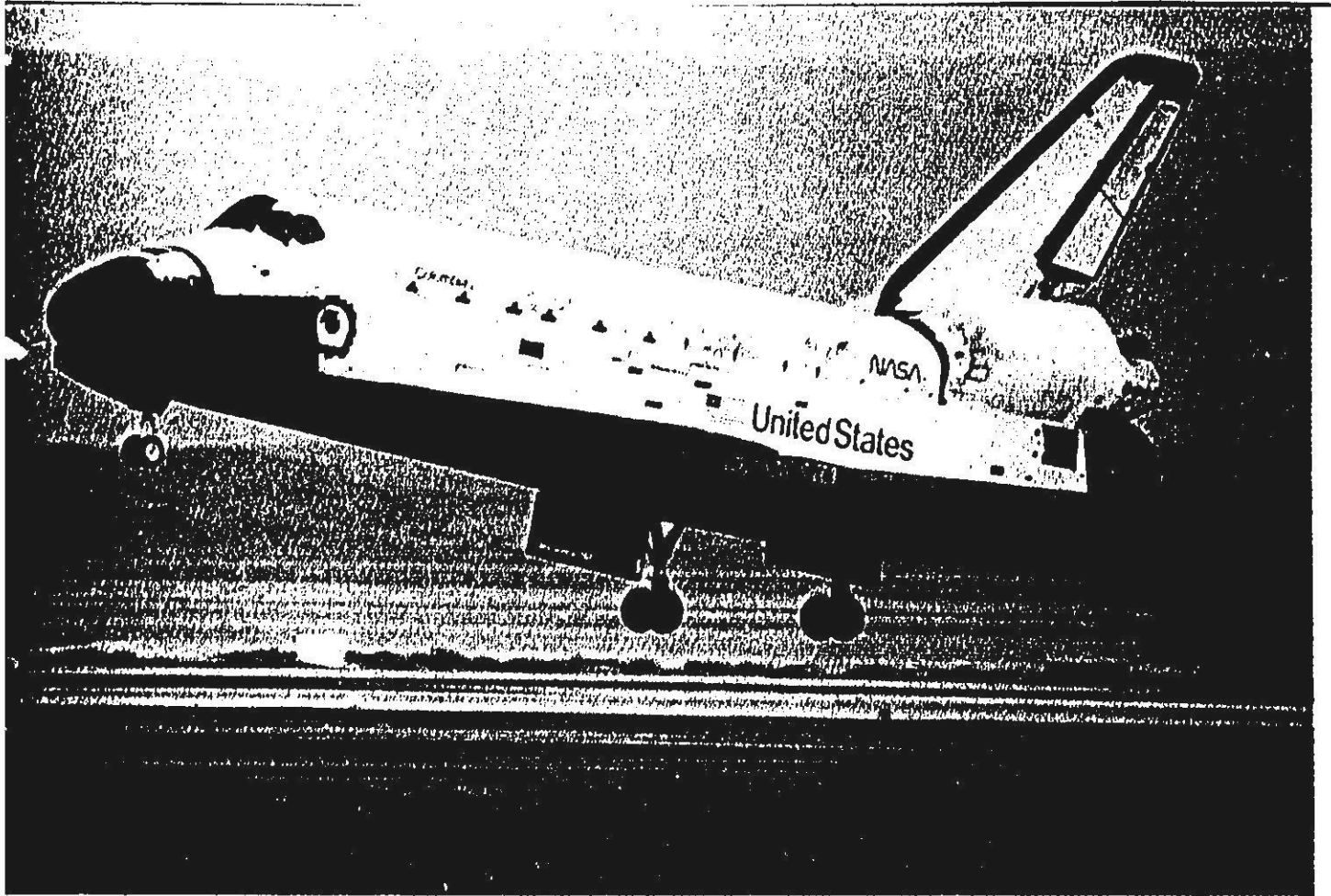
ANNEX-IX

FIGURE-10



A LAB WITH LOVE FOR MANKIND.

FIGURE-11



The U.S. space shuttle orbiter Columbia makes a perfect landing at Edwards Air Force Base, in California, after its first commercial flight, November, 1982.

TECHNOLOGY PUT TO COMMERCIAL USE.

FIGURE-12



THIS BEARDED MALE ORANGUTAN'S PENSIVE EXPRESSION CLEARLY SHOWS WHY NATIVES OF BORNEO CALL IT "THE MAN OF THE FOREST."

The Solitary Orang

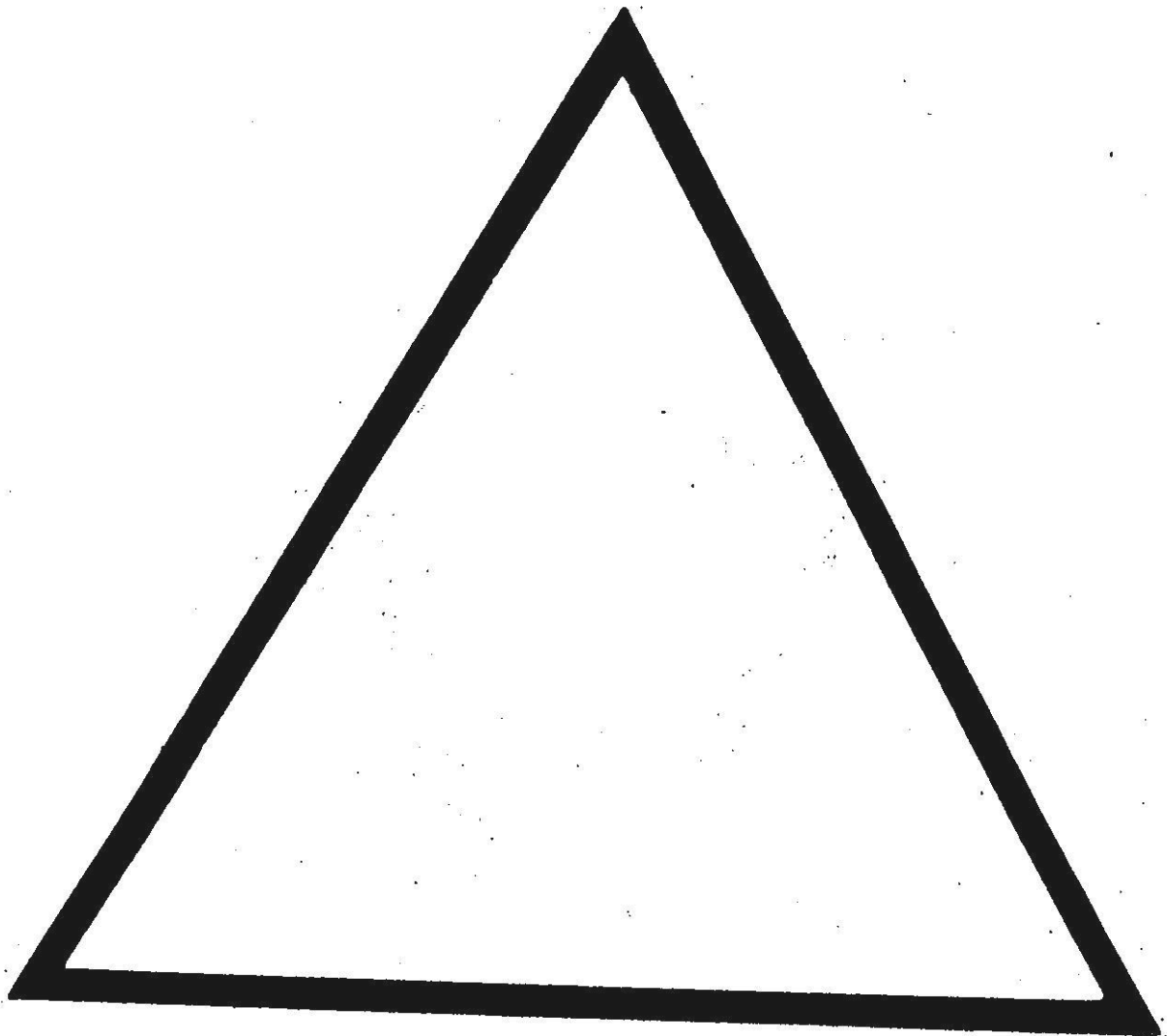
The abiding impression observers have of orangs may be summed up in such adjectives as antisocial and lethargic. Recent studies made in the wilds of Indonesia confirm their solitary lives, and adults seem to carry their antisocial nature to an extreme, even though in their youth they were active and playful like other young apes. Males travel alone and compete with each other for females, who also live alone

" JOIN ME I "

with two, sometimes three, offspring. Both appear to be lethargic, usually proceeding through the trees at a slow, deliberate pace, moving quickly only in times of extreme danger. Each characteristic may well be due to their eating habits: chiefly fruit eaters, the males and females have incompatible feeding cycles; and the location of fruit far out on the branches has taught them to move cautiously in pursuit of a meal.

AN ORANG CLIMBS WITH CHARACTERISTIC CAUTION, HANGING ON WITH HANDS AND FEET WHILE IT HUNTS FOR FRUIT.

FIGURE-13



BUREAUCRACY - PEOPLE - POLITICIANS TRIANGLE.
WHO IS AT THE APEX ?

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