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Leadership and Change Management

Jeffrey D. Straussman¹

The subject of leadership, especially leadership in government, is not fully understood, despite the fact that it is often mentioned as a critical element that accounts for government's success or failure. Consultants abound; popular how-to-do-it management books, available around the world, especially in airport bookstores for the time-pressured senior manager, often provide checklists and simplistic advice about becoming an effective leader. Serious reflection about leadership and its relationship to performance is less common.

Almost all commentators on the subject of leadership mention that effective leaders have a *vision* and share that vision with members of the organization. A vision is not something precise. Rather, it provides the person who assumes a top-level position with the opportunity to share his or her ideas about what the organization should become, what it should do, how it should perform, and, perhaps most important, what the role and responsibilities of members of the organization should be. A vision is abstract; it is broader than goals and it is more expansive than a mission statement.

Leaders are effective when they inspire others. This is an important theme of E. H. Valsan's article, "Leadership in Public Administration for Alleviating Poverty and Development: A Conceptual Approach." As he points out, many models of administration have ignored what he calls "inspiration" as a core element of effective leadership; he uses the example of Mother Teresa and her work with the poor in Calcutta to illustrate his point. Valsan steps away from the formal attributes of leaders—especially their organizational roles—to develop the psychological underpinnings of effective leadership. By extension, one can employ his concepts to investigate how leaders try to create positive change.

Leadership is no longer only about "great men." Rather, contemporary portraits show that leadership applies equally to women—and not only great women like Mother Teresa. On the contrary, gender is a central part of development and leadership can make some gender-based programs successful. This theme is present in Sheila Rai's article, "Gender-Responsive Governance in India: the Experience of Rajasthan." Her conclusion, however, is sobering, since she points out that a large gap yawns between the rhetoric of gender and

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the realities of effective gender initiatives, at least as illustrated by her case study of Rajasthan.

A similar theme is found in Ahmad Martadha Mohamed's "Administrative Discretion and Representative Bureaucracy: Linking Descriptive Representation to Substantive Representation." Drawing largely on the Western academic literature of representative bureaucracy, Mohamed shows that in his sample of Malaysian public administrators, women and minorities will act to pursue policy issues relevant to these groups when they internalize these characteristics. The implication of both articles is that policies aimed at advancing the interests of women and minorities require leaders who both share these interests and pursue them via effective leadership. Formal representation through affirmative action programs, by themselves, will not automatically lead to substantive change.

As the well-known management theorist John P. Kotter points out in his book, *Leading Change* (Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press, 1996), leadership and management are not identical, and this can be seen, especially, by observing that well-managed organizations are not necessarily high-performance organizations. The reason lies in the differences between management and leadership. Management and leadership are often used interchangeably, but there are important differences between them. High-performance organizations have both strong management systems and effective leadership. We all know what the essential management functions are. They include

- planning and budgeting,
- organization and staffing, and
- controlling and problem-solving.

These are the traditional and essential functions found in all large organizations. These functions provide the foundation of higher education university degrees in business and public administration as well as short-term training programs. We constantly try to improve human resources methods and financial practices in organizations. High-performance organizations certainly need effective management processes to produce positive results—*but they are not sufficient to guarantee long-term success*. Tatsuo Oyama's article, "Educating and Training Japanese Government Officials: Current Trends and Policy Study Aspects," surveys the education and in-service training of Japanese civil servants. His conclusions are telling and they point out the knowledge gaps of current civil servants. But, in reading between the lines, one can find a substantial shortcoming in the lack of attention to leadership qualities, clearly missing from the formal and informal curriculum. Here is a short list of those qualities:

- *Establish direction.* This refers to the importance of vision—providing members of the organization with a sense of what the organization is, and what it might be. Vision creates the setting for the members of the organization to see how their performance fits into the “big picture.”
- *Align people by creating an environment of cooperation in the organization.* It is often said that much of what is done in organizations is done in groups. Leadership includes the facilitation of teamwork by creating the appropriate atmosphere.
- *Motivate and inspire members of the organization.* All of the public officials I referred to above viewed it as their task to nurture employees so that they will perform up to their potential.

While effective managers produce stability in organizations and are therefore important for the survival and maintenance of organizations, leaders who have the qualities listed above are capable of producing positive changes. These changes may be new services, improved services, and, more broadly, even new missions.

High-performance organizations need both effective managers and effective leaders. Kotter’s book helps us think about the relationship between both management and leadership in an organization embarking on substantial change. If both leadership and management are nonexistent, efforts to change will go nowhere. When leadership is strong but not backed up by effective management structures, efforts to undergo significant change may show some initial progress, but will soon be stymied by the lack of core management functions that must support the change. When management is strong but leadership is lacking, short-term positive results are likely to occur, but significant organizational change will not take place. When management and leadership are both strong, the organization is likely to be successful in undergoing large-scale change. The last combination is not only desirable but also achievable. It is the task of public administration educators to make this point to the next generation of public servants.

Leadership in Public Administration for Alleviating Poverty and Development: A Conceptual Approach

E. H. Valsan¹

I. Introduction

The importance of public administration for poverty alleviation and development was recognized in the NAPSIPAG region more than 50 years ago, when colleges and institutes of public administration were started and later, when the Eastern Regional Organization for Public Administration organized annual conferences and seminars where major issues of poverty and development were discussed. Several academic experts from the West, especially from the United States, came to the region with technical assistance programs and made recommendations for the reorganization of governmental machinery. Paul Appleby's report on public administration in India was accepted by the then Government of India with acclaim in 1953 and it led to the inauguration of the Indian Institute of Public Administration by Prime Minister Nehru, who continued to be its President till his death in 1964.

Postgraduate studies in public administration that started in university departments and colleges in India, South Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand were largely influenced by the "theories" of public administration taught in American universities. This was because it was in the United States that the subject was developed as an academic discipline, though often in departments of political science. Conceptually, much was borrowed from terminologies developed in the armed forces and applied to business management situations in the West. Asian scholars who wrote textbooks on public administration were largely influenced by these concepts and terminologies in describing their own systems of administration.

A mainly descriptive structural approach was followed, with very little consideration for behavioral aspects of relevance to their own societies. Subjects like leadership were neglected in their curricula until recently. Perhaps this was due to the prevailing notion that it was a subject to be dealt with in political

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science; the closest discussion of the subject came under the rubric of “POSDCORB,” described as the “Functions of the Executive” by Gulick and Urwick. As is well known, the acronym stood for Planning, Organizing, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Reporting and Budgeting. These functions implied scope for leadership, yet critics found the model mechanical and without concern for the ground realities of situations under which bureaucracies operated.

The exposure to administrative situations in Asian countries helped American scholars like Fred Riggs, Ferrel Heady and William Siffin realize the need to understand the history and background of administrative systems in Thailand, the Philippines and other countries, before ideas and institutions developed in the United States were applied. Fred Riggs in particular emphasized through his lectures on the ecology of public administration the need to describe administrative ecology before considering prescriptions for reform. His Prismatic Model further attempted to provide hypothetical characteristics of administrative environment in developing societies (see Riggs 1964, 1966, 1978). Influenced by such innovations in the thinking and study of public administration, many Asian scholars like Hahn-Been Lee and Jose Abueva came out with analytical propositions based on field research in their respective countries. Research done by this author in India and the Philippines (Valsan 1970) helped in developing a conceptual framework applicable to development administration beyond the POSDCORB criteria, which are universally relevant. Later experience and observations in Bangladesh, Egypt, and Sri Lanka all the more convinced the author that development administrators, while discharging the functions of POSDCORB, needed to be aware of the importance of the “Five ‘I’s”—Information, Inspiration, Innovation, Introjection, and Integration.

Development administrators found an awareness of these dynamic elements valuable in helping them perform well in the leadership roles often required for development administration. For the sake of clarity and for emphasizing their contemporary relevance, an elaboration of each concept is attempted below:

II. Information

Unlike the 1960s, when this conceptual formulation was identified, the importance of information for leadership in public administration is easier to understand today. The information revolution that the world has witnessed during the last few decades has made data and ideas from anywhere in the world available to the leadership. It has also helped make field research and feedback information essential for decision making by administrators. It has helped attempts to replicate successful projects in countries far away with locally

relevant modifications. A famous example is the Grameen Bank concept originated in Bangladesh under the dynamic leadership of Muhammad Yunus, which has spread all over the developing world, helping rural women through microcredit projects.

Information technology (IT) initiatives in E-government have spread out to several countries with varying degrees of success, but definitely influencing the thinking and functioning of leaders and administrators. The availability of information windows at the village level has expedited the process of applying for benefits and services available to common citizens, and for their speedy delivery.

Under the POSDCORB formulation, information as a function was included under reporting, which was more in an upward direction in a hierarchical organization. Reporting back to the people or subordinates was unknown in such a dispensation. Today, information as a dynamic element in development administration can be accessed and passed on from any direction and utilized for accomplishing the goals of the organization. Awareness of its importance and familiarity, if not mastery of its computer utilization, has become an essential qualification for dynamic leadership.

For developing democracies of the Asia–Pacific region, political parties and representatives find IT useful to collect and analyze information and to project popular demands more meaningfully in parliaments and public forums, thus influencing policy formulation. For instance, in Kerala, India, the Marxist Communist Party, which had in the early days opposed the introduction of computers on grounds of its leading to massive unemployment, is reported to have equipped its own offices with modern computers. Rajiv Gandhi was a modernizer in this respect, inviting technically competent Indians from abroad to introduce a revolution in the field of telecommunications using IT. In short, awareness of the importance of information with all its technological implications is a must for development leadership. It is equally important for coordinating all activities concerned with the plight of the poor, thus avoiding the duplication of efforts and funding that often occurs because of development partner contributions or scarce budgetary allocations of governments.

III. Inspiration

Mechanical models of administration and theoretical analyses of leadership have neglected the importance of inspiration, whereas it can be one of the mobilizing forces for development administration and poverty alleviation activities. Inspiration here is being looked at both as an individual experience and as a collective requirement for successful administration, contributing to

development as well as in tackling the problems of acute poverty. This writer was impressed by its role in community development programs of the 1950s and 1960s in Bangladesh, India, and the Philippines. Leaders like S. K. Dey, who was the first community development minister in India; Akhtar Hameed Khan, who resigned from the prestigious Indian Civil Service and followed Gandhian idealism in launching a community development program in Comilla in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh); and Ramon Magsaysay, who established the Presidential Assistant for Community Development in the Philippines, were all inspired by the desire to serve their respective communities or nations by tackling the problems of the rural masses. They in turn were able to inspire hundreds of their countrymen to join these movements, imbibing the spirit of public service.

One example is that of Muhammad Yunus, who started the Grameen banks. As a student at the Comilla Academy, he was inspired by the leadership of Akhtar Hameed Khan. Similarly, Jimmy Yen, who launched the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) in order to uplift the living conditions of the rural population, was able to inspire people like Dr. Juan Flavio, who later took over the mantle of PRRM. Hence, the relevance of the “chain of inspiration” concept for development, which is to be seen as a parallel with the “chain of command” concept in the mechanical model of management.

That inspiration is equally important in the alleviation of poverty is clearly demonstrated in the life and contributions of Mother Teresa. Apart from her claim of divine inspiration, which is not part of our analysis, it was a fact that the poverty and misery of the sick and the dying inspired her to take care of those mortals. In turn, she was able to inspire a large number of young Sisters of Charity, who continue to serve the poor in several countries, even since her passing from the scene. The fact that they survive based on donations by private individuals belonging to all religions and institutions who are inspired by the message of the Mother and the service of her followers is equally important for the purpose of this analysis (see Spink 1998).

Looking at more productive projects for reducing poverty using the potentials of the healthy among the poor, one finds the livelihood programs of PRRM and the Kudumbasree projects of Kerala, meant for augmenting the income of women in need of support, succeeding wherever political, social, or bureaucratic leadership is inspiring. Here, it is important to emphasize that bureaucratic leadership is possible wherever there is ideal political leadership. Good examples of commitment set by political leaders or ministers can inspire civil servants and civil society volunteers to contribute to the success of development programs. Conversely, corrupt, greedy, and incompetent political bosses can kill the enthusiasm of even the most honest and competent subordinates. In short, it is only the inspired who can inspire.

The above discussion naturally leads to the question of the *sources of inspiration*. In the original work mentioned earlier, this writer attempted to compare the concept of charisma with that of inspiration and, among other points of comparison, mentioned that whereas charisma is supposed to have only one supernatural source, inspiration can have a multiplicity of sources. For instance, even when one's boss is corrupt and uninspiring, the goals of the organization and the needs of the poor or the clientele, as well as the dedication of one's own subordinates, can sometimes sustain one's inspiration to serve.

Charisma as a concept can be even antidevelopment, or go against the interest of poverty alleviation programs. For instance, those who attribute charisma to Mother Teresa sometimes withdraw from the movement, saying that the Mother was charismatic, which they are not, and they cannot be expected to serve the way she did. The same is applicable to the discussion of Gandhi, who was also considered charismatic and thus even worshipped, but seldom followed by his so-called followers. On the contrary, if they can draw inspiration from the causes for which Mother Teresa or Mahatma Gandhi worked, more success will be achieved in attaining the goals they shared with their leaders. A rational understanding of the concept of inspiration and attempts to instill it in organizations and administrative systems can lead to attaining organizational goals for human development. A caveat must be added, however, that our analysis excludes the role of what may be called negative inspiration for destructive activities commonly reported in the media in the new millennium.

IV. Innovation

Another dynamic element in this conceptual model is innovation. Bureaucracy in general and public administration in particular are well known for routine and blind following of established practices. Awareness of the need for innovative thinking on the part of administrators was considered essential in order to achieve the development goals that could not wait for slow and incremental methods at the expense of suffering masses. Especially in the case of programs for alleviating poverty, bureaucratic excuses and corrupt practices have to be met with innovative initiatives. IT, as mentioned earlier, has opened avenues for more innovative approaches to decision making and service delivery. Also, as indicated earlier, information about other successful programs can be utilized for introducing innovative activities in a new setting. India's green revolution introduced many innovations in agriculture, leading to higher productivity, but the distribution system did not match the success of the scientists and the farmers, with the result that poverty and malnutrition continue

to haunt rural areas in some states. Political leadership in such situations also did not come up with innovative solutions for bureaucracies to implement.

In tackling abject poverty and facing natural calamities like floods, drought, cyclones, and earthquakes, bureaucracies and social and political workers are challenged to introduce quick and effective innovations and makeshift arrangements. An awareness of the importance of innovation in such critical situations is important in the training of civil servants for administrative leadership.

Innovative approaches in communicating with the masses are important for implementing sensitive activities like family planning. The successful utilization of local political leadership for canvassing and mobilizing the masses for attending male sterilization camps in Kerala, India, in the 1970s introduced many innovative incentives to the participants and their families (Valsan 1977). Literacy campaigns also try out incentives and innovative methods of teaching in order to attract women and elderly illiterates.

V. Introjection

During the last 3 decades, public administration and management sciences have seen major innovations and terminologies like Total Quality Management, New Public Management, and Human Resources Development. The concept of introjection suggested by Fred W. Riggs is important in the context of trying to introduce innovations successfully implemented in the West to Asian, Pacific, African, and Latin American countries. Borrowing from psychology, which calls for the selective internalization of values, Riggs implies here accepting reforms or innovations that can work in a society, and rejecting those that are not suitable or may even cause disturbance to the polity.

The concept can be applied even while trying to imitate in one part of a country a policy or practice that has proved successful in another part. A typical example was the attempt to introduce male sterilization in North India, copying successful innovative methods adopted in Kerala mentioned earlier. Kerala being a highly literate state, it was possible to mobilize the masses for the family planning program. In Uttar Pradesh, with poor literacy rates, on the other hand, the bureaucrats and politicians who wanted similar results even used force, thereby causing political damage to the ruling Congress Party in the election that followed and making family planning an untouchable subject even for the federal Government, thereby causing the increase of the national population beyond a billion.

Had they been aware of the importance of introjection, such a situation could have been avoided. The failure of many programs for poverty alleviation

is also traceable to the inability of bureaucrats and social workers to take into account the sociocultural background of the population and the special conditions of poverty prevailing in each society. In short, awareness of the concept of introjection is important for leaders trying to introduce reforms simply because of their success elsewhere.

VI. Integration

Closely related to the concept of introjection is integration, which is most important for the stability of any society. As modernization is supposed to be accompanied by differentiation of functions, developing countries in their urge for development through modernization imitate developed countries in introducing institutions and structures that are expected to function in the same way as in the West. However, the proliferation of institutions and agencies without sufficient coordination leads to chaotic situations, causing administrative breakdown or political instability. In this connection, it is worth remembering the Riggsian addition to his revision of the prismatic model, in which he emphasized the role of integration for diffracted societies. Prismatic conditions prevail where no integration of differentiated functions occurs. Awareness of the importance of introjection helps in understanding the need for integrating the departments and institutions created. Reforms that are likely to tear the society apart due to lack of information should be kept in abeyance until objections to their implementation are explained and public acceptance obtained. In short, by taking into account ecological factors affecting development in a society, leaders can introduce reforms without disturbing the integration and the integrity of the society concerned.

The dynamic model of development administration suggested by the above analysis does not ignore the role of POSDCORB executive functions, but urges the awareness of the importance of the “Five I’s”—Information, Inspiration, Innovation, Introjection, and Integration—for performing a leadership role in the society. Extensive discussions on the model were held during graduate seminars with participants from different countries, many of whom supported its validity as a supplement to POSDCORB. However, in the context of poverty and problems faced by the weaker sections of society, leaders involved in alleviating misery, pain, and humiliation of those sections of the population, to be effective, need to call on some special attributes that they may have or that can be consciously cultivated. These, I suggest, are Empathy, Enthusiasm, Efficiency, Entrepreneurship, and Ethics.

VII. Empathy

Here again, Mother Teresa's example is unique. Inspiration for undertaking the task of picking up the old, sick, and needy from the streets of Calcutta and treating, feeding, and housing them could have been effective only because of her capacity to empathize with their lot. It is one thing to feel sympathy and to donate some amount, food, or clothes as many of us do, but another experience to put oneself in their situation and to cater to their felt needs. Empathy is equally important for those involved in crisis management situations tackling natural calamities. Other instances of exemplary capacity for empathy can be cited, but other attributes of equal importance need our attention.

VIII. Enthusiasm

Any movement involving mobilization of people needs leaders who are not only inspired by its goals, but are enthusiastic about achieving them. Their commitment, the way they articulate goals, methods, and details, and their electrifying influence over their followers reflect that enthusiasm. It is an attribute that is important for fund-raising for noble causes. Juan Flavio of PRRM, who later became a cabinet secretary in the Philippines and is now a Senator, is an example that comes to one's mind. Watching him in the early years of PRRM, making inspirational talks full of ideas, wit, and humor to enthrill the volunteers going to the barrios, was a pleasure.

IX. Efficiency

Lest it be felt that all our talk of inspiration, empathy, and enthusiasm in leadership is devoid of concern for practical aspects of running organizations, it is important to emphasize the attribute of efficiency, without which no leadership in public service or administration is possible. Akhtar Hameed Khan, who was trained in the erstwhile Indian Civil Service, was conscious of this at Comilla. He attached considerable importance to bookkeeping and training volunteers in financial management. Especially for organizations depending upon donations or government subsidies, accountability depends upon the efficiency of the leadership. Many organizations begun with good intentions for public service did not survive beyond the lifetime of their founders, because no mechanism was built in for continuation of an efficient system of management. Punctuality, dependability, and fairness in the treatment of clientele, colleagues, and subordinates constitute this important attribute

essential for public service. Unfortunately, very often institutions for charitable purposes run by governments lack efficient leadership.

X. Entrepreneurship

Normally considered a business management concept, entrepreneurship as an attribute for leadership in public administration and poverty alleviation activities is increasingly becoming important due to the challenges faced by modern organizations. Closely related to the concept of innovation suggested earlier, success in achieving organizational goals, especially in commercial organizations run by governments, largely depends upon this attribute. An example from India would be the Managing Director of Kochi International Airport Authority, V. J. Kurian, who is a member of the Indian Administrative Service. Though building the airport was a political decision, the financing of it through public contributions and donations, which were later converted into shares in the commercially constituted airport company, were all achieved to a large measure due to the entrepreneurship of this government officer. The story of the successful operation and continuing development of this airport is itself worth a case study in leadership. Mother Teresa, in addition to all her inspiring qualities, was also considered during her lifetime as an entrepreneur who was able to start branches of her Missionaries of Charity in several countries. The Grameen Bank concept in Bangladesh is another example of encouraging the spirit of entrepreneurship among rural women by providing microcredit for starting small commercial activities.

XI. Ethics

When all the qualities and attributes of leadership for public administration are discussed, one cannot ignore the importance of ethics. A universal outcry against corruption in government organizations has occurred during the last decade. This implies unethical practices and deals between individuals serving in public and private enterprises at the expense of the taxpayers of the countries concerned. Even charitable activities and relief operations are not immune to allegations of corruption. Private greed getting accommodated in public organizations is despised, but such practices seem to continue to multiply. This is a challenge to the leadership of all countries and from it arises the need to identify honest men and women in administration and to assign them to leadership positions, giving necessary training in other attributes required in performing leadership tasks. Negative reporting in the

media and casual description of all bureaucrats and politicians as corrupt does not solve the problem. A positive approach to cultivating ethical attributes among civil servants and politicians and giving prominent recognition to men and women of integrity can go a long way in generating leadership in public organizations.

A natural question that may be raised while discussing the attributes of leadership mentioned above is that of the cultivability of these qualities among political and bureaucratic personnel. A general answer will be that it is possible, not only through training programs designed for human development, but through exemplary leadership of eminent individuals who should be assigned the task of mentoring their colleagues and subordinates. Watching the efficiency, enthusiasm, entrepreneurship, capacity for empathy, and ethical attributes of a leader can inspire those around him or her to perform better and to prepare themselves to wear the mantle. Delegation of responsibilities is important under such a dispensation, so that the leaders can make sure about the capabilities of their colleagues and subordinates who are one day going to be in charge. Concentration of all authority in one person's hands can be detrimental to the creation of leadership capabilities in organizations.

XII. Conclusion

While suggesting the inadequacy of the POSDCORB model for leadership in development and charitable activities for poverty alleviation, the foregoing analysis has tried to emphasize the utility of the model, but also the need to supplement it with an awareness on the part of those in leadership positions of the importance of Information, Inspiration, Innovation, Introjection, and Integration and of cultivating the leadership attributes of Empathy, Enthusiasm, Efficiency, Entrepreneurship, and Ethics. In addition, it is suggested that one of the functions of leaders is to produce leaders, mentoring and setting personal examples as role models to be followed. Assignments to responsible positions in public administration need also to be based on this important leadership role of the incumbents.

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Gender Responsive Governance in India: The Experience of Rajasthan

Sheila Rai¹

I. Introduction

In a country with a history spanning more than 5,000 years; a multiplicity of languages, customs and cultural practices; hierarchies based on caste and class; and varieties of religions and sects, layers of discrimination are almost inevitable. Gender discrimination is one such layer that is firmly embedded but, very ironically, is often not perceived as discrimination.

Once India became independent, the next step was to initiate the policies and programs for realizing the ideals of the welfare state. The postcolonial state was to be an instrument of social transformation, formulating policies to achieve the goals of justice—social, economic and political—enshrined in the constitution. These goals included melioration of disadvantaged groups, emphatically including women. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, highlighted the need for a special policy toward women. He wrote,

We talk about a welfare state and direct our energies towards its realization. That welfare must be the common property of everyone in India, and not the monopoly of the privileged groups, as it is today. If I may be allowed to lay greater stress on some, they would be the welfare of children, the status of women, and the welfare of the tribal and hill people in our country. Women in India have a background of history and tradition behind them, which is inspiring. It is true, however, that they have suffered much from various kinds of suppression and all these have to go so that they can play their full part in the life of the nation (Nehru 1955).

On the whole, however, it seemed in 1950 that India had ushered in a new era of liberty and equality, where women were equal to men. Through the institution of the adult franchise and Article 15, which prohibits discrimination *inter alia* on grounds of sex, the Indian Constitution mandates political equality.

This recognition of political equality of women was a radical departure not only from the sociocultural norms prevailing in traditional India, but also

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in the context of the political evolution of even most advanced countries of that date. With the exception of the socialist countries, no other state in the world had accepted women's equality as a matter of course. The United States and the United Kingdom granted the franchise to women only after World War I, after decades of struggle by their women. Most other countries, Eastern or Western, conceded it only after World War II. Japan granted the franchise to women in 1946, the People's Republic of China in 1949. The exceptions were Thailand and the Philippines, which granted a limited franchise, similar to the Indian case, in 1932 and 1933, respectively. Among the West European countries, France granted the franchise to women in 1945, Switzerland in 1971.

In the case of India, the two major forces that acted as a catalyst in the achievement of political equality of women were the national movement and the leadership of Gandhi, who declared himself to be "uncompromising in the matter of women's rights." He wrote, "Women must have votes and an equal legal status. But the problem does not end there; it only commences at the point where women begin to affect the political deliberations of the nation" (Gandhi 1929).

II. Constitutional Provisions for Gender Equality

Improvement in the status of women was a pledge made by the constitution makers, which found embodiment in the form of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms. They include freedom of speech, protection of life, and personal liberty, which may be termed as positive rights; as well as negative rights, which emphasize prohibition of discrimination or denial of equal protection (Basu 1985: 69).

Article 14 promises equality before the law and equal protection by the laws. Article 15 prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth, and also provides that the state may make "any special provision for women and children, even in violation of the fundamental obligation of non-discrimination among citizens, inter alia of sex."¹ Article 16 guarantees equality of opportunity in public employment or in appointment to any office under the state, and Article 17 (2) forbids discrimination "in respect of any employment of office under the State" on the grounds only of "religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any one of them." The obligation not to discriminate in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the state at least normatively ensures a

¹ This provision has enabled the state to make special provisions for women, particularly in the field of labor legislation, like the Factories Act, the Mines Act, etc.

significant position and status to Indian women. Article 23 prohibits traffic in human beings as well as forced labor.

Apart from the important provisions in the Fundamental Rights, some guidelines are given in the Directive Principles of State Policy enunciated in Part IV of the Constitution. They concretize, together with the chapter on Fundamental Rights, the constitutional vision of a new Indian sociopolitical order. The Directive Principles are declared nonjusticiable, but “nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country,” and the state is charged with “a duty... to apply these principles in making laws” (Article 37). Some of them concern women indirectly or by necessary implication. A few are “women specific.”

The first category includes the omnibus provision of Article 38, which in brief directs the state to secure a just social, political, and economic order, geared to promote the welfare of the people; Article 39 (b), (c), and (f) stipulates distribution of ownership and control of material resources of the community for the common good, prevention of concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment, and protection of childhood and youth against exploitation and moral and material abandonment; Article 40, on the organization of village *panchayats* (councils) to promote self-government; Article 41, on the right to work, education, and public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement and other types of undeserved wants; Article 43, on the provision of work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities, and the promotion of cottage industries; Article 44, on the Uniform Civil Code; Article 45, on free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14; and Article 47, on raising the level of nutrition and the standard of living of the people and improvement of public health.

Directive principles that concern women directly and have a special bearing on their status include Article 39 (a), on the right to an adequate means of livelihood for men and women equally; Article 39 (d), on equal pay for equal work for both men and women; Article 39(e), on protection of the health and strength of workers—men, women and children—from abuse and entry into avocations unsuited to their age and strength; and Article 42, on just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief. Article 51, inserted in 1976 by the 42nd Constitutional Amendment, imposes a fundamental duty on every citizen to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women. The Constitution has accepted the principle of affirmative action favoring women and children. This principle has activated the state to make provisions for reservation for women in elected bodies of local government and other selected bodies.

The special attention given to the needs and problems of women, to enable them to enjoy and exercise their constitutional equality of status, along

with other specific provisions relating to the hitherto oppressed sections of society, have led many scholars to describe the Indian Constitution as a “social” document embodying the objectives of a social revolution. The Constitution contemplates attainment of an entirely new social order by making deliberate departures in norms and institutions of democratic governance from the inherited social, political, and economic systems. In doing so, the Constitution assigns primacy to law as an instrument directed toward social change. It thus demands of the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary continuous vigilance and responsiveness to the relationship between law and social transformation in contemporary India.

III. Milestones in Women’s Development

The first 2 decades after assertion of the principle of “We the People” were full of optimism over the achievement of goals. Planning was high on the agenda of independent India. It was geared to improve the quality of life of the people, and it therefore contained the welfare perspective to protect the deprived and the neglected sections of society. The Planning Commission of India defined three major areas in which special attention was paid to women’s development: education, social welfare, and health care. The First Five Year Plan (1951–1956) was concerned mainly with the challenges of reconstruction after the war and partition. Its approach to women’s issues was welfare oriented. It focused on the services that had to be promoted for the welfare of women: family planning, maternity and child care centers, schools, feeding schemes for children, and expansion of facilities for women’s education. The voluntary agencies were expected to share the major burden in the field (Desai and Thakkar 2001: 148).

The Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) was established in 1953 to promote welfare and development services for women, children, and underprivileged groups. Social Welfare Boards also came to be appointed at state levels. The CSWB remains an important national body involved in women’s development at three levels: policy, programs, and implementation. The Board frames policies at the central level through links with women’s voluntary organizations, charts its own development programs for women on the basis of funds given by the Government, and implements programs through its welfare extension projects, which reach out to remote areas of the nation.

The second Five Year Plan (1956–61) envisaged the welfare of women and children under CSWB schemes and encompassed a comprehensive social welfare program; family planning featured prominently in health plans. The Third, Fourth and other Interim Plans (1961–1974) emphasized women’s

education; steps were taken also to improve maternal and child health services and supplementary feeding for children, and for nursing and expectant mothers. Women continued to be seen as beneficiaries of programs of social welfare, mainly through voluntary organizations, with the help of the CSWB. The period from the 1970s onwards witnessed new awareness and sensitivities toward women's issues. In 1971, the Government of India appointed the Committee on the Status of Women in India to undertake a comprehensive examination of all the questions relating to the rights and status of women in the context of changing social and economic conditions in the country and new problems related to the advancement of women, and also to suggest further measures that would enable women to play their full and proper role in the building of the nation. The committee submitted its historic report entitled "Towards Equality," which proved to be an eye-opener for the Government and concerned citizens.

After having thoroughly examined the four Five Year Plans and the draft of the Fifth Five Year Plan, the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India noted:

An examination of the Five Year Plans reveals that in spite of the policy emphasis on welfare or investment in human resources, the share of investment in the social services in terms of the actual allocation has been steadily declining in successive plans. The objectives emphasized in the various plans, as well as the share of allocations, indicate that among programmes specifically designed for women's development, the order of priorities up to the Fourth Plan has been education, then health, and lastly other aspects of welfare because it was generally assumed that all other programmes will benefit women indirectly if not directly (Committee on the Status of Women in India 1974: 308).

This Report pointed out that the dynamics of social change and development had adversely affected the majority of women and had created new imbalances and disparities. The Report stressed that disabilities and inequalities imposed on women had to be seen in the total context of the society, where large sections of the population—male and female, adults and children—suffer under the oppression of an exploitative system. Any policy or movement for the emancipation and development of women has to form part of a total movement for removal of inequalities and oppressive social institutions if the benefits and privileges won by such action are to be shared by all women and not to be monopolized by a small minority.

After a debate on the Report, Parliament adopted a unanimous resolution to initiate a comprehensive program of legislative and administrative measures aiming at removing the economic and social injustices, disabilities, and

discriminations to which women in India were being subjected. After the mandate from Parliament, the Government of India framed a National Plan of Action for Women based on the suggestions recommended in the Report. The recommendations of the U.N.'s World Plan of Action of the 1975 Mexico World Conference on Women were also incorporated.

A Women's Welfare and Development Bureau was established in the Ministry of Social Welfare to act as the nodal point within the Government, to coordinate policies and programs, and to initiate measures for women's development. It was backed by an interministerial study committee; special cells for women were also established in the Ministries of Labour and Employment and Rural Development.

IV. Policy Shift

Gradually a policy shift occurred: from viewing women as targets of welfare policies they began to be seen as critical groups for development. The scope of social welfare was enlarged in the Fifth Plan (1974–1978) to cope with several problems of the family and the role of women. The Sixth Five Year Plan (1980–1985) included for the first time a chapter on women's development, due to the continuous efforts of the women's movement and the international visibility that women's issues gained because of the International Women's Decade. It emphasized women's economic independence, educational advancement, and access to health care and family planning, and adopted a multidisciplinary approach with a three-pronged thrust on health, education, and employment.

As preparations began for the Sixth Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission appointed a working group on employment of women and encouraged the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development to review the programs and policies. The Ministry of Education, already involved in the promotion of the National Adult Education Programme, appointed a special committee to advise the Adult Education Programme for Women. The Ministry of Industrial Development also appointed a working group on self-employment for women. Researchers and representatives of organizations also started deliberating with the government representatives. With the beginning of the 1980s, special attention to women's issues was initiated at the center.

The document "Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women," (United Nations 1985) which emerged at the end of the International Decade for Women, gave new importance to women's issues. An important response of the Government to this document was to revitalize the machinery at the national level by setting up a separate Department of Women and Child Development under the newly created Ministry of Human Resource

Development. The Women's Welfare and Development Bureau under the erstwhile Ministry of Social and Women's Welfare became part of the new Department and now functions as the nodal agency for the advancement of women.

This shift in approach is therefore no longer aimed at the hitherto "developmental goal" but in fact the thrust is on "empowerment" of women. The manifestation of this shift is evident in the following trends:

- i) The need to educate women is being emphasized in order to achieve the goal of empowerment.
- ii) "Economic self-reliance" of women and not merely provision of "economic aid" is informing the orientation of programs and policies.
- iii) Political process is being redefined: the concept of women as a distinct "class" has gained recognition and is being addressed in the sociopolitical realm.

The realization that, although women have a stake in politics as large as that of men, they do not have their share of political power prompted the initiation of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments. These provided for 33% reserved seats for women in Panchayati Raj Institutions (rural units of local governance and urban societies of local government).

The former "voters" have gained ascendancy and are being geared to become "cosharers" of political power. Reservation of 33% of seats at the grassroots level in institutions of government and the ongoing debate for similar reservation in the state and national-level institutions are ample evidence of this new phenomenon.

A review of the state welfare policy on women during the past decades of the Indian Republic brings the reality to the surface. The picture that emerges is both positive and negative. It is a truism that in the early decades women were looked at as components of social welfare programs, not of development. Women's subordination was due not only to male domination, but also to the basic economic and political structure of society, which was reinforced by the same male domination. Initially, planners and policy makers were reluctant to question these, though they were contrary to the constitutional guarantee of social, economic, and political justice.

The National Perspective Plan for Women (1988) was drawn up to facilitate mainstreaming of women's issues in major policies and programs. It contains recommendations aimed at the development of women by focusing on the sectors of rural development, health care, legislation, political participation, education, employment, support services, communication, and voluntary action.

An important milestone of this period was the historic report “*Shramshakti*” prepared in 1998 by the National Commission for Self-Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector appointed by the Government under the Chairmanship of Ela Bhatt (National Commission for Self-Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector 1988). It highlighted the contribution of the marginalized women in the rural and urban areas to the national economy. It made some important recommendations such as recognizing women’s work as homemakers and producers, setting up an exclusive credit body for poor and self-employed women, and linking training programs to employment.

Some of these recommendations have been implemented. The National Credit Fund for Women called the “Rashtriya Mahila Kosh” was set up in 1993 to give poor women credit at reasonable rates of interest through nongovernment organizations working in rural areas. Another major initiative to raise the economic status of women was the “Mahila Samridhi Yojna.” It gives rural women greater control over their household resources and enables them to save and improve their financial assets. A high-level statutory body, the National Commission for Women, was also set up to monitor matters relating to the constitutional and legal rights of women. Since 1986–1987, Women’s Development Corporations have been set up in the states to play an important role in strengthening the economic activities of women, and Mahila Samakhyas schemes have been initiated to empower women (Desai and Thakkar 2001: 152).

The Eighth Five Year Plan (1992–1997) made an attempt to shift the approach from “development” to empowerment of women. It stressed that the benefits of development from different sectors should not bypass women. Special programs for women were framed to complement the general development programs. The Ninth Plan continued along the same lines. It is noteworthy that the Plan outlays have increased to meet the needs of women and children. The outlay of Rs40 million in the First Plan (1951–1956) has gone up to Rs20 billion in the Eighth Five Year Plan (1992–1997) and has been further increased in the Ninth and Tenth Plans respectively.

Following are some of the other significant steps taken by the Government regarding women’s issues:

- i) a chapter on Education for Equality within the National Policy on Education (1986);
- ii) the Report of the National Expert Committee on Women Prisoners (1986);
- iii) 27 women-specific beneficiary-oriented schemes monitored by the Prime Minister’s Office;

- iv) the National Plan of Action for the Girl Child (1991–2000);
- v) provisions of reserved seats for women in elected bodies at local level by 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments (1993);
- vi) poverty eradication programs and self-help groups under the National Bank of Agriculture and Development;
- vii) support to training and employment programs for upgrading the skills of poor women and for providing them employment under the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP);
- viii) the Training of Rural Youth in Self Employment; Jawahar Rozgar Yojana; Indira Awas Yojana; Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas;
- ix) a network of support services for women and children belonging to the weaker sections, programs for training women in nontraditional areas, gender sensitization, awareness generation, literacy and legal literacy programs and extension of support services such as hostels and crèches.

An overview of the government initiatives on women's issues shows that in the last 4 decades, development planning for women has straddled principles spanning welfare, development, equity, efficiency, and empowerment.

Development planning was the pride of the new nation, which involved massive investment of financial and physical resources. The main goal of the State was achievement of economic growth, with a hope of realizing self-sufficiency in food; creating a strong industrial base in the public sector; and generating employment opportunities. The planning process further included welfare orientation, so that the interests of the deprived sections of society were protected. The independent state was far more concerned with higher growth, modernization, and industrialization; social welfare activities were identified as appropriate interventions to deal with the problems of certain target groups, including women. It was mentioned in the National Plan of Action that women are “handicapped” by social customs and social values, therefore social welfare services should specially endeavor to rehabilitate them.

The growing erosion of optimism regarding the “Nehruvian model,” the ideal of wiping the last tear from the eye of the poorest man and creating a socialistic society, coupled with the impact of market forces unleashed by liberalization and globalization, led to structural adjustments. The important role of women that was previously invisible—in social and economic development—began to be focused and highlighted. The United Nations Declaration of the Decade for Women (1976–1989) played a crucial part in it. This led to considerable shifts in approaches by academic researchers and policy makers. The earlier preoccupation of researchers with the role of women

within the family and their reproductive responsibilities was replaced by attempts to understand the complexities of women's employment and their productive activities. Research on both waged workers and those in the informal sector, in urban areas and rural areas, helped in identifying the range of low-income women's income-generating activities in the national economy. Policy makers also began to shift focus from a universal concern with welfare-oriented, family-centered programs that assumed motherhood as the most important role for women in the development process to a diversity of approaches emphasizing the productive role of women.

Thus the women in development (WID) approach gained ascendancy, the underlying rationale of which was that women are an untapped resource that can provide an economic contribution to development. The WID approach, despite its change in focus from one of equity to one of efficiency, is based on the underlying rationale that development processes would proceed much better if women were fully incorporated into them instead of being left to use their time unproductively. It focuses mainly on women in isolation, promoting measures such as access to credit and employment as the means by which women can be better integrated into the development process (Chopra 1999: 4).

However, the introduction of the New Economic Policy after the mid-1980s, led to structural adjustments that were even more pronounced in the 1990s, targeting production for global markets, opening up the economy to other nations, and making market forces the sole determinant of economic and other activities. This affected all spheres of life and led to the emergence of new issues that affected Indian women substantially.

New market forces, with their emphasis on technology and management, began determining the contours of national development, including women's issues. The political, administrative, and ideological changes also raised pertinent issues regarding the deprived sections, viz., women. Approaches to issues of women in developing countries therefore took a further shift, principally in academic research. The limitations of focusing on women in isolation are being recognized, and attention is being drawn to the need instead to look at "gender and development" (GAD). This focus on "gender" rather than "women" is influenced by the manner in which the problems of women were perceived in terms of their "sex," that is, their biological differences from men, rather than in terms of their gender, that is, the social relationship between men and women in which women have been systematically subordinated. The focus on gender rather than on women makes it critical to look not only at the category "women"—since that is only half the story—but at women in relation to men, and the way in which relations between these categories are socially constructed. Men and women play different roles in society, with their gender differences

shaped by ideological, historical, religious, ethnic, economic, and cultural determinants. These roles show similarities and differences between other social categories such as class, race, ethnicity, and so on. Since the way they are socially constructed is always temporally and spatially specific, gender divisions cannot be read off on checklists. Social categories therefore differentiate the experience of inequality and subordination within societies. A brief reference to some issues in the Indian context might aid comprehension of the ground reality.

After the mid-1980s, communal issues escalated, especially with such events as the Shah Bano case for maintenance in 1985,² the Roop Kanwar incident of Sati in Rajasthan 1987,³ and the Adyodhya dispute in 1992. All these events gave a communal color to various policies, and drew attention to the plurality and diversity of people and issues. The trend of articulating demands through the community perspective gave rise to identity politics; the perception of Indian women as a homogenous entity was shattered, giving rise to different voices articulating varied concerns. Though the diversity of women's status had been recognized earlier, and, to an extent so had issues of region, community, caste, and class, it was nonetheless felt that at least a few problems were common to all women as victims of patriarchy. The major shift came when difference meant that one group could not speak on behalf of another. Thus, one of the major challenges today is the articulation of women's issues not as a unified agenda but as demands based on different identities.

The acceptance of globalization and the entry of multinationals and market forces as dictated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund changed the thrust of the economy, and the polity, education, and culture underwent a perceptible change. The visibility of women as agents during communal and caste conflicts brought about significant change in the thrust

² The judgment in *Mohd. Khan vs. Shah Bano and others* (AIR 85 SC 945) attracted the attention of the nation and had an impact on national politics. It was held here that a divorced Muslim woman, so long as she has not remarried, can claim maintenance under section 125 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The judgment recognized the right of the divorced woman to maintenance and pointed out the need for a common civil code. This stirred the conservative elements in Muslim society. The Government of the time bowed to the pressure and the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights of Divorce) Act was passed in 1986. This law has provided for maintenance of the wife during the iddat period. It further provides that if a divorced woman is not remarried and is not able to maintain herself after the period of iddat, she can claim maintenance from such relatives as would be entitled to inherit her property on her death (first from her children, then her parents and other relatives) and if no relative is able to pay such maintenance, from the Wakf Board. This legislation was a rude shock to the progressive elements. The courts have, however, taken a progressive stand in a few cases pertaining to maintenance even after this Act was passed. But the Supreme Court has, by and large, not taken any step that would disturb the status quo in Muslim society. On various occasions it could have struck down discriminatory provisions in Muslim law, but it chose to be on the periphery by holding that the controversy pertained to the legislative field.

³ Roop Kanwar, a young and educated girl of Deorala village in Rajasthan, was said to have burned herself alive on the pyre of her husband and it became an event that was glorified by members of the particular community.

of research. The studies shifted from considering women as victims to considering women as agents with power to influence the politicocultural system, positively and negatively. The phenomenon of docile, illiterate, subordinated women becoming articulate and assertive leaders in the new panchayats has also gained the attention of researchers.

In pre-independence India, while provisions of health care and education services had been increasingly demanded from the state, social welfare programs were administered mainly by voluntary agencies. No comprehensive nationwide program provided welfare services. After the attainment of independence, it was felt that the social and economic uplifting of the masses required government assistance to strengthen the services rendered by voluntary agencies. The administrative structure inherited from the colonial government was clearly not equipped for this task. In 1953, the central Government therefore created a new agency, the CSWB, to promote welfare and development services for women, children, and other underprivileged groups by providing assistance to voluntary agencies, improving and developing welfare programs, and sponsoring them in areas where they did not exist. Following the creation of the CSWB, the state governments set up, at the request of the CSWB, state social welfare (advisory) boards, for the same purpose. This was necessary, as welfare is a state subject.

V. The Rajasthan Experience

The concept of social welfare included in its ambit the underprivileged sections of society in totality. The categories requiring the attention of the responsible department were so variegated that the gender issue did not acquire the requisite visibility and attention. Therefore, in 1984 the government of Rajasthan established an altogether new department, the Women and Child Department. Implementation of comprehensive programs aimed at women's development and empowerment was the specific purpose of this newly created department. Programs and policies initiated by both the central and state governments were to be implemented through this department.

Various programs and schemes related to women's development have seen the light of day due to this department. Considerable overall improvement of the women in the state has been noted. A gradual increase in female literacy, access to credit and employment, etc. took place.

Besides the Women and Child Department, on the pattern of the National Commission for Women, a State Commission for Women was also set up in Rajasthan through an act of the state legislature in May 1999, to monitor matters relating to the constitutional and legal rights of women and also to

eliminate gender discrimination. The wide range of the functions of the commission includes hearing and investigation of complaints regarding misbehavior against women. The commission has been empowered to conduct criminal proceedings in relevant matters and also recommend measures for the redress of grievances.

With the acceptance of New Economic Policy, liberalization, the information explosion, the market economy, etc., the role of women in society has undergone tremendous change. As stated earlier, the WID approach to development proved inadequate and the GAD approach appears more suited to the ideal of empowerment of women. The adoption of the Women Policy in the State of Rajasthan in 2000 is a vivid reflection of this GAD approach.

The policy was the manifestation of the intention to improve the status of women in the state. It was also aimed at evolving mechanisms for the eradication of discriminatory and exploitative practices toward women. Creation of a congenial environment for overall development and empowerment of women has been emphasized.

The following measures have been identified as leading to the attainment of this policy's objectives:

- i) Implement schemes and programs that would enhance the capacity of women in the enjoyment of their constituted and legal rights, and also ensure gender equality and justice.
- ii) Recognize the productive role of women in family and society.
- iii) Prioritize fulfillment of girl children's and women's needs in acute conditions of poverty and adverse conditions.
- iv) Eliminate malnutrition, ill health, and early-age pregnancy and initiate health care facilities catering to all stages of life.
- v) Provide compulsory education for girls, at least at the primary level, and provide opportunities for basic and continuing education to illiterate women. Provide opportunities to women for acquiring the highest possible levels of education.
- vi) Create a congenial atmosphere and appropriate mechanisms to generate gender sensitivity in the personnel of all departments, opinion makers, media, and politicians.
- vii) Enhance the participation of women in the political process and also ensure their involvement in decision making for development.

The Women and Child Development Department established in 1984 has been made the nodal agency to implement the above policy, and also to coordinate and supervise the activities of different agencies and departments engaged in the implementation of various government policies and programs

designed for the development of women. This nodal agency has been assigned the responsibility of ensuring coordination between relevant government departments, public institutions, banks and other financial institutions, and women's groups and organizations. It has also been assigned the specific responsibility of procuring progress reports from the concerned departments and agencies that are to be submitted to the State Commission for Women.

This Commission has been expected to make recommendations in this context to the state government, and the latter would ensure the compliance with the same. To ensure enforcement of the recommendations, a committee under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister was contemplated. This has been supplanted by a committee under the chairmanship of the Chief Secretary of the State to monitor and review biannually the implementation of policies and programs for women's development.

VI. Concluding Observations

A review of the implementation of the above policy and various programs in the state reveals that women's empowerment, as it has been articulated, has been mostly rhetoric. Gender has been co-opted in the language of various policies but the fact remains that mere rhetoric cannot solve problems. The burgeoning of conflicts and caste and community identities in recent years has yet to elicit an adequate response from the administrative system. In the pursuit of liberalization, the state is gradually withdrawing from vital areas of education, health care, environment, and social services, thus deepening the suffering of the deprived sectors. Undoubtedly the role of civil society in democratic governance is crucial, but the state cannot be absolved of its accountability.

The 73rd and 74th Amendments have proved to be milestones in the process of enhancing political participation in Rajasthan. Women are being absorbed into formal politics at the local level and are gradually shattering the myths regarding their inefficiency, inability to govern, rule by proxy, etc. Evidently the success stories of these elected representatives at the local level (e.g., Panchayati Raj Institutions) have sent signals of the determined efforts of women for change, creating anxiety in male-dominated power structures and scaring them about the extension of power assertion if reservation is extended to state and parliamentary elections. Thus, relevant opposition to the Bill proposed for reservation for women in Lok Sabha (Central Legislature) and Vidhan Sabhas (State Legislatures) is strong.

An attempt at stocktaking of the "gender responsiveness" of the state government reveals that the proliferation of policies and plans of action for women still too frequently fail to be translated into practice. Unfortunately, in

India the term “culture” has been frequently used as a blanket explanation for constraints responsible for the “gender blindness” in policy formulation. The use of this term in such a pejorative manner as a casual explanation of failure raises the issue of whether planning is really a neutral activity and likewise, the planning and implementation processes.

A review of governance in the state of Rajasthan (India) with specific reference to “gender-responsiveness” in the last decade reveals that the issue of “gender” is an “add-on” rather than an integrative approach to the mainstream policy and planning exercise. Pertinent issues such as policy shifts in approach toward hitherto “invisible” gender issues by successive governments in the states are yet to be translated successfully into practice. In conventional analysis, political participation means activities related to electoral politics like voting, campaigning, holding party office, and contesting elections. But now such views are being challenged and conceptualized in a broader context. The concept now encompasses all voluntary actions intended to influence the making of public policies, the administration of public affairs, and the choice of political leaders at all levels of government. Political participation is no longer concerned only with the organization of the state and government and the dialectics of the exercise of power; it also seeks to reorganize the lives of the members of society.

Implementation of gender policy is also confronting technical as well as political constraints. The traditional view of planning methodology as a neutral activity needs to be overhauled. The separation of planning from the concrete reality of its context has proved to be “empirically vacuous.” The “manning” of departments responsible for the implementation of gender-oriented policies themselves need to be gender balanced in structure and organization. In other words, organizations need to adopt a more “gendered” approach. This could be accomplished by undertaking extensive training programs aimed at changing the working practices of colleagues within organizations. Formulating policies without the backing of a sound institutional framework is proving meaningless.

The majority of the policies, programs, and projects have not yielded the expected results due to lack of coordination among the relevant departments and agencies entrusted with the onerous tasks. The majority of the programs, projects, and policies lack an integrated approach responding to their multiple socioeconomic roles. A sensitive understanding about women’s different roles has still not emerged in the development planning schemes, and efforts for the betterment of women still remain piecemeal.

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Administrative Discretion and Representative Bureaucracy: Linking Descriptive Representation to Substantive Representation

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I. Introduction

Much has been said about the public service lately. Most of the time, the opinions tend to be negative. Wasteful, inefficient, arrogant, unresponsive, impersonal, autocratic, and undemocratic are among the harsher criticisms thrown at the bureaucracy. Yet, despite these criticisms, the public service plays essential roles in implementing and enforcing government policies. Many people whose lives have been affected by government agencies through a variety of policies in areas such as income redistribution, environmental protection, crime prevention, and health care management realize the importance of those agencies. However, when government becomes too big and too powerful, it poses a threat to democracy. Thus, when Kingsley (1944) started to argue that the civil service needed to be representative in order to be responsive, he basically introduced a new concept of representation that was previously a domain in the study of political systems. Ever since his conception of “representative bureaucracy,”² a plethora of scholars and practitioners has argued the need for a diverse bureaucratic workforce that reflects the population it serves. According to these scholars, representative bureaucracy enhances its legitimacy in a democratic political system.

A shift in philosophy from avoidance to acceptance of the reality that bureaucracy would continue to generate power in the policy-making process fostered the demand for a more representative bureaucracy. Rourke (1978) contends that although a powerful bureaucracy threatens the “traditional freedoms of democratic society, the bureaucratic power can be used to protect

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² The term “representative bureaucracy” is selected for this study because it captures the essence that bureaucracy should reflect the population it serves. Kranz (1976) adopted the term “participatory democracy” as a synonym for representative bureaucracy. Some scholars, such as Saltzein (1985, 1992) and Meier and Stewart (1992) use the term representativeness and responsiveness interchangeably. Even though responsiveness is similar to representativeness, its application merits another study, because its conceptualization involves a relationship between constituents’ opinions and bureaucratic action.

and extend those freedoms.” The idea of representative bureaucracy was further highlighted by Marini (1971), who points out that “we were reminded of relevance, social problems, personal morality, innovation, clients, the evils of hierarchy and bureaucracy.” In other words, bureaucracy has power and thus needs to be included in the scheme of representation and social justice. Representative bureaucracy has now become essential in a democratic political system. Riggs (1970) asserts that representation in all forms of government is critical to the stability of that government. He points to the rise of public rebellion in various countries as a consequence of the failure to have an equitable representation in the political dimensions of government and its administration. He maintains that there is a “need for diverse elements in a population to be adequately represented in order for a government to command their loyalty as a legitimate expression of common welfare” (1970: 570).

The concept of affirmative action in the bureaucracy is essentially an attempt to broaden the social composition of the bureaucracy to reflect that of the whole population, especially from certain underrepresented groups such as women and African Americans (Kernaghan and Siegel 1989). The idea that a diverse workforce will better enhance customers’ demands is also gaining momentum in the private sector. Kiel (1994) believes that an organization that is reflective of its population will have a better understanding of its clients’ needs. Similarly, Dresang (1974) agrees that an organization that mirrors society allows it to serve as “an index of openness and access.” Furthermore, a large number of private organizations have considered employment diversity to be a good business strategy (Howes 1993). Howes argues that affirmative action has now become a prerequisite for future success or even survival for any organization.

Building upon this foundation, I intend to explore this issue in greater detail, especially as it pertains to Malaysian bureaucracy. The first part of this article explores the theory of representative bureaucracy, highlighting previous empirical studies that explore the transition from descriptive representation to substantive representation in government agencies. The second part explores the concept of administrative discretion and highlights how individuals’ perceptions of the discretion influence the formation of a representative role. The final section explores the hypothesis that individual administrators who perceive themselves as advocates of certain groups prefer policy outcomes that are more responsive to the interests of women and minorities than those of their colleagues.

II. The Theory of Representative Bureaucracy

A general consensus maintains that the mere existence of various institutions of public accountability is not enough; they have to be effective in protecting the interests of the public. This is because the quality of governance is determined not by the objective perceptions of a few experts but by the net impact of government policies on the well-being of its citizens (Shah 1996; Huther and Shah 1998). The quality of governance is thus enhanced by closely matching government services with citizen preferences, as well as by moving government closer to the people it is supposed to serve, something that ensures greater accountability of the public service. In recent years concern has proliferated about the consequences of governance and misgovernance (Kaufman, Kraay, and Zoido-Lobaton 1999). For example, a few empirical studies have demonstrated the link between accountability and performance. Wade (1994) finds that when irrigation officials in India and Korea face more local pressure, they tend to perform better than traditional arrangements that insulate them from political pressure. In addition, Isham, Narayan, and Pritchett (1995) reveal that aid-financed rural water supply projects performed much better with greater participation from their beneficiaries. A wealth of cross-country indicators of various aspects of governance now strongly suggests that good governance improves government accountability to citizens and enhances the quality of public services (Kaufmann, Kraay, and Zoido-Lobaton 2000).

These concerns have certainly renewed interest in protecting democratic values as they pertain to control of government agencies. The growth of public agencies has forced theorists and practitioners to revisit bureaucratic paradigms such as fairness, representation, participation, accountability, responsiveness, political neutrality, efficiency, rationality, and expertise. Yet, the very nature of public administration poses problems to accommodating these values. For example, bureaucracy consists of appointed public officials and has a tendency to rely on expertise and knowledge over accountability, participation, and democratic control (Weber 1968; Mosher 1968). In addition, bureaucrats' lack of accountability at the ballot box, as well as various civil service regulations that insulate them from political pressure, further compound the fear that bureaucratic power comes at the expense of public interest (Krislov and Rosenbloom 1981).

Hence, the essence of traditional public administration that tends to be rigid, rule-bound, centralized, insular, self-protective, and profoundly antidemocratic has often collided with the contemporary paradigm of bureaucracy that "allows qualified voters an efficient instrument through which the will of the people may be expressed; makes officers both responsive and responsible;" and ensures the common welfare (Lynn 2001). Thus, a critical

question in the field of public administration is whether or not these bureaucratic characteristics are legitimate in terms of democratic principles. In this regard, David Rosenbloom (1993) opines that the legitimacy of bureaucracy occurs when bureaucratic policy making is subject to direct popular control. If bureaucracy is isolated from public accountability, then bureaucracy can in no way be responsive to public interests and desires. As a result, we are faced with the persistent problem of how best to ensure bureaucratic responsiveness and accountability to the public.

Representative theory initially emerged during the Greek civilization. Aristotle first mentioned the importance of representation of different classes of society in government (Vietri 1981). Book III of the *Politics* is always regarded as the foundation of political science in the West. The *polis*, the supreme form of community for Aristotle, is the best community, because it enables rational men to participate in the political process. However, Aristotle also believes that class conflict between the rich and the poor is inevitable in all societies. This conflict always poses a threat of instability, violence, and revolution. Hence, blending the class interests in government by supporting political equality avoids conflicts and at the same time increases legitimate sovereign authority.

The writings of Karl Marx and Max Weber also contribute to the development of representative bureaucracy. The elimination of class-biased bureaucracy and the emergence of classless administrative systems came about because of Marx's fear of the danger of dominant bureaucracy. Likewise, Weber's rational-legal approach allowed unrepresented groups to seek access to government. For example, the procedures of merit-based appointment increased the democratic potential of all groups to join the civil service (Krislov 1967). However, the contemporary intellectual roots of the idea of representative bureaucracy can be traced to J. Donald Kingsley. Kingsley's comprehensive analysis of the British civil service revealed a pattern of administrative arrangements that reflected the character of the social structure of the nation. In his view, because the middle class dominated British society, it was inevitable that the composition of the bureaucracy was largely middle class (Kingsley 1944).

Since Kingsley's discovery of the term, the concept of representative bureaucracy has been widely interpreted and debated. David Levithan (1946) was the first to propose that representative bureaucracy be integrated into the American civil service. He contended that representative bureaucracy could act as an internal control on the behaviors of administrators and hence could promote democratic values. Following Levithan, Long (1952: 813) espoused a more extreme form of representative bureaucracy. He suggested that

Given the seemingly inevitable growth in the power of the bureaucracy through administrative discretion and administrative law, it is of critical importance that the bureaucracy be both representative and democratic in composition and ethos.

In essence, Long believed that a representative bureaucracy enhanced the democratization of the American civil service by promoting the interests and demands of the people it represented. Building upon this theory, Van Riper (1958) argued that an “open public service” was necessary so that the American public service consisted of a reasonable cross-section of the population by occupation, class, and geography. To create a representative bureaucracy, he argued, government should accelerate the upward mobility of women and minority administrators through an equal opportunity system. He was basically the first American scholar to emphasize social characteristics as part of the representative concept. Meanwhile, Subramaniam (1967) suggested that representative bureaucracy is an organization “in which every economic class, caste, region, or religion in a country is represented in exact proportion to its number in the population.” Krislov (1967, 1974) also argued that American bureaucracy should be representative in its social composition. He posited several advantages of having a diverse workforce:

The most obvious is the simple representational notion that all social groups have a right to political participation and to influence. The second one can be labeled the functional aspect; the wider the range of talents, types, and regional and family contacts found in a bureaucracy, the more likely it is to be able to fulfill its functions, with respect to both internal efficiency and social setting. Bureaucracies also symbolize values and power realities and are thus representational in both a political and an analytic sense. Therefore, finally social conduct and future behavior in a society may be channeled and encouraged through the mere constitution of the bureaucracy (1974: 64).

However, even after 2 decades during which representative bureaucracy became a concept of considerable importance as an explanatory tool in the discussions of the American civil service, its concepts, meanings, and applicability remained ambiguous and underdeveloped. As a result of this confusion, Mosher (1968: 14–15) attempted to clarify the concept of representativeness by introducing the passive and active form of representation. Mosher advocated the form of passive representation because

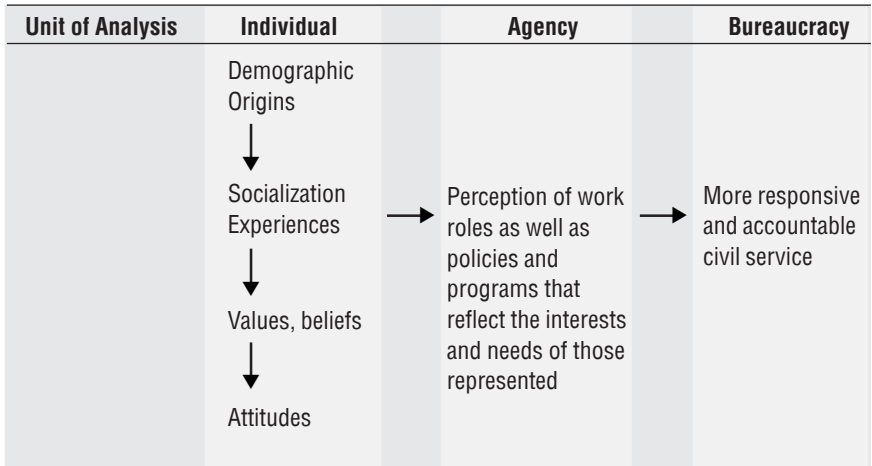
the passive (or descriptive) meaning of representativeness concerns the origins of individuals and the degree to which, collectively, they mirror the whole society. It may be statistically measured in terms of locality or origin... and its nature (rural, urban, suburban), previous occupations, father's occupation, education, family income, family social class, sex, race, religion. A public service... which is broadly representative of all categories of the population in these respects, may be thought of as satisfying Lincoln's prescription of government "by the people" in a limited sense.

Mosher believed that passive representation was important because it signified democratic values such as open service, equal opportunity, social mobility, and participatory management. Kranz (1976) further expanded the concept of representation by emphasizing the idea of proportional representation. For example, he pointed out that a bureaucracy is representative if the ratio of a particular group in an agency equals that of the group's percentage in the population. He argued that a representative bureaucracy was desirable for economic, social, and political justifications in such a way that bureaucracy was not only providing essential services but also was becoming a source of jobs, as well as "a potential form of significant group representation" (Kranz 1976: 135). He reiterated that the public sector was the preferred avenue for women and minority grievances, since it offered them greater employment opportunities.

Thompson (1976) illustrated three different forms of bureaucratic representation that could increase bureaucratic responsiveness to particular groups and advocate their interests in the policy outputs. First, he underlined the importance of demographic representation in the civil service, which would reflect certain characteristics of the population. Secondly, he emphasized the attitudinal representation in which citizens' values and beliefs must be proportionately represented among public administrators. Finally, he argued for substantive representation, such that the actual behavior of bureaucrats should benefit intended social groups. In addition, Krislov and Rosenbloom (1981) were interested in integrating bureaucratic power into democratic government. In a similar manner to Thompson's, they also proposed three types of representation: representation by personnel (diverse workforce), representation by agencies (agencies promote specific groups' interests), and representation through citizen participation (citizens have greater access to decision-making processes). These representation models have indeed been part of administrative reforms aimed at increasing greater accountability and responsiveness. In short, the different versions of representation clearly emphasize the new perspective of the role of representative bureaucracy within the context of democratic theory.

A representative bureaucracy that broadly reflects the values, interests, aspirations, and desires of the general public has a legitimate position in a democratic country. Administrators who come from various demographic backgrounds will initially be much more sensitive to the issues and interests of their own groups and thus be able to make policy decisions that reflect those interests. However, individual administrators normally go through socialization processes that influence their values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. These socialization experiences in turn shape the way they perceive their work roles as well as their policy decisions. Thus, different socialization experiences will produce different perceptions of work roles and different bureaucratic decisions. This means that administrators who first come into the civil service with specific values and beliefs might not be able to hold on to those values and beliefs anymore. The organizational values and beliefs will now be more likely to shape their attitudes and behavior. Figure 1 illustrates the conception of representative bureaucracy that underlines this logic.

Figure 1. Basic Conception of Representative Bureaucracy



Source: Author's researches.

III. Administrative Discretion and Representative Bureaucracy

The essential role of government bureaucracy in formulating and implementing public policies makes it a central player in a democratic nation. Bureaucratic actions basically constitute what government chooses to do or not to do. The original politics/administration dichotomy has clearly faded because of the increasing importance of civil servants in the policy-making processes. Scholars of public administration have long recognized that bureaucracy has now become the center of political power and authority. It has a direct impact upon the population because of its role in the decision-making and implementation processes (Weber 1968; Peters 1988; Thompson 1961; Lenin 1969; Kingsley 1944; Herring 1936; Appleby 1949; Wright 1974–75; Sutherland 1993; Kaufman 1954, 1978; Friedrich 1978; Finer 1978).

However, the degree of administrative discretion required to implement public policy stands in stark contrast to the democratic government requirement of popular sovereignty. As a result, the delegation of policy-making authority to government agencies raises a serious dilemma in democratic societies. On the one hand, bureaucratic discretion is essential because lawmakers cannot foresee all possible circumstances surrounding the application and execution of public laws. On the other hand, their lack of accountability to political pressure further constrains the ability of legislatures to control bureaucratic behavior (Meier 1993a; Mosher 1982; Redford 1969; Ripley and Franklin 1991; Rourke 1992). Consequently, bureaucrats are often called upon to make judgments based on their experiences, expertise, and intuition, rather than in the interest of the public (Warmesley et al. 1990).

In addition, a serious concern arises that certain agencies of government seem to develop a special relationship with special private interests, the very interests they are supposed to regulate, again suggesting the inability of public agencies to ensure bureaucratic responsiveness and accountability to the public. Lowi (1969) argues that the exercise of discretion tends to neglect the larger public interest. As a result, he proposes a “juridical democracy” that enlists detailed legislative action designed to eliminate discretion. In addition to specific legislation and greater legislative review of administrative actions, other proposals have suggested increasing public accountability. Cooper (1982) discusses various roles, obligations, and objective responsibilities that limit the boundaries of administrative actions. Gawthrop’s (1984) system theory is a mechanism used to redesign organizational structures to achieve bureaucratic responsiveness. Ziegler and Tucker (1978) argue that efficiency and responsiveness can only be maintained when policy initiative rests with the elected representative. Furthermore, economics-based approaches have also contributed to the search for democratic accountability. The principal-agent

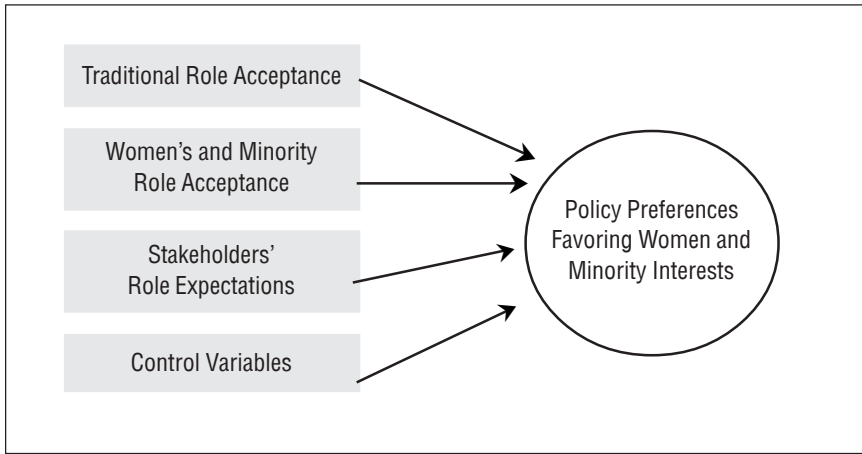
model that is widely used in economics, management, and sociology (Levinthal 1988; Zucker 1987) has become a powerful new tool for assessing bureaucratic responsiveness. This model stipulates that the principals (executive and legislative) design incentives and sanctions to control administrators' behavior so that the behavior is always in conformity with the policy preferences of the principals (Wood and Waterman 1993).

Finer (1972) has also argued for greater legislative control and increased supervision of administrative activities as a means of controlling bureaucrats. Fearing that bureaucrats' views become the dominant view of society, he recommends that legislatures engage in detailed supervision of government agencies. Recent theoretical and empirical studies (Ferejohn and Shipan 1990; Carpenter 1996; Hamilton and Schroeder 1994; Wood and Waterman 1993, 1994) have all highlighted the utilization of mechanisms such as administrative procedures, appointments, budgets, and oversight hearings to enhance bureaucratic responsiveness in public agencies. Other empirical studies even indicate that many public administrators believe that elected officials should exercise some degree of dominance over them (Green 1982; Gruber 1987).

Finally, the growing influence of the democratic accountability model on administrative theories brings forth the argument for a representative bureaucracy. Proponents of representative bureaucracy argue that bureaucratic decisions reflect the general will of the population if bureaucratic composition shares similar characteristics of the population, such as geographical locations (Denhardt 1992), social classes (Kingsley 1944), and race or gender (Krislov 1974). Van Riper (1958) argues that the concept of representative bureaucracy offers a positive perspective on the theory of administrative responsibility. Others argue that the representative nature of bureaucracy makes it potentially responsive to the needs and interests of the population (Long 1952; Meier 1993a; Saltzstein 1985, 1992). A bureaucracy that consists of people from diverse backgrounds can certainly influence policy preferences to be in sync with the interests and demands of the groups they represent.

IV. Variables in the Model

The model for examining the linkage between descriptive representation and substantive representation is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Relationship between Descriptive and Substantive Representation

Source: Author's researches.

A. Stakeholders' Role Expectations

The focus of this variable is to examine administrators' perceptions of what significant others perceive their role should be. With such a focus, the aim is to demonstrate that an administrator defines his or her role with reference to others. For example, role theorists infer that a certain behavior will follow a particular position. (For a further discussion of role theory, see Gross, Mason and McEachern 1958: 12; Conway and Feigert 1972: 124-125; and Linton 1945.) Individuals' attitudes are thus a reflection of the attitudes held by the group with which he or she associates. Michael Dawson (1994) calls this attachment being "one of us." He defines this notion of linked fate as the degree to which particular groups believe that their own self-interests are linked to the interests of others. As a result, the role itself is formed by the expectations of significant others and the expectation that the administrator attaches to it. For example, when administrators perceive that the community of minorities and women expect them to represent women's and minority interests, they are more likely to accept this role (Kahn et al. 1964). However, when an administrator perceives that other actors have different expectations of how he or she will behave in this position, the clash of incompatible expectations leads to role conflict. For instance, political leaders expect the administrator to represent their interests and take sides on policy matters. On the other hand, the administrator also feels that his supervisors expect him to be neutral and efficient in carrying out his tasks. As a result of these different expectations, a

public administrator often experiences intra-role conflict. It is generally true that administrators may have to deal with outside actors in carrying out their duties.³ The role expectations of other actors may significantly alter administrators' own perceptions concerning work roles. Actors such as politicians, the general public, superiors, professional associations, women and minority colleagues, and women and the minority community possess different political agendas. Most likely, the role expectations of these actors often do not coincide with the administrators' perceptions of organizational goals.

As a result, administrators must find ways to reconcile these different expectations with their own goals and commitments. For example, literature on representative bureaucracy reveals that minority and women administrators will often advocate policies that cater to the interests of their groups if other actors in the policy-making process hold such expectations for them. Likewise, administrators will tend to follow traditional bureaucratic roles if they perceive that other actors expect them to adhere to bureaucratic norms and practices (see Martinez [1991] and Murray et al. [1994]). Thus, *administrators who perceive that other important actors in the policy environment expect them to represent women's and minority interests are more likely to assume the role of women's and minority advocates and hence have policy preferences that reflect this role.*

B. Women and Minority Role Acceptance

The perception of role orientations is central to this study. Selden (1997: 117) defines roles as "sets of expected behaviors to be performed by a person occupying a particular position." (For further discussion of role orientations, please see Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, and Snoek [1964], Turner [1956], and Widmer [1993].) Role expectations are demands conveyed by significant others expressed either formally or informally. However, these expectations are not as important as individuals' own perceptions of what is expected of them (Kahn et al. 1964, Turner 1956). This is because according to Kahn et al. (1964: 16), "It is the received role, however, which is the immediate influence on... behavior and the immediate source of... motivation to role performance." As a result, despite multiple role expectations, administrators may ultimately decide which role orientations they will meet.

Several scholars have examined organizational and environmental conditions that influence the role orientations of public administrators (McClain and Karnig 1988, Henderson 1988, Martinez 1991, and Murray et

³ See the detailed account of the intricate and complex relationship between forest rangers and Congress, the executive branch, and the public, especially the environmental groups, in Kaufman 1967.

al. 1994). Although the expectations vary from one significant actor to another, Selden (1997) identifies two most common expectations: representative role orientation and traditional role orientation. The emphasis on the representative functions of bureaucracy was first codified in the “new public administration” school of thought, which essentially dismisses the old Wilsonian tradition that public administration is a value-free practice (Waldo 1971; Marini 1971). The landmark Minnowbrook conference of public administration professionals in 1968 was the earliest indication that the voices for inclusion had started to gain prominence in the administrative arena. Frederikson (1971), one of the proponents of this school, argues that bureaucracy has to be included in the scheme of representation and social justice. Similarly, Riggs (1970: 570) points out that there is a “need for diverse elements in a population to be adequately represented in order for a government to command their loyalty as a legitimate expression of common welfare.” As a result, the idea of representative bureaucracy is not only to create a civil service that is more reflective of its population, but also to strive to make policies that promote the interests of historically disadvantaged groups such as women and minorities. Mosher’s (1982) prescription for passive and active representation is reflective of his position that it is simply not enough to have a diverse workforce. Instead, public administrators should also advocate public policies that advance the interests and wishes of disadvantaged groups. Thus, when administrators perceive their role as advocates of women’s or minority groups, they are more likely to pursue policy preferences that benefit women’s and minority interests. Therefore, *administrators who assume the role of minority and women’s role advocate are likely to prefer policies that advance the interest of women and minority groups.*

C. Traditional Role Acceptance

The traditional bureaucratic roles emphasize economy, neutrality, rationality, meritocracy, and efficiency (Ingraham and Ban 1986). Traditional role orientation is based on the principle of merit and neutral competence. To this end, Kaufman (1956: 1,060) emphatically argues that public administrators need to “do the work of the government expertly, and to do it according to explicit, objective standards rather than personal or party or other obligations and loyalties.” While neutral competence is important, the ultimate objective is efficiency in administration (Denhardt and deLeon 1993). Dahl (1947: 2) concurs that, “the doctrine of efficiency runs like a half-visible thread through the fabric of public administration literature as a dominant goal.” Similarly, Frederickson (1971: 311) asserts that the classic definition of public administration has always been “the efficient, economical, and coordinated”

delivery of public services. More recent observations of public administration also underline the fact that economy and efficiency continue to remain the central values among public administrators (Ingraham and Ban 1986). As a result, it is believed that administrators who accept the traditional bureaucratic role orientation will be less inclined to conceive their role orientation representing any particular group. Specifically, *administrators who assume traditional roles are not likely to engage in behaviors that support the interests of women and minorities.*

D. Control Variables

I also include two control variables in this model: the ethnicity and the gender of the administrator. Since organizational socialization experiences may lead administrators to accept representative role orientation, a control variable of ethnicity is included to determine whether it has any effect on policy preferences (Selden 1997; Selden et al. 1998). In addition, a control variable of gender is included because scholars examining the role of women in government tend to argue that women administrators often have a “heightened awareness of feminist issues [that] often give[s] them a better feel for the problems women encounter, making them especially adept at recognizing when policy solutions fail to account for women’s unique needs” (Dolan 2000: 514). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that gender may have an additional impact on administrators’ policy preferences.

V. Methodology

A. The Research Setting

The focus of the empirical research conducted in this article is the federal ministries in Kuala Lumpur. Since the focal point of the research is the discretionary power of bureaucracy, it was imperative that only higher civil servants be selected. They ranged from officers in the managerial and professional group to top managerial positions such as secretary general, undersecretaries, their deputies and assistants, and directors of departments. The selection of higher civil servants in the study also resonates with the argument by Meier and Stewart (1992) that public administrators who are the subjects of the analysis must first have a significant amount of discretion in the decision-making process. Second, the decisions must have important implications for the groups being represented, and third, the administrators

can be associated directly with the decisions they make. Because these assumptions clearly fit the characteristics of higher civil servants, they are appropriately selected in this study.

B. Data Collection

Data for this study were collected in Malaysia during October 2002 and July 2003. Two main sources were i) government documents, official reports, and national statistics data of Malaysia and ii) survey questionnaires⁴ from a sample of Malaysian higher civil servants from Group A (management and professional and upper management) drawn from 12 federal ministries: the Ministries of Domestic Trade and Consumer Affairs, Women and Family Development, National Unity and Social Development, Youth and Sports, Agriculture, Transport, Works, Home Affairs, Primary Industry, Finance, Energy, Communications, and Multimedia and Human Resources.

The survey was self-administered. I personally distributed the questionnaires to a top-ranking civil servant in each ministry, who then randomly distributed the questionnaires to the officials in the ministry. I specified the time for collecting back the questionnaires and even extended the time when the responses were poor. All of the ministries I surveyed are located in Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya. The number of questionnaires was distributed based upon the number of Group A officials, as well as the requested number from the relevant ministries. I distributed 545 questionnaires and recovered 205 completed questionnaires, about 37%.

C. Operationalization

Table 1 displays the variables used in this model. The dependent variable examined the policy preferences of administrators. Ordinary least squares regression is used to estimate the equation.⁵

⁴ The questionnaires were pretested at the Universiti Utara Malaysia, Sintok, Kedah, using 15 university administrators to examine the face validity of the items in the questionnaire. The administrators were asked to indicate vagueness in the questions or instructions. They were also asked to identify any questions that were irrelevant or misleading to the subject being investigated. The results of the pretest revealed a few items in the questionnaire that were vague. For example, the word "minority" was vague and therefore needed to be more specific in describing which groups can be categorized as minority.

⁵ Using the variance-inflation factor, the author examined the equation for the possibility of collinearity and multicollinearity and found no significant problem. To determine whether heteroscedasticity was present, the author used the Breusch-Pagan-Godfrey test. The author did not detect heteroscedasticity in the equation (Pindyck and Rubinfeld 1998).

Table 1. Operationalization of Dependent and Independent Variables

Dependent Variable:	
	Policy Preferences (Index 1 scaled 0–80%)
Independent Variables	
	Traditional Role Acceptance (Index 2 scaled 0–80%)
	Women and Minority Role Acceptance (Index 3 scaled 0-80%)
	Stakeholder's role expectation (Index 4 scaled 0-80%)
	Race/ethnicity:
	0 = Malays
	1 = Minority
	Gender:
	1 = male
	2 = female

Source: Author's researches.

D. Findings and Discussions

Table 2 presents the results of the regression analysis for the dependent variable policy preferences benefiting women and minority groups. Overall, the variables included in the model account for 34% of the variation found in the policy preferences favoring women's and minority interests. Perhaps most crucial, administrators who perceive their role as that of an advocate of women and minority interests are significantly more likely to prefer policy decisions that advance the interests of women and minorities (beta = .45). Second, although it does not attain statistical significance, the traditional role perception variable is related negatively to policy preferences favoring women and minorities, suggesting that acceptance of traditional role orientation does not further women's and minority interests. Third, as hypothesized, role expectation of other actors has a significant impact on policy preferences favoring women's and minority interests. The positive relationship between perceived role expectations and policy preferences indicates that the more administrators perceive that other actors expect them to advocate women's and minority interests, the more likely it is that they will choose policy decisions that benefit women's and minority interests.

The control variables introduced into the model do not remove the significant influence of women's and minority representative role acceptance

and role expectations of other actors. Because administrators' perceptions of their roles have been shown to be influenced by organizational socialization, control variables were included to examine whether differences in policy preferences exist between minority administrators and Malay administrators and between administrators of different genders (Selden 1997). The findings indicate that even when gender and ethnicity are controlled statistically, perceived role expectations and the advocacy representative role accepted by administrators affect administrators' policy preferences.

Table 2. Regression Model for Policy Preference

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standard Error	Standardized Coefficient
Control Variables			
Race/Ethnicity	-8.450 ^a	2.600	-0.197
Gender	-6.642	1.853	-0.212
Women and Minority Representative Role Acceptance	^a 0.434 ^a	0.064	0.450
Traditional Bureaucratic Role Acceptance	-0.032	0.077	-0.027
Stakeholders' Role Expectation	0.241 ^a	.093	0.166
R ²	= .341		
Adjusted R ²	= .324		
F	= 20.563		
Number of Cases	= 205		
* significant at 0.05			

Source: Author's researches.

VI. Conclusion

The findings of this study further enhance the understanding of the concept of representative bureaucracy. Krislov (1974) was the first scholar to argue that examining the descriptive representation alone was of limited usefulness. This is because descriptive characteristics of administrators offer little evidence that they will represent the interests of people who are of similar backgrounds. As such, the study to understand how descriptive representation can be translated into substantive representation becomes much more pertinent among representative bureaucracy scholars. By exploring the relationship between role perceptions and policy preferences, this study is able to provide evidence of the linkage between descriptive representation and substantive representation. Despite the importance of ethnicity to administrators' role perceptions and policy preferences, this study strongly suggests that administrators who perceive their role as advocates of women and minorities are more inclined to prefer policy decisions that benefit women and the minority community. Most important, the research also suggests conditions that translate descriptive representation into substantive representation. The data analyzed indicate that role expectations of others and role acceptance significantly influence the degree to which Malaysian administrators engage in substantive representation of women's and minority interests.

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Educating and Training Japanese Government Officials: Current Trends and Policy Study Aspects

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I. Introduction

The Japanese bureaucrat system was established in the early Meiji period (1868–1912). Tokyo Imperial College (currently the University of Tokyo) was founded in 1886, based on the Imperial College Law, for the purpose of cultivating civil servants for the national ministries. One year later, an employment examination for government officials was introduced. In 2002, the total number of civil servants amounts to 4.36 million, consisting of 1.114 million (25%) national and 3.247 million (75%) local government officials.

Currently, civil servants in Japan are facing a very tough situation, as the past decade has witnessed an erosion of public trust. People no longer appreciate government officials due to the exposure of various ethics problems. According to a survey conducted by civil service monitors in 2001, Japanese government officials were considered “elite” because they were judged to be “capable” (54.8%), “hard-working” (35.8%) or possessing a responsible attitude and a sense of public vocation (28.5%) (Jinjin 2002). On the other hand, almost 80% of the people surveyed consider Japanese government officials part of a privileged class that is not on the side of the average person. This reflects the fact that bureaucrats have been losing people’s trust after a series of bad decisions made by high government officials concerning chemical poisoning, acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), bovine spongiform encephalopathy, and so on.

In the 1960s, most Western developed countries enjoyed highly stable economic growth, while in the 1970s, growth slowed in most countries as the first and second “oil shocks” impacted almost the entire world. In the 1980s and 1990s, most countries’ tax revenues stopped increasing, while expenditures continued to rise. The resulting “financial crisis” has raised awareness that “governability” is an important and necessary function for a government to possess. At the same time, criticisms of the low efficiency of government and the insufficient and unsatisfactory results of policy implementation are

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frequently voiced. The expression “government failure” often appears and it is clear that trust in the government has been degraded.

The term “New Public Management” (NPM) has been heard quite frequently in various types of mass media as well as in academic and governmental organizations. NPM may be identified as having two main properties:

- i) reducing control by the government, and preferably utilizing the market mechanism as much as possible to solve various kinds of societal and public sector problems by implementing appropriate policies; and
- ii) placing value on results rather than plans and processes; managing inputs and outputs carefully, quantitatively, and accurately so as to “manage for results.”

The first property is based on the observation that the public sector generally comes out poorly when compared with the private sector, which is considered more sensitive and responsive to costs, benefits, and efficiency. Recent moves to define and promote “evaluation measures” in the governmental and public sectors (e.g., by policy evaluation and program evaluation) is representative of the second NPM property (Dror 1971, Dye 1992, Hatry et al. 1981, Jenkins-Smith 1990, Parsons 1995, Quade 1975, Rossi et al. 1999, Weiss 1998, Wholey et al. 1994, Wildavsky 1987).

Under “globalization,” the situation facing the nation has been changing; namely, the development of transportation, communication, and traffic has increased the mutual interdependency between nations in such areas as economics, society, and politics. Thus, each country has been forced to introduce foreign capital investments and deregulation in many areas in order to attain a certain level of economic growth. It is necessary to evaluate quantitatively the economic and political impacts of globalization for each country (Oyama 2004). First, with respect to the domestic situation, we can say that governance has shifted from a vertical relationship (from government to ordinary citizens) to a horizontal relationship (from the public sector only to more widely spread areas, including the private sector). Second, in reference to the international situation, governance has moved from a horizontal and independent type, in which each country has its own governing system, to a vertical network type in which international organizations such as the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, International Monetary Fund, and World Trade Organization regulate various countries. Under globalization, many countries are connected with each other in networks.

II. A Brief History of Sending Government Officials Abroad

In the Edo period (1603–1867), the Tokugawa Shogunate sent young government officials abroad for the first time only in 1862. Since then, a great many government officials have been sent to foreign countries such as the United States (US), European countries, and other countries. Mr. Griffith (Ishitsuke 1992) commented that young Japanese government officials at that time were all “polite, sincere, hard-working, earnest and capable” people with the potential to lead the future Japanese society, and he himself respected their strong will to study and work for themselves and for their own country. Dr. Heinrich Schliemann, who gained fame for discovering the Ruins of Troy, visited Japan in 1885 and wrote in his book that he was surprised to see young Japanese government officials’ sincerity and politeness. By way of example, he praised the officials in the Customs Office who strongly refused to accept “tips” from entering passengers at the baggage claims (Schliemann 1998).

This behavior of old Japanese government officials in the Meiji period is thought to be closely related to our old “*Bushido* spirit.” A book entitled *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, published in 1899 in the US, was written by a famous Meiji-era Japanese scholar and author Dr. and Professor Inazo Nitobe (Nitobe 1899). This book is written about the philosophy of Bushido. It explains the mental, spiritual, and philosophical standards that *Bushi* (traditional Japanese samurai) must follow in their daily lives as professional samurai. Dr. Nitobe characterized the moral standards of samurai as consisting of such properties as sacrifice, faithfulness, purity, thrift or plainness, honor, and affection. In old times in Japan, samurai were considered and treated as elite, with great privilege and great responsibility. That is why they had to train themselves very strictly and observe very strict moralistic rules. Their lifestyle had to be very simple and humble. This is the traditional Japanese version of “noblesse oblige.” Bushido consisted of the discipline and the rules to restrict samurais’ daily life. Dr. Nitobe argued that samurai should be a respectful model for average people. A true samurai must support justice, should not be interested in just himself, should keep his word, and must be ready to die, if necessary, to prevent injustice or to defend his honor. In this way, Bushido provides the rules for “noblesse oblige” or the spirit of fair play for samurai.

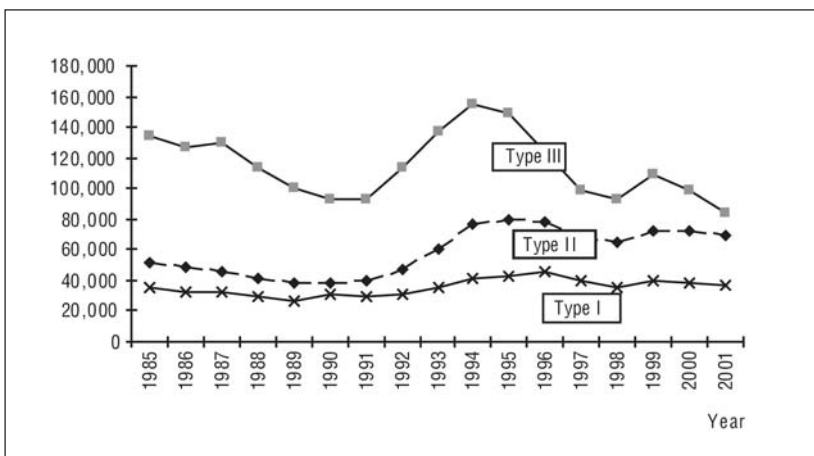
The Bushido spirit described by Dr. Nitobe may not apply to the present world in the same way as 400 years ago. However, I believe this idea, principle, way of thinking, or moral standards can hold even in this information technology (IT) era. Politicians and government officials are also required and expected to be a model for ordinary people. In this sense I believe that the Bushido spirit is especially important and necessary for high-level government officials. If Japanese politicians and high government officials had read Dr. Nitobe’s book, *Bushido*,

and if they had been more familiar with the Bushido spirit, the “bubble period” would not have occurred, nor would recent scandals by high government officials. Moreover, Japanese people would not have been called “economic animals” in the 1970–1980s.

III. Recruiting and Promoting High-level Government Officials

The National Personnel Authority (NPA) is in charge of the recruitment of government officials. Japan has three types of recruitment examinations, in which types I and II are for university and college graduates, while type III is for high school graduates. Those who pass the type I examination and are employed by a ministry are referred to as “career officials” while others are called “noncareer officials.” Figure 1 shows the trend in the number of applicants for the recruitment examination of each type in the last 17 years. It shows that the number of applicants reached a peak in 1995 and has been gradually decreasing every year since. In the last 3 years the total number of applicants has decreased slightly, by a few percentage points, for types I and II and decreased more sharply for type III.

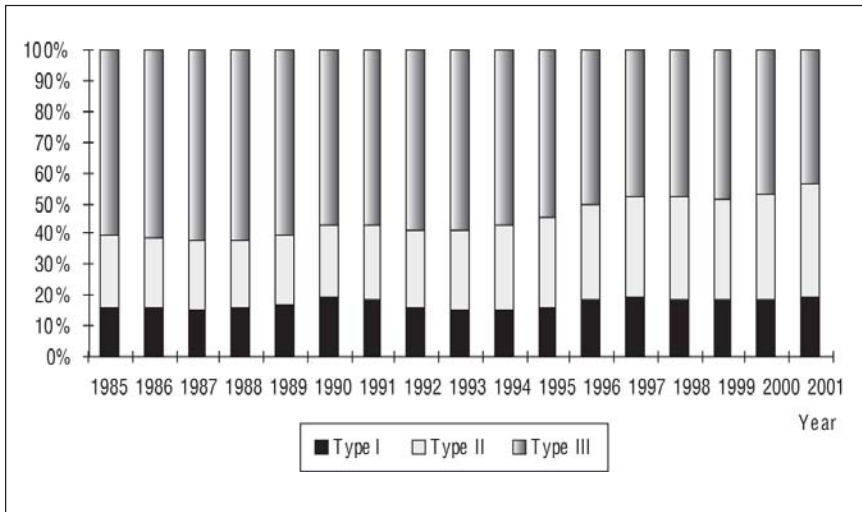
Figure 1. Number of Applicants by Type for Recruitment Examinations



Source: National Personnel Authority.

Figure 2 shows the trend of shares during the same period (1985–2001). We find that the type I applicants’ share is rather stable at around 15%–20%, the type II share has been increasing from 22% to 35%, and the type III share has been decreasing from 60% to 45%. In addition, looking at the academic background for type I applicants in the last 10 years or so, literature and law school graduates have stayed in the majority, slightly increasing their share from 54% to 60%. Science and engineering school graduates have slightly decreased, from 32% to 30%, and agriculture school graduates have decreased from 14% to 10%.

Figure 2. Shares of Applicants by Types for Recruitment Examinations



Source: National Personnel Authority.

Table 1 shows the numbers who passed the recruitment examination over the period 1996–2003 and the type of university they attended. From Table 1 we find that the share of those from public schools (mostly national universities including city and prefectural local governmental universities) who passed the examination has been consistently decreasing in the last 7 years, from 82% to 76%, while the share of those from private schools has been increasing, from 17% to 23%.

**Table 1. Numbers Passed and Employed for Type I Examination
(numbers, % [in parentheses])**

University Type	Year	1996	1997	1998	1999
National	Passed	1,300 (82.1)	1,032 (79.6)	994 (80.2)	1,013 (80.9)
	Employed	555 (82.3)	435 (79.8)	464 (82.1)	486 (82.9)
Private	Passed	280 (17.7)	264 (20.4)	239 (19.3)	236 (18.8)
	Employed	118 (17.5)	110 (20.2)	100 (17.7)	99 (16.9)
Total	Passed	1,583 (100.0)	1,297 (100.0)	1,239 (100.0)	1,252 (100.0)
	Employed	674 (100.0)	545 (100.0)	565 (100.0)	586 (100.0)

University Type	Year	2000	2001	2002
National	Passed	981 (79.9)	1,015 (77.6)	1,227 (76.0)
	Employed	466 (81.9)	490 (81.3)	523 (83.9)
Private	Passed	242 (19.7)	291 (22.2)	377 (23.3)
	Employed	100 (17.6)	113 (18.7)	97 (15.6)
Total	Passed	1,228 (100.0)	1,308 (100.0)	1,615 (100.0)
	Employed	569 (100.0)	603 (100.0)	623 (100.0)

Source: National Personnel Authority.

On the other hand, the share of the employed from public universities is rather stable, around 82%, while the share of those from private universities has decreased a little, from 17.5% to 15.5%. We also find from Table 1 that the percentages of the employed to the employed for public (national) university graduates have been stable at around 42% in the last 7 years, while those for private university graduates have decreased from 42% to 25%. The stated aim of government policy is to diversify those who pass the recruitment examination and are employed by a ministry so that private school applicants should not be at a disadvantage against national university graduates. We find that this government policy has been effective only for those who passed the examination, but it cannot be extended to those who are employed by some ministries.

In 2004, the number of those who passed the type I examination is said to be 1,756, an increase of 6 from the previous year. The number of women who passed the examination amounted to 304, the highest number in history. Women are now occupying a 17.3% share and their number has continued to increase over the last 6 years. Also, we can say that the number of graduates having a master's degree is increasing, both among applicants and among those who passed the examination. The share of the graduate degree holders who passed in 2001 is 48.9% while it is only 25.0% in overall applicants. Academic backgrounds that are well represented among those who passed are science, engineering, and agriculture. Those with a master's degree are in the majority:

79.3% of science and engineering passers have a master's degree, as do 63.0% of those in agriculture. Moreover, master's-level applicants are expected to even more, as we will soon have social science graduates from law school and other types of professional public policy schools.

In 2001, the Cabinet decided on a reform plan for civil servants. It proposed making the ratio of those passing the examination to those employed equal to 4.0. The intent is to gain a more diversified bureaucracy with representation from various types of public and private universities. This plan was opposed by the NPA, since it was feared that it would result in an increase in the unemployed and damage the selected personnel. As it stands, this ratio is agreed to be around 2.5 among ministries.

Table 2 shows the numbers of the applicants as well as those who passed the examination and were employed in 2001. The ratios (A/B) between number of applicants (A) and those who passed the recruitment examination (B) in 2001 are 28.6, 10.1, and 16.3 for types I, II, and III, respectively. The ratios of those employed are 46.4%, 52.5%, and 88.7% for types I, II and III, respectively. Comparing those employed with total applicants, we find that the percentages are 1.63%, 5.21% and 5.43% for types I, II and III, respectively. Thus, we can say that recruitment examinations for government officials in Japan are extremely competitive.

Table 2. Numbers of Applicants, Those Passed, and Those Employed

Type	Applicants	Passed	Employed
I	37,346 (9,583)	1,308 (199)	607
II	69,985 (21,821)	6,939 (1,816)	3,646
III	83,632 (32,909)	5,119 (1,889)	4,543

Note: The number of women is in parentheses.

Source: National Personnel Authority.

The NPA has been trying to guarantee that people will be given an opportunity to be public servants by providing neutrality and fairness with respect to the subjects, structures, and criteria for the recruitment examination. The recruitment examinations have been made fully public since 2002, and scores on the examinations have been considered to be more open. Around 80 so-called Law Schools, which were established in order to reform the country's

judicial system, started to recruit students in April 2004. In addition, professional graduate schools offering a major in public policy have been developed in many universities in order to train professionals to work for planning, implementing, and evaluating policies. These graduate schools aim to educate “future key government officials” and to provide them with highly advanced and professional capabilities in policy planning, implementation, and evaluation. In the future, these graduate schools are expected to be the main sources of future government officials in our country.

The promotion system for Japanese government officials is characterized by two keywords: “slow” and “prize accumulation.” The “slow” promotion system means that almost all officials employed in the same year are simultaneously promoted to the next higher position until a certain level is reached, then the system becomes very competitive. Roughly speaking, the point beyond which promotion becomes difficult is at the level of section chief in the ministry headquarters offices at age 40 or a little above. Generally, “career” officials become section deputy chief at age 30 or so, then are promoted to section chief or equivalent at around 38. The “prize accumulation” promotion system means that the “prize” results from the appreciation of superiors and peers for one’s steady and cautious accumulation of “no error” service to one’s group, rather than for some spectacular positive achievement in one’s position. Thus, the “prize accumulation” promotion system has served to keep officials at their offices for the long term, as they are almost equally treated in both salary and position within the same batch group.

The typical Japanese promotion system characterized by “slow” and “prize accumulation” may be said to have contributed greatly to the motivation of both “career” and “noncareer” government officials to work hard and demonstrate loyalty toward their own ministry. Once they reach the position of section chief at ministry headquarters offices, however, the actual “promotion race” starts: every time someone is selected to a higher position, (e.g., deputy director, director general, councilor, vice minister and so on), the other batch members are offered outside positions and must leave their offices.

According to Self (1997), the promotion system for civil servants worldwide is divided into two types: “closed career system” and “open career system.” The Japanese and European promotion systems belong to the former, while the American system belongs to the latter. The former system is characterized by employing capable and potential staff with a high degree of loyalty toward their ministry. Officials in the closed system tend to be “isolated” from the society and are considered “elite” government officials. In contrast, the open system tends to employ “political appointees” who do not have high loyalty toward their own ministry, as they stay in the offices in the federal government only during the period while their boss (e.g., the US President) holds his position.

IV. Educating and Training Government Officials

Educating and training Japanese government officials in the area of policy studies has been conducted in university schools, government training centers, and government schools and colleges. Both central and local government offices send their staff to these schools for a certain period, for example, a few weeks or a few months or sometimes even a few years.

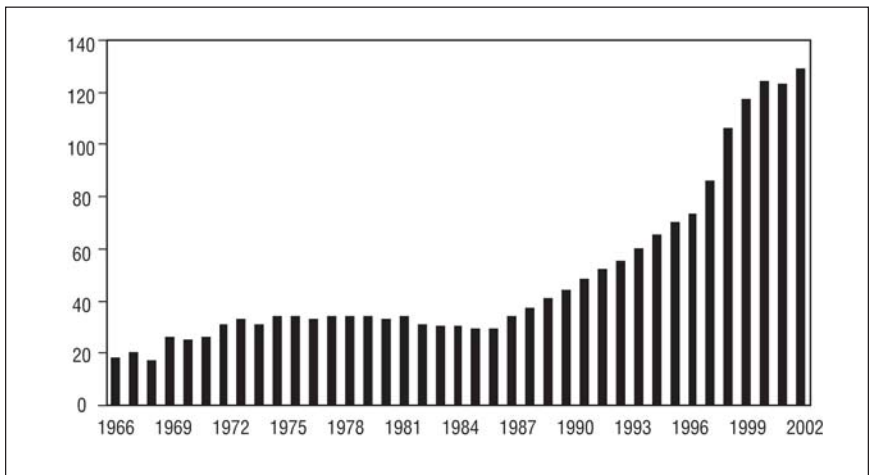
Each ministry, as well as the NPA, has been providing various types of training programs for different levels of government officials. In the year 2000, Japanese ministries provided 16,801 training courses and 186,838 government officials attended these courses. The NPA provided 168 courses and trained 5,915 officials. Most training programs are aimed at giving government officials necessary knowledge and techniques to carry out their duties and responsibilities, in both the present and the future. Training programs, such as sending government officials to foreign and domestic graduate schools and governmental organizations, have been more popular and more common in both short-term (6 months to 1 year) and long-term (mostly 2 years) programs. Short-term courses are generally for government officials who have been working for up to 6 years. By 2001, Japan had sent more than 1,500 officials to short-term courses in the US (1,100), Great Britain (222), France (116), Germany (50), Canada (34) and Australia (12). Figure 3 shows the trend in the total number of these officials from 1966 to 2002. The longer-term programs are mainly for mid-career government officials, who are sent to foreign government and international organizations to work on some special research issues. In 1974–2001, this program sent a total of 970 officials to the United States (481), Great Britain (193), Australia (61), Germany (48), France (47), Canada (46), and others (94).

Training programs that send government officials to Japanese graduate schools are aimed at educating officials who have been working in the office from 2 to 16 years. To be accepted into these programs requires applicants to pass examinations by both the NPA and the graduate school he or she is aiming for. In 2001, 19 officials were sent to five graduate schools; cumulatively these officials attended the University of Tsukuba (101 since 1976), Yokohama National University (39 since 1990), University of Tokyo (55 since 1992), Kyoto University (16 since 1994), National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (11 since 2000) and Saitama University (97 during 1977 and 1999).

It has been observed that today, young government officials tend to quit more frequently than in previous years. The quit ratio, defined to be the percentage of those who quit their government official's job relative to their intake batch, has recently increased; i.e., for those who entered government offices in 1975, the quit ratio was 0.46%, while 5 years later, those in the 1980

batch had a quit ratio of 0.55%, and this ratio continued increasing further up to almost 1% for 1993 batch. The main reasons for their quitting in the early stage are said to be, first, that they wanted more challenging work and/or more attractive jobs with hopefully a brighter future, and second, that they were not satisfied with their work or the work process. It is said that those government officials who were given an opportunity to study abroad in graduate school tended to quit more frequently.

Figure 3. Total Number of Government Officials Sent Abroad



Source: National Personnel Authority.

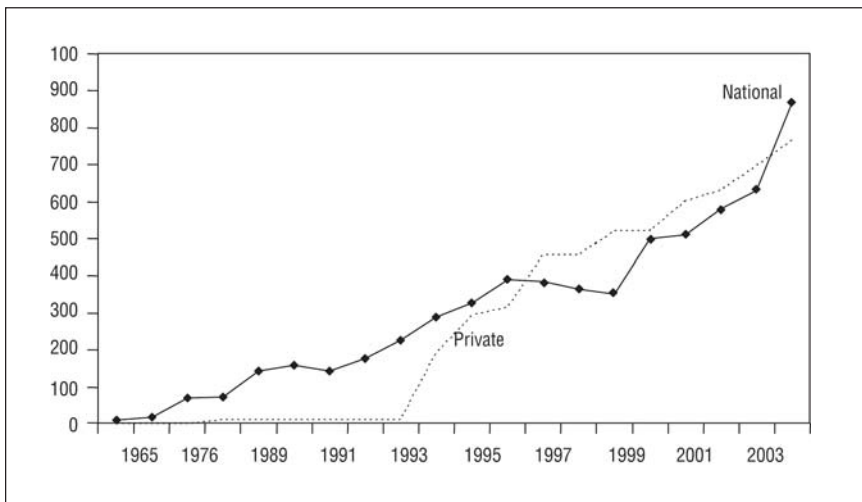
In order to solve the turnover problem, we believe that clear lines of authority and responsibility must be established for each position and government official. This would be a major change, since, historically, most decisions in Japan are not made by individuals, but by certain groups such as committees or negotiation meetings. This rule worked well, as no individual person was responsible for any errors or failures. On the other hand, it is very rare that an individual will be highly appreciated for his individual contribution. We believe we need to establish our own rules and customs to evaluate each individual's contribution to his or her work more clearly and explicitly, on the condition that their authorized commission and responsibility for their job was expressed clearly. To attain this objective, we need to be equipped with an appropriate evaluation system so that all government officials agree to, accept, and follow the evaluation results. An education and training system for government officials needs to be developed so that each government official is

equipped with a certain specialty and expertise. A formal system for evaluating individuals and programs has not been common in Japan, especially for evaluating individual work and contributions. But from now on, we need to “invent” an evaluation system that will make the government officials’ decision-making system work more efficiently. What is needed is a system that will provide the incentive for them to work hard and effectively on their own initiative.

V. Undergraduate and Graduate Schools for Policy Studies

In Japan, policy studies have been conducted in various schools in the university and government research institutes. Public and private universities, in particular, have been very active in the last 20 years in creating many policy-related schools and departments. Figure 4 shows the increasing trend in the number of students majoring in policy-related areas. In 1997, the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS) was established. The forerunner of GRIPS was the Graduate School of Political Science (GSPS) that was part of Saitama University during the period 1977–2001. At this writing, more than 700 foreign government officials from a total of 60 different countries have been trained at GRIPS and GSPS. In the last 25 years, GSPS/GRIPS has educated more than 1,400 master’s degree students sent from Japanese and foreign government offices, with the number of Japanese and foreign graduates

Figure 4. Number of Students Majoring in Policy-Related Areas



Source: Author’s research.

being roughly equal. Master's programs are selected in such areas as Policy Analysis, Public Policy, Public Administration, Development Study, and so on. In 2004, GRIPS accepted 230 master's students and 40 PhD students.

The number of Japanese government officials who go abroad to study in foreign graduate schools has been increasing each year. They now number almost 20% of Type I officials, compared with just 6% 10 years ago. We consider studying abroad very useful and fruitful for government officials, since they can attain certain "expertise" and "specialties" in addition to becoming more "internationalized."

In the United States, the political appointment system is very common. For example, almost 3,000 staff are appointed as new government officials in each department every time a new president is elected. About one third of the total political appointees are in the top Executive Services (ES). They are appointed by the president and must be confirmed by the Congress as well. Around 650 staff are employed in the Senior Executive Services (SES), which is limited to 10% of the total ES staff. The remaining 1,200 or so are mostly employed by SES and are generally referred to as Schedule C appointees. They are employed in General Services where they support and assist their SES agency. Current policy planning, policy making, and decision making are becoming more and more interrelated and complicated. This requires more highly advanced knowledge of an academic specialty. Sooner or later, the political appointment system will surely be introduced in Japan. It will take time, however, to provide the permanently employed government officials with the proper expertise, specialization, and incentives to make them effective participants in the various stages of the policy-making process in a very competitive situation.

VI. Summary and Conclusion

In Japan, high-level government officials represented by the "Type I career group" are highly selective people, given that they passed the very competitive recruitment examination and gained employment by major ministries. Their promotion system, however, has been almost "fixed," in that they have been promoted simultaneously with other members of the same batch group until they reach the level of section chief or equivalent in some division of the headquarters office of each ministry. Thus the "real promotion race" starts only at this later stage of their career.

Educating and training government officials has a long history in Japan, and its style, system, goals, and review process have undergone continual change up to the present day. For example, the system of the Meiji period was such

that only a few selected people were given the chance to go abroad at frequent intervals. Currently, many officials are given opportunities to go abroad or to study in graduate schools in Japanese universities, following systematized rules. Educating and training government officials abroad will become more and more common. Moreover, the importance of such studies will never be reduced, as this will be one of the few chances for officials to face the “outside world” and communicate freely with people other than their colleagues. The education and training system needs to be aimed at allowing each official to obtain a certain specialty and expertise in various public policy and public administration functions, so that he or she can show his or her capability at the highest level in such areas as policy planning, policy implementation, policy evaluation, and policy analysis.

To reform the government bureaucracy constructively, the following changes are recommended.

- i) The mission and responsibility of each government official and each government post should be made clear.
- ii) Government officials need to have a broader, international and global viewpoint and understanding.
- iii) Every government official has to be equipped with some specialty in his or her job area.
- iv) An evaluation and review system for checking each government official’s work accomplishments needs to be introduced in the Japanese civil service system and reflected in promotion and salary.

The civil servant system must be revised so that the above objectives can be attained substantially and practically. This includes necessary reforms in the education and training systems. It is also important to create a review process for evaluating existing programs and determining how to organize and modify the education and training of government officials.

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