

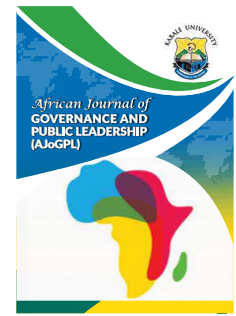
# Treacking the historical concerns for efficiency and effectiveness in the study and practice of Public Administration

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## Abstract

This paper attempts to re-introduce the ideologies through historicizing the debates and then make a case for their relevance in today's public administration systems. Public administration in its dual nature of being first; a discipline of academic study and second; a field of practice has indeed trekked a long journey and has had its primary concern being that of how to ensure governments work better in the managing public affairs. Undeniably, the need to promote administrative efficiency and effectiveness has occupied the minds of classical and contemporary scholars and practitioners in almost an equal measure. The concerns of administrative efficiency and effectiveness are debates which are as old as the discipline of public administration itself but also the concerns of the long journey of the practices of public administration have trekked the journey of civilization. While public administration and Governance scholars agree on the need for building administrative systems which are efficient and effective, there remains divergence views on how the two can be promoted. There are therefore a range of ideologies and benchmarks that have been propounded that once followed could promote efficiency and effectiveness of government.

**Key words:** *Public administration, Public administration-history*

## Introduction

Public administration is both a field of study (academic discipline) and a field of practice (Basheka 2012). There is a consensus in literature that “*public administration*” (in lower case) denotes government activities (i.e., the practice) whereas “*Public Administration*” in upper case refers to the academic discipline (Uwizeyimana & Maphunye 2014:90). Both the study and practice of public administration have been dominated by concerns on how promote efficiency and effectiveness within public administration's laboratory-the Government. Unquestionably, governments of all times and in both developed and developing countries are vehicles through which citizens express their values and preferences (Bourgon 2007; Basheka 2018). For governments to discharge their noble tasks, there must be efficiency and effectiveness in all government structures, processes, and systems (Uwizeyimana 2011). That is why, as Bogason (2002) and Schachter (2007) rightly posit that the status of efficiency and effectiveness as core values in the study of public administration has been extensively acknowledged.

Although efficiency and effectiveness have often been “notoriously contested concepts to have a uniform meaning”, “effectiveness is concerned with the degree of success in achieving the hoped-for policy objectives/outcome”; while efficiency is concerned about the ability to do more for less (Uwizeyimana 2011:75). It is incontestable that governments or the bureaucracies have multiple goals, and these are sometimes contradictory to a variety of stakeholders thereby creating another battle ground on how to practice or experiment efficiency and effectiveness.

Public Administration study is relatively younger compared to the practice of public administration which has moved side by side the journey of civilization. Public administration in both strands has traversed a long journey where different authors and practitioners have propagated different views. Within the expansive literature of public administration and its rather recent close cousin-governance and the now distant cousin-Public Management, two strands of views exist about efficiency and effectiveness of government or lack thereof. One camp suggests that government or bureaucracies are possible to be efficient and are in fact one of the most efficient forms of providing goods and services to the citizens (Rutgers & van der Meer (2010:757). For this to work, this narrative suggests that there ought to be certain conditions which government needs to work upon. The classical writers of public administration appear to have taken the ideals of this line of reasoning. The second camp of authors posit that government cannot be efficient because of its multiple goals. That instead, the private sector offers better solutions and best practices that could be adopted by governments for them to be effective and efficient (Dan & Pollitt 2014). That if government is to attain efficiency and effectiveness, it is urged to apply the private sector models, practices, and ways of doing thing (Dan & Pollitt 2014). This is through privatization or injecting the entrepreneurial approach in the running of government. The advocates of New Public Management (NPM) appear to have been informed by this reasoning (Uwizeyimana 2015:71). Literature shows that “NPM is a marriage between two kinds of major concepts” (Ormond & Loffler 2002:2-2). These concepts are privatisation or the application of private sector business management principles to the public sector, which is often referred to as “managerialism” (Uwizeyimana 2015:71).

According to Heywood (2002) the most important argument in favour of government as the paradigm is the one that promotes Weber’s ideal type of bureaucracy. In the Weberian tradition, bureaucracy was viewed “as the expression of rational and efficient administration” (Heywood 2002:359). A bureaucratic Organization is the most systematic and efficient way to control the work of large numbers of people (Denhardt 2000:30). The two strands of opinions espoused above by different authors have tended to present immense battle grounds for scholarly work within public administration, and the concerns of efficiency and effectiveness have tended to be connected to these two opposing viewpoints with some middle ground authors suggesting that both models are appropriate. Undoubtedly, government has its structures and systems through which goals of government are to be attained. On the subject of government goals, Gildenhuis (1997:3-19) generously expounds those under three classifications: (1) original goals, (2) the social welfare goals and (3) the economic welfare goals. The author argues that each government institution, on whatever level of authority, pursues pre-determined goals, objectives and targets that are reflected in its annual operational and capital budgets (Gildenhuis 1997:3). It is arguable that all Governments exist to attain these goals and meet the broader interests of society.

In the practice of public administration, concerns for efficiency and effectiveness have been in existence throughout the journey of human civilization. Some historical episodes have however presented heated debates on why and how efficiency and effectiveness of government is needed to deliver better public services. Political economy and public choice literature observe that one cannot take for granted that public decision-makers should always use public resources in the most appropriate way (Giordano, Tommasino & Casiraghi 2008). Rutgers and van der Meer (2010) reported that in the literature before the 19th century one may look in vain for references to the concept of efficiency, even in such fundamental economic treatises as Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* (1867). Yet, since the inception of the state, the task of government has been to govern and to cater for the needs of society (Mukherjee 2010:53) and this calls for better ways of making this accomplishment. Efficiency may be traceable to the era of Aristotle (384-322 BC), with its meaning becoming a dominant feature in 20th-century public administration study (Rutgers and van der Meer 2010:755).

Good governance is sometimes connected to the debate on promoting efficiency and effectiveness in government business although this ideology takes a broader mandate. Grindle, (2002:1) has ruminated on how getting good governance calls for improvements that touch virtually all aspects of the public sector - from institutions that set the rules of the game for economic and political interaction, to organizations that manage administrative systems and deliver goods and services to citizens, to human resources that staff government bureaucracies, to the interface of officials and citizens in political and bureaucratic arenas. According to Srilatha (2003:86) governance means; "...the act and manner of managing public affairs". Public affairs cannot be managed without effective systems and those systems are expected to be efficient. Hughes (2003:76-7) attempted to differentiate government and governance by stating that government was the institution itself while governance was a broader concept describing the forms of governing which are not necessarily in the hands of formal government. Governance need not be exclusively conducted by governments (Keohane & Nye 2000:12). Private firms, associations of firms, non-Governmental organizations (NGOs), Community-Based-Organisations (CBOs), civil society organisations, and individual citizens are all engaged in governance (Grindle 2010).

The debate on the role of the state has in recent years focused on empirically assessing the efficiency and usefulness of public sector activities (Afonso, Schuknecht, & Tanzi 2005) due to a growing dissatisfaction and mistrust of citizens (Peters, 2004; Ngowi 2007). Whereas effectiveness has long been one of the most pervasive yet least delineated organisational constructs (Goodman & Pennings 1977), one of the "big questions" in public management has always been how public managers measure achievement (Behn 1995). Some scholars still suggest that few questions have challenged what constitutes organisational performance or effectiveness (Selden & Sowa 2004). There is a distinctive absence in public administration research of "outcome measures of institutional performance at the jurisdictional level" for organizations (Kirlin 2001), at the level of the national government, the state government, or the local government (Yang & Holzer, 2006). Little consensus regarding what organizational effectiveness and how to assess it properly has therefore not been reached (Cameron & Whetten, 1983). This article treks the debates on efficiency and effectiveness within the practice and study of public administration.

The paper seeks to address the following four questions:

- Did ancient administrative ideologies have a concern for administrative efficiency and effectiveness?
- How have the concepts of administrative efficiency and effectiveness shaped public administration discipline and practice in a historical trajectory?
- What key proposals have been applied at different historical times and by different authors to address administrative efficiency and effectiveness in the expansive field of public administration?
- To what extent have contemporary administrative systems promote administrative efficiency and effectiveness?

## Conceptual Framework

Virtually, public organizations are concerned with performance and effectiveness, at least implicitly, because effectiveness influences the quality of our lives and even our ability to survive (Rainey 2003). Traditionally, there has been the approach of using performance indicators, which measure specific factors that are thought to provide a partial reflection of underlying efficiency. The other approach has included the global measures, designed to provide an indication of overall organizational efficiency (Smith & Street 2004). Rutgers and van der Meer (2010) have argued that efficiency is simply not always the most important goal in the public sector, and as such must be overruled by other values. In addition, there might be a conflict between the measure of efficiency and the other values, it may be impossible to establish priority among the multiple goals; and there might be no agreement at all concerning the values to be pursued.

Like private firms, public organizations need efficient methods, but unlike businesses they must face legislative accountability, even if this diminished their efficiency (Schachter, 1989:29). Efficiency has been used to mean “obtaining the greatest output for a given level of resources” (Wilson 1989: 316). “Efficiency means producing a good or service at the lowest cost possible while maintaining a constant level of quality” (Rainey 1997:92). “Efficiency is the maximum achievement of a given end with given resources, so it includes within itself the values of maximization and achievement” (Diesing 1973:11). Using tax-payer’s money to deliver the required goods and services at the right time, in the right quality and by the right people is what efficiency in public administration should entail. Nkondo (2012) argues that the western perception of African indigenous knowledge as mere repetition of practices without any theory to explain them is a depiction of western cultural and intellectual arrogance. Yet, in the perception of African scholars, a traditional healer who can cure a particular disease using specific herbs has the knowledge and theory of the plant species and their characteristics.

## Classical Opinions on Administrative Efficiency

The drive to promote efficiency and effectiveness has been at the core of numerous classical works starting from the Greek Philosophers as well as the social contract theorists who formulated the idea of government as is known in the contemporary times. Aristotle (384-322) who was one of the Greek philosophers and is considered to have founded the earliest meaning and adoption of the phrase democracy basing his analysis on the Greek city states once said “We must begin”, “by asking an old and fundamental question – whether it is better to be ruled by the Best man or by the Best Laws.” (Aristotle 1962:143).

Aristotle's old teacher and mentor Plato had opted for rule by a philosopher king; for which Aristotle provided an answer as: -

*he who asks Law to rule is asking God and intelligence and no others to rule; While he who asks for the rule of a human being is bringing in a wild beast; for human passions are like a wild beast and strong feelings lead astray rulers and the very best of men. In law you have the intellect without the passions (Aristotle 1962:143).*

Aristotle approved of the concept and ideology of rule of law which are important ingredients for running an efficient and effective government machinery. John Locke, who was the seventeenth century British social contract theorist, equally strongly endorsed the doctrine of the rule of law in the management of government affairs and this is how efficiency and effectiveness were anticipated to be applied. In the Second Treatise of Civil Government, (1690) Locke cautions that:

*the legislative, or supreme authority, cannot assume to itself a power to rule by extemporary arbitrary decrees, but is bound to dispense justice, and decide the rights of the subject by promulgated standing laws, and known authorized judges (Locke 1690:112-113).*

For better governance to exist, as viewed in Montesquieu's "The Spirit of Laws" published in 1748, there ought to be a government that works for all. In the philosopher's view, that government needed to have three functions each done by three organs of government—legislature, executive and judiciary (Montesquieu 1748). The legislative function was to be done by the legislative body; the executive function was to be by the executive while the judicial function was to be undertaken by the judicial branch of government (Uwizeyimana 2013). He accordingly crafted the roles of the legislature as primarily that of law making, that of executive being to implement policies while the judiciary was to try the causes of men (Uwizeyimana 2013). He preoccupied his thesis on how the three arms of government were to function. His conclusion was that there needed to be clear separation of powers but also the government branches needed to have checks and balances (Uwizeyimana 2013). Montesquieu reasoned that in all this arrangement, rule of law was central in managing the affairs of the state and rule of law was the centre piece of effective government. Layman (2003:26-27) posited that "*joint work between the different spheres of government is sometimes hampered by public service cultures and practices, which still promote a line-function rather than a cross-sectoral approach to service delivery*". However, separation of powers and the doctrine of checks and balances remain central features for promoting effective organization of government business (Calvert 2011).

### **Efficiency and Effectiveness during the Politics—Administration Dychotomy Era (1887-1926)**

The early study of Public Administration and as a field of practice, saw the seminal essay entitled "*The study of administration*" that first appeared in the Political Science Quarterly of 1887, by Woodrow Wilson. This essay is widely regarded as having planted the seeds for administrative efficiency (Uwizeyimana 2013). Written by a young professor of Political Science at Princeton University at the time, Wilson proposed four issues for study and discussion in the discipline of public administration. These issues were "(1) *separation of politics from administration, (2) comparative analysis of political and private organizations, (3) improving efficiency with business-like practices and attitudes toward daily operations, and (4) improving the effectiveness of public service through management and training of civil servants, as well as encouraging merit-*



*based assessment*" (Basheka 2019). His thesis was that the separation of politics from administration was the magic bullet for those who desired to promote efficiency and effectiveness of government (Ikeanyibe, Ori & Okoye 2017). Regarding effectiveness, the promotion of business-like styles and the training of public servants were key proposals proposed by the author (Basheka 2019).

Wilson (1887) argued that administrative government was separate from political government but the two were only connected when political officials set the tasks and broad goals for administrators to implement:

*'Let me expand a little what I have said of the province of administration. Most important to be observed is the truth already so much and so fortunately insisted upon by our civil service reformers; namely, that administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics. Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices* (Wilson 1887:210).

In fact, according to Ballotpedia (n.d.:1), Wilson (1887) also identified a number of other differences between constitutional and administrative questions, in which issues within the discretion of administration were considered separate from issues determined by constitutional principles:

*"There is another distinction which must be worked into all our conclusions, which, though but another side of that between administration and politics, is not quite so easy to keep sight of: I mean the distinction between constitutional and administrative questions, between those governmental adjustments which are essential to constitutional principle and those which are merely instrumental to the possibly changing purposes of a wisely adapting convenience* (Wilson 1887:210).

According to Wilson's (1887) article, administrators needed great power and discretion to perform their roles effectively and efficiently. For Wilson (1887), this was the most preferable system of government that minimized or divided and thus limited the power of administrators. The classical writing further asserted that constitutional democracy needed to be improved by the implementation of administrative methods of government, and that there a need for hiring of educated, and qualified civil service personnel only based on competitive examinations (Basheka 2012). Wilson's article also had three other key proposals which centred on the need to make a distinction between public and private administration, the use of business-like styles of management in the public sector and the need to promote effectiveness through promotion of meritocracy (Basheka 2012). While these later proposals never attracted much scholarly attention as the politics-administration dichotomy, they became realized in the 1980s when the NPM paradigm was at its heyday.

Following the publication of Wilson's article in 1887; a constitutional lawyer- Frank Goodnow reduced the activities of government into two classes-politics and administration. He published a book 'Politics and Administration (1900)' in which he noted that politics had to do with policies or expressions of the state's will (in the form of policies), while administration had to do with the execution of these policies (Henry 2010:28). His view was that each of the activities (politics and administration) needed to be assigned to different agencies just as Wood Wilson had intimated in 1887. Goodnow was of the view that if administration was to be efficient, then politics needed to be separated from it. He emphasized that the administration would still need to carry on the orders of politicians. Goodnow's policy making role was approvingly supported by several writers, but the challenge remained how to effectively separate the

two provinces of government - politics and administration. These points were later to present the greatest challenges to the discipline of public administration and this matter to date has never been conclusively resolved.

Basheka (2012) extensively made a distinction between politicians and administrators but acknowledged the symbiotic nature of the two functions of government. Wilson (1887) and Goodnow (1900) believed that the separation of politics from administration would be the best approach to promoting efficiency in the running of government. It was believed that the extension of administrative practice was a necessary step in improving government (Cox, Buck & Morgan 2011:6). At the time of the dichotomy, several other American and European management scholars contributed influential ideas that shaped the study and practice of public administration. Frederick Taylor (1911) was another writer during this paradigm who is known for his *Scientific Principles of Management* published in 1911. Basheka (2012) indicated how Taylor was a key figure in the evolution of public administration through his scientific principles of management published in 1911. Taylor advocated for separation of politics from administration although his context was in the business set up. He argued managers should concentrate on managing (Uwizeyimana & Maphunye 2014:92).

Myrick (2012:10) wrote an article entitled 'Frederick Taylor as a Contributor to Public Administration' where he recognized the role of Taylor. He however observed that *"while Frederick Taylor may not have purposefully set out to influence the course of Public Administration, the strive for alternative systematic management approaches to address foreman specific difficulties spilled over from the shop/production environment to the office environment"* (Myrick 2012:11). Cox, Buck, and Morgan (2011:7) demonstrated how the work of Taylor and the concept of scientific management made a profound effect on public administration for the period between the two world wars. According to Mullins (2007:43) *"Taylor considered that all work processes could be analysed into discrete tasks and that by scientific method it was possible to find 'one best way' to perform each task"*. According to Basheka (2021:37) *"Taylor's greatest public sector popularity came in 1912 after he presented his ideas to a special committee of the U.S. House of Representatives investigating the Taylor and other systems of shop management"* (see also Shafritz et al, 2011:231). Taylor's comprehensive statement of scientific management principles was focused on what he called the *"duties of management"*. A careful review of literature shows that Taylor (1916:9) advocated for the following main duties of government:

- Replacing traditional, rule-of-thumb methods of work accomplishment with systematic, more scientific methods of measuring and managing individual work elements.
- The scientific study of the selection and sequential development of workers to ensure optimal placement of workers into work roles.
- Obtaining the cooperation of workers to ensure full application of scientific principles.
- Establishing logical divisions within work roles and responsibilities between workers and management.

The above demonstrates that Taylor became a leading figure among the many early advocates of *"efficiency as a nonpartisan concept somehow divorced from politics"* (Basheka 2021:37). There is no doubt that Taylor believed that *"to improve efficiency, officials would have to place this goal above politics - a hard step for elected officials to take"* (Basheka 2021:37). He also saw *"a nonpartisan personnel service as essential to increasing the quantity of work"* (Basheka 2021:37).

As he puts it “*Political officials and top administrators needed a change of heart toward a civil service mentality that would elevate merit over influence, working what he called a great mental revolution in large numbers of men*” (Taylor 1916:9). Such a system, he believed, “would promote long government careers, particularly among people near the top of organizations, rather than removal from office every four years” (Taylor 1916:9). Taylor (1916:10) believed “*the civil service exams of his era favoured easy-to-measure academic abilities over other equally important traits, but that factor did not lead him to approve at-will hiring*”.

According to Myrick (2021:11), Blessan (2010) brought a more direct reference to the contribution of scientific management to public administration when he noted that “*while Public Administration has passed the fad stage of scientific management, many activities such as office management, accounting and control are still subject to scientific principles*”. The essence of those scientific management principles, “*entails systematic adoption of methods of science to problems of management in the interest of higher industrial efficiency*” (Blessan 2010:1). As such, according to Myrick (2012:12) management, and in this case public management, is “*a true science, resting upon clearly fixed laws, rules, and principles*”. Myrick (2012:12) adds that “*measuring work (performance measurement), time and motion studies and cost accounting, as examples, contribute towards solving administrative problems*”. However, Myrick (2012:12) was not the only one in holding these views. He rightfully acknowledges that “*the origins of these activities can be traced back to the latter part of the nineteenth century when Frederick Winslow Taylor first began to determine the amount of time workers needed to produce and manufacture items*” (Myrick 2012:12).

However, it is important to note that whereas scientific management focused on the productivity of individuals, the classical administrative approach concentrated on organizations in their totality with emphasis on the development of managerial principles rather than work methods. Prominent contributors to this school included Max Weber (1864-1920) who developed what is today known as bureaucracy, Henri Fayol who developed the theory of business administration, Mary Parker Follett (1868-1933) who regarded people as the main elements in the organisation, and Chester Barnard (1886-1961) who is known for his 1938 book “*The Functions of the Executive*” which discussed the “*theory of organization and of the functions of executives in organizations*”. For example, Henry Fayol (1914), a French executive engineer developed a comprehensive theory of management that fundamentally shaped the academic and practical field of public administration. Beyond Taylor’s (1911) works, another giant in the evolution of public administration during the first paradigm of public administration was Henry Fayol (1914). He is known for his description of the “*14 Principles of Administration*” based on his long experience in the industry as an engineer and as an administrator. These principles explained how managers should organize and interact with staff. Two years before he stepped down as director, he published his “*14 Principles of Management*” in the book “*Administration Industrielle et Générale*.” Fayol also created a list of the six primary functions of management, which go hand in hand with the “*14 Principles*”. Fayol’s “*14 Principles*” was one of the earliest theories of management to be created and remains one of the most comprehensive. He is still considered to be among the most influential contributors to the modern concept of management, even though people do not refer to “*The 14 Principles*” often today.

According to Shafritz et al (2011: 231), Fayol’s major work published in France in 1916 was almost ignored in the United States until Constance Storr’s English translation to read ‘General and Industrial Management’ appeared in 1949. Fayol developed a set of 14 principles of management which he believed when fully applied would promote efficiency in administration.



Max Weber developed the concept of a bureaucratic organization which he regarded as the most efficient way of controlling the work of large numbers of people (Denhardt 2000:30). Fayol's (1914) principles are listed below:

1. **Division of Work** – When employees are specialized, output can increase because they become increasingly skilled and efficient.
2. **Authority** – Managers must have the authority to give orders, but they must also keep in mind that with authority comes responsibility.
3. **Discipline** – Discipline must be upheld in organizations, but methods for doing so can vary.
4. **Unity of Command** – Employees should have only one direct supervisor.
5. **Unity of Direction** – Teams with the same objective should be working under the direction of one manager, using one plan. This will ensure that action is properly coordinated.
6. **Subordination of Individual Interests to the General Interest** – The interests of one employee should not be allowed to become more important than those of the group. This includes managers.
7. **Remuneration** – Employee satisfaction depends on fair remuneration for everyone. This includes financial and non-financial compensation.
8. **Centralization** – This principle refers to how close employees are to the decision-making process. It is important to aim for an appropriate balance.
9. **Scalar Chain** – Employees should be aware of where they stand in the organization's hierarchy, or chain of command.
10. **Order** – The workplace facilities must be clean, tidy and safe for employees. Everything should have its place.
11. **Equity** – Managers should be always fair to staff, both maintaining discipline as necessary and acting with kindness where appropriate.
12. **Stability of Tenure of Personnel** – Managers should strive to minimize employee turnover. Personnel planning should be a priority.
13. **Initiative** – Employees should be given the necessary level of freedom to create and carry out plans.
14. **Esprit de Corps** – Organizations should strive to promote team spirit and unity.

In addition to the 14 principles, Fayol outlined six management functions which needed to go along with the principles. Fayol's six primary functions of management, which go hand in hand with the principles, are (1) Forecasting, (2) Planning; (3) Organizing, (4) Commanding; (5) Coordinating and (6) Controlling. Henri Fayol's "14 Principles of Management" have been a significant influence on modern management theory. His practical list of principles helped early 20th century managers learn how to organize and interact with their employees in a productive way. Although the 14 Principles are not widely used today, they can still offer guidance for today's managers. Many of the principles are now considered to be common sense, but at the time they were revolutionary concepts for organizational management.

As the field of public administration was being refocused with a set of principles, a new perspective now emerged from a sociologist who had a German descent. Max Weber (1922) is well known for his theory of bureaucracy equally announced a set of rules (principles) which were considered necessary if organisations were to be efficiency and effective. A bureaucracy is regarded in contemporary usage as an inefficient form or system of administration, yet Weber ranked as the most efficient form of organization after he comparatively examined three forms of administrative systems. He believed a bureaucracy was the most efficient way to set up an organisation, **administration** and organizations.

Max Weber believed that Bureaucracy was a better than traditional structures. In a bureaucratic organization, everyone is treated equal, and the division of labour is clearly described for each employee. Weber went on to characterize a bureaucratic state by certain behavioural and structural features like:

- Division of Labour
- Hierarchy
- Rules and Rationality
- Impersonality
- Rules Orientation
- Neutrality

Basheka (2012) credits Weber for the bureaucratic theory of public administration and he opined about this in his 'Magnum opus Economy and Society' published in 1922. It was Weber who popularized the term and, in his book, gave a glimpse of the extensive research he had carried out by studying ancient and modern states to understand the working of the bureaucracies in different eras. Max Weber was a German political economist, philosopher, and a social scientist who along with Emile Durkheim and Karl Marx is one of the three founding pillars of sociology. Weber was a student of law and history throughout his career and later joined the Berlin University as a faculty and lectured and consulted for the Government. According to Weber, the need for bureaucratization in the ancient empire state arises from the maintenance of armies, public finances and most importantly power and politics. In the modern times however, the complexity within the civilization is ever increasing and therefore the demands from the administration are also getting complex. Weber also emphasizes the importance of communication in running the bureaucracy of a State and adds that they act as pacemakers and are the prerequisites of the possibility of bureaucratic administration. Trained bureaucracy is superior to other kinds of administration in many ways like efficiency, accuracy or precision, unity, discretion, continuation, cost and reducing overall friction in the government functioning.

The first paradigm of public administration is concluded by the works of L D White (1926:ii) who is famously known for his stand of dismantling the linkage between law and public administration by declaring in the preface to his book *"Introduction to the Study of Public Administration (1926)"* that *"the study of administration should start from the base of management rather than the foundation of law"* was the leading figure in this paradigm just as Woodrow Wilson was to the Politics-Administration dichotomy. In his view, *"Exclusion of law was intended to protect administrative exercise of discretion from judicial interference and the restrictions of a rule-bound approach."* He was later to change this stance by the fourth edition that came 27 years later in 1955. Although this assumption disappeared and he became more sympathetic to law, the earlier quote continues to be widely cited. Storing (1965) reports that while White did not plant the seeds from which the field of public administration grew, for four decades, he tended the gardens with unexcelled devotion. That he carefully cultivated, pruned and transplanted the gardens of public administration where he thought to clear and make others understand the plan of the whole and details of the several parts. That most students of public administration found White's landscape worthy attention although some found it rather restrictive. Basheka (2012); undoubtedly one of those students of White that Storing has in mind, made kind remarks about the 'Introduction to Public Administration' by Léonard D White. Education in public administration has been strongly influenced by Leonard D. White's text, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, the first edition of which was published in 1926.

Many important aspects of White's thought are analysed—the partial intellectual genesis of his formulations in Frank Goodnow's writings at the turn of the century, the four assumptions which were the foundation of White's work and of the discipline of public administration, are analysed, exposing problems of relationship that White never fully resolved. Storing finds in White's administrative histories a style of scholarship for resolving these problems. Using these formulations, other scholars may find differing approaches to the dilemma of identifying the theoretical assumptions that underlie public administration as a field of inquiry.

### **Administrative Efficiency during the Principles of Administration Paradigm Era (1927-1937)**

During the period 1927-1937, there was a claim that Public Administration had matured to be a science. As such, there was a belief that there existed certain 'scientific principles' (or proverbs as Herbert Simon was to call them later) of administration that could be relied upon to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of government. It was believed that the 'principles' of administration worked in any administrative setting regardless of sector, culture, function, environment, mission or institutional framework. In the preface to the Introduction to Public Administration—the first textbook on the subject, L.D. White (1926) rested his book on four basic assumptions. First, administration was a single process, substantially uniform in its essential characteristics whenever observed, and therefore avoided the study of municipal administration, state administration or federal administration. Second, it assumed that the study of administration should start from the base of management rather than from the foundation of law and was therefore more absorbed in the American Management Association than in the decisions of the courts. Third, administration was still primarily an art but attached importance to the significant tendency to transform it into a science. Fourth, administration had become, and will continue to be, the heart of the problem of modern government. These assumptions have been diligently elaborated by Storing (1965:39).

### **Efficiency and Effectiveness during the Era of Scientific Principles of Administration (1926-1937)**

One year after White's classic textbook, Willoughby's 1927 book entitled, Principles of Public Administration appeared as the second fully-fledged text in the field of public administration. Willoughby's principles had an American progressive tone, as was in White's Introduction, but the former's title indicated a new thrust of public administration. It was believed that public administrators would be effective if they learned and applied scientific principles of administration (Henry, 2010: 29). In 1937, Gullick and Urwick wrote their 'Papers on the Science of Administration' where they promoted seven principles of administration and, in so doing, gave students of public administration that snappy anagram, POSDCORB, which stood for planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting (Henry, 2010:29). To Date, these principles have had lasting impact in the management and administrative discourses.

### **Efficiency and Effectiveness during the Era Conceptual Challenges (1937-1947)**

Chester Barnard (1938) was another significant efficiency personality who looked at organizations as systems of cooperation of human activity and noted that they were typically short-lived. He argued that it was rare for a firm to last more than a century acknowledging the only organization to claim such a substantial age was the Roman Catholic Church. Whether this implies that the Catholic Church was efficiently managed than other organizations is not a matter for discussion at this juncture. However, the fact that the Roman Catholic Church is currently known as "*the oldest institution in the western world*" (over 2000 years) might well suggest that it has some the key parameters for sustainability of organizations

such as efficiency and effectiveness. According to Chester Barnard (1938) organizations were not long-lived because they did not meet the two survival criteria. Effectiveness was defined by Barnard (1938) as being able to accomplish stated goals. However, his definition of organizational efficiency differed substantially from the conventional use of the word. He selfishly defined efficiency of an organization as the degree to which that organization was able to satisfy the motives of the individuals. He argued that if an organization satisfied the motives of its members while attaining its explicit goals, cooperation among its members would last. This analysis would receive an exceedingly high degree of resistance in modern times.

At the age of 31 years, Herbert Simon published his book (as part of his PhD thesis) in 1947 entitled *Administrative Behavior*. The aim of the book was to show how organizations could be understood in terms of their decision-making processes. In the same year that Simon presented one of the most known devastating attacks on the discipline of public administration, Robert A. Dahl (1947), published another formidable challenge to “*The Science of Public Administration*” with its three-fold critique that required comparative inquiry. In that attack, Dahl (1947:8) argued that if the study of public administration was not comparative, claims for “a science of public administration sounded rather hollow”. Soon after the end of the Second World War (01 Sep 1939 – 02 Sep 1945), public administration’s place within political science declined precipitously. Simple principles about the pursuit of efficiency, based in an administration separate from politics, seemed unacceptably shallow in the light of the war’s administrative experience (Kettle 2000:10).

#### **Administrative Efficiency during Identity Crisis (1947-1970S)**

The fourth paradigm of public administration (the identity crisis) run from 1948-1970s (Basheka 2012). This period was characterized by the ceremonial ‘death’ of the once powerful discipline of public administration. During this era of identity crisis, the principles of administration and the politics-administration dichotomy were both rejected (Uwizeyimana& Maphunye 2014:92). Hebert Simon’s (1946) declaration of the “Proverbs of Public Administration” and Robert Dahl’s deflation of the science of administration caused a stroke to the now grown-up public administration. Public administration during this period experienced two connected problems-the locus and focus problems. Locus means location. From the conception of the discipline, public administration had been part of political science, but the two disciplines had divorced each other in the era of challenge period.

In 1948, Waldo attacked the gospel of efficiency in his book, “*The Administrative State*” where he posed and rhetorically asked, “*Efficiency for what?*” He warned that public administrative efficiency must be backed by a framework of consciously held democratic values (Waldo 1948). He tried to establish the direction and thrust of public administration as a field of study given that efficiency had dominated the administrative thinking prior to World War II. Contextually, from 1948 to about 1970, the state was considered a central institution in the process of managing public affairs. Due to the devastating effects of World War II, the state was seen as an engine of social economic development and an efficient administration was regarded as the primary agent in formulation and implementation of government development plans and programmes.

Within this period, most African countries had just moved from colonial period, and they had undertaken serious socialist-oriented policies, but they never improved the efficiency.

Hence “*most of Africa’s 54 countries that gained independence in the early 1950s and 1960s, largely remain poor*” to this day” (Uwizeyimana 2016:39). The focus of inquiry among public administration scholars spanned the dynamics of state-building, nation-building, and bureaucracy building; a field of inquiry that Esman (1991) rightly called Development Administration. Hughes (2003) notes that fostering economic growth via bureaucracy according to a Western model of rational administrative authority became the concern of Development Administration.

### **Administrative Efficiency under NPM (1970s – 1990s)**

This paradigm in the evolution of public administration was characterized by a call for a flexible and market-based form of public management (Hughes 2003:1). For much of the 20th century, Hughes (2003:48) reminds us, there was little difference between management structures or styles between the public and private sectors. The private sector management styles which would inject an entrepreneurial spirit in the running of government were regarded as the best arrangements to offer efficiency and effectiveness. The period of public management and denial of public administration was associated with certain features and values (Basheka 2018:2) including market-based systems; private-sector driven management practices; and emphasis on management as key to organizational activity. In their era, performance measurement; the process of quantifying the efficiency and effectiveness of actions (Neely 2005) received increased interest (Osborne & Gaebler 1992).

While the concern for efficiency and effectiveness had long occupied a central position in the practice and theory of public Administration, by the 1980s, governments (and academics) were unconvinced that the traditional system of administration provided an effective form of management of the public services (Basheka 2018). As a result of this thinking, all governments; particularly those from the west and other Scandinavian countries suggested a comprehensive package of prescriptions meant to cure the ills of the public sector. Somewhere between these times, a managerial approach began to emerge in public service delivery (Hughes 2003:48). At the time, there was a call by citizens for efficient administration to replace ineffective and wasteful bureaucracy. By the 1970s, mismanagement, nepotism, political patronage, large and rigid bureaucracy, and widespread corruption became the features of public administration machinery (Turner & Hulme 1997). The challenge was on how to address the legitimate demands from the citizens. As a panacea, it was proposed that public administration would have to distance itself from politics if it was to remain effective. Consequently, elected officials supported these arguments for they all along believed that the involvement of the administrators in politics (policy making) had unfairly affected their spectrum of activities.

From the 1980s onwards, the state started rolling back in both developed and developing countries for various reasons, and the emphasis shifted from the state being at the centre of service delivery to the private sector. The public sector was generally diagnosed to have had acute sickness, whose symptoms manifested in inefficiency and corruption among others (Basheka 2018). Mutahaba (2010) correctly reminds us that by 1980s, public administration systems in many countries of Africa were characterized by high degree of inefficiency and ineffectiveness. As a result, they were unable to effectively implement national development plans. In addition to internal weaknesses and institutional limitations, the weak performance of the public administrative systems emanated from increased dependency on donors for implementation of development plans. With this diagnosis, the prescriptions needed to come from an efficient doctor and the private sector appeared to offer such a service.



Following the changed role of the state, the New Public Management (NPM) paradigm driven by the need to enhance efficiency, productivity, improved service delivery and accountability (Hughes 2003) became a mantle and alongside this came numerous public sector reforms (Basheka 2018). The phrase called for a total reduction in the exclusive reliance on public bureaucracy for service delivery and advocated for the increased use of the private sector and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as alternative service delivery mechanisms. Improved efficiency became an overriding aim of the public sector reforms that followed more so in most African countries. The period was termed the holy grail of reform efforts in the North (Wright 1997). A crucial part in shaping the incentives for public administration reforms was to create institutions and processes that promoted accountability, efficiency, and effectiveness in the public sector. This hypothesizing was supported by advocates of the New Public Management (NPM) paradigms like Hood (1991) and Larbi (1998).

The period went into the 1990s. Indeed, as Mkandawire and Soludo (1999) contend, the need to reform African administrative structures to ensure efficiency and reduce the likelihood of corruption became an obvious objective in the 1990s. It was clear at the time that many of the state's "*most talented citizens had learnt to use the existing system to their advantage*" (Joseph, 1987, in Basheka 2021:51). The exploitative, inefficient, and ineffective performance typical of Africa's independence regimes flowed directly from the absence of effective national governing rule-systems (Jackson & Rosberg 1982). According to Adamolekun (2005) most countries in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) inherited public administration (PA) systems that performed two key functions of a modern state satisfactorily at independence. The first function was assuring the continuity of the state after the colonial rulers have gone, and the second was maintaining law and order within each country's territorial areas (Basheka 2012:51). To execute the twin functions, "*most countries moved quickly to recruit and train nationals to replace the departing colonial officials and to assure the steady supply of trained men and women for their expanding public services*" (Basheka 2012:51). There was also a reorientation of the service delivery function of the public administration from the interests of the colonial countries to those of the newly independent states. In many cases, most newly independent states undertook rapid expansion of the provision of services in agriculture, the social sector (such as health and education etc...), and infrastructure (such as roads, airports, schools, hospitals etc...) than was the case during the preceding decades of colonial rule (Basheka 2012).

However, despite these post-independence governments' efforts, "*the apparent success of managers in the private sector led to concerns being raised that the public sector had fallen behind*" (Basheka 2021:54). A dramatic shift began to appear in late 1980s and early 1990s when, due to fiscal crises and inefficiencies in the public sector and the introduction of various structural adjustment measures, the State stopped being regarded as the sole engine of economic growth and social development and eventually began to be seen as an impediment to prosperity (Basheka 2021:54). Instead, market forces came to be seen as the vehicle for solving most development problems (Basheka 2021:54). This idea was crystallized in the "*Washington Consensus*" in 1995 when it was generally accepted by major donors and international development agencies that trade, not aid, and private investment, not State money, would be more effective in bringing about sustainable development in less developed countries (Moyo & Myers 2009). In line with the Washington Consensus's ideas, the role of the State in economic and social development of the citizens was reduced, and governments were required to operate according to market-like mechanisms (Uwizeyimana 2008).

The effect of the public sector reforms in Africa has received two strands of comments. One view suggests that the reforms were a success. One of the most cited examples of this crop of successes are the tax administration reforms. In some way, judicial reforms which were undertaken increased accessibility of courts to the masses, but the actual fairness and determination of disputes has always been plagued by delay of cases and the usual monster of corruption. According to UNGCPSE (2015:8) *“tax administration was one area where NPM reforms had a more positive impact in developing country contexts”*. Due to the pressure from international financial organisations such as the World Bank and IMF several developing countries which were under pressure to pay back debt *“experimented with the creation of semi-autonomous tax agencies or authorities which were accountable to their respective ministries of finance”*. These agencies were instructed to achieve demonstrable progress against key tax collection targets. Of course, not all of these were successful due to the poor socio-economic conditions in most developing countries, especially in the Sub-Saharan Africa, but *“several agencies made impressive strides in increasing tax yields and improving the efficiency of tax collection”* (Basheka2018).

However, there is a view that *“Public administration programs tended to emphasize entrepreneurial models common in the study of business rather than affirm law as the field’s proper foundation”* (Moe & Gilmour, 1995:135). In fact, Rosenbloom (2005:12) observed that *“the legal approach to public administration had been historically eclipsed by the other approaches, especially the managerial approach yet public administrators confronted constitutional law questions throughout their careers”*. Within these contradictions, a new paradigm of public administration was coming. The apparent failure of the public sector reforms to create efficiency and effectiveness led to a move to direct attention to a new model of governance. After carefully analysing the New Public Management (NPM) approaches, Ewalt (2001) remarked that *“if Max Weber, and Woodrow Wilson who is considered by many to be “the father of modern Public Administration was to appear”, they would hardly be able to recognize the NPM discipline. In fact, there is no doubt that such a profound statement would reflect the different times the discipline of Public Administration has traversed. For example, the rapid technological changes associated with the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) in the early years of the 21st Century has touched every fibre of society; and the discipline of Public Administration is no exception. However, even before the advent of the 4IR era, a new era eventually had to be born-the era of governance.*

### **Administrative Efficiency under Governance Era (1990S – 2010)**

Public administration as a field of study saw the emergence of what some authors called the governance paradigm which made a distinction between government and governing. The shift from government as the major provider of services to other players was the proposed solution to creating efficiency and effectiveness. In governance, as Henry (2010: 38) sums it up,

*“we are moving away from government, or the control over citizens and the delivery of public benefits by institutions of the state, towards governance, or configuration of laws, policies or organizations, institutions, cooperative arrangements, and agreements that control citizens and deliver public benefits. Government is institutional; and yet governance is institutional and networked”*.

Some authors have of course suggested that *“it is rather ironical to talk about a shift to governance paradigm, whereas the very objective of government and its public administration is governance”* (Ikeanyibe et. al. 2017:4). Du Toit et al. (2002:64) tried to define governance as *“the actions undertaken to improve the general welfare of a society by means of the services delivered”* although Auriacombe (2009:78) has

weighed in to argue that *“this definition does not define what good governance entails ... the fact that certain actions are taken and services are delivered does not necessarily imply good governance ... the question is therefore, what constitutes good governance?”*. The general view of governance incorporates the rules and processes, institutions, and their interactions (Tinarwo 2021:72). A good departure for discussing governance is to consider the accountability relationships among actors involved in the delivery of social service (Bassett et al., 2012).

The governance paradigm “has similar origin and conceptual connotation with the NPM which it is believed to succeed” (Ikeanyibe, et. al. 2017:5). According to Ikeanyibe, et. al. (2017:5) *“both were public administration streams of the neoliberal ideology that most Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries embraced in the late 1970s and early 1980s”*. According to Peters (2003:18) the two paradigms in some ways do fit together well. For example, both attempts to *“break down the hierarchical, top-down system of governing inherited from the past”* (Peters 2003:18). However, while the governance and NPM paradigms seem to have similar origin and seek to achieve the same objectives, Peters (2003:18) argues that the two paradigms are distinct in very important ways. For example, *“in the NPM world the use of non-governmental actors is to reduce costs, increase efficiency, and limit the power of the State”* (Peters 2003:18). However, in terms of the governance approach or paradigm “there are some elements of efficiency, but the principal justification is to involve the civil society, enhance participation, and recognize the capacity of networks in civil society to provide at least a certain degree of self-management in their policy areas” (Peters 2003:18, cited in Ikeanyibe, et. al. 2017).

In addition, both the NPM and governance have been propagated by western multinational financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF in developing countries. Many countries in the developing part of the globe had experienced rising debt levels and an inability to meet their international obligations in the 1980s (Ferraro & Rosser 1994). As a solution, most of these countries acceded to reducing the role of the State through implementing whatever prescriptions were prescribed by the powerful nations of the world to get more debt or debt reliefs (Ferraro & Rosser 1994). *“The fall of the former Soviet Union and the democratizing trends that followed also reinforced the move towards more market-based economic systems”* (Basheka 2012:59). In fact, *“the IMF and World Bank used a number of measures, such as financial aid and economic sanctions, to try to force many African countries into adopting a form of liberal democracy”* in the early 1980s (Uwizeyimana 2012:148). However, while this reliance on market forces was being practiced in many developed western countries, there was evidence that market therapy, both shock and gradually, led to many economic dysfunctions and much social misery everywhere in general and in Sub-Saharan Africa in particular (Uwizeyimana 2012). The failures of the market forces suggested that the State had the role to play in society. For example, one of its major functions was to moderate the negative socio-economic consequences of the unregulated market (Ndege, Mawa, Juma 2021:98). After many *“decades of debate on the mutually exclusive roles of the State and the market, it became clear that there are as many complementarities as oppositions in the roles of these two partners”* (Ndege, et. al. 2021:98). In addition, there was also a growing acceptance of the fact that different socio-cultural, political, economic, as well as geographical circumstances required different approaches in lieu of the notorious *“one size fits all”* solution (Ndege, et. al. 2021:98). However, while it is a fact that the market forces alone have, not led to economic productivity and social progress anywhere in the world, it is also a fact that markets and civil societies will not thrive without a strong and competent public administration to regulate them and hold them accountable.

Therefore, administration must reclaim its central place in the management of public affairs (Nzimakwe 2005). As Basheka (2012:57) puts it:

*“Beyond conventional bureaucratic public administration, governments now incorporate legal and policy frameworks for proper policy environments, and appropriate measures to promote participatory systems for civil society to engage in policy formulation and programme implementation. Participatory systems also contribute to an effective and transparent process for control and accountability of government actions. Public administration must remain the pre-eminent locus and responsible guarantor of the public interest and a vital player within public management and governance. Short of this logic, service delivery will remain in abeyance”.*

### **Administrative Efficiency under New Public Governance (2010-Todate).**

In the face of the conceptual and practical problems encountered with the old public administration and new public management approaches several theorists have developed fresh conceptualizations of public management that depart from earlier schema (Pfiffner 2004:443). According to Abdulai (2017:13), the New Public Governance (NPG) approach proposed by Osborne (2010) adopted a very different starting point from the two earlier public administration traditions. *“In contrast with the emphasis on bureaucratic hierarchy and administrative interest as the defining features of the old public administration and the managerial discretion and contractual mechanisms associated with NPM, the NPG approach places citizens rather than government at the centre of its frame of reference”* (Abdulai 2017:13). In a similar vein, Bourgon (2007) and Jordan (2007) also advocated for “a NPA theory which they say is grounded in the concepts of citizenship. They and Dewey (1927:26-27) also advocated for *“the public interest, expressed as the shared interests of citizens rather than as the aggregation of individual interests determined by elected officials or market preferences”*. According to Abdulai (2017:13), *“the centrality of citizens as co-producers of policies and the delivery of services fundamentally distinguishes the NPG approach from both the statist approach associated with the old public administration and market based NPM approaches, rather than simply proposing a new form of public administration”*.

The difference between the NPG and traditional administrative approaches is that the NPG approach emphasizes inter-organizational relationships and the governance of processes, in which trust, relational capital and relational contracts serve as the core governance mechanisms, rather than organizational form and function (Osborne 2006). There is a view that *“the NPG runs counter to conventional approaches to public administration in many respects”* (Osborne, Radnor & Nasi, 2013:135). This is because it tends *“to emphasize intra-organizational processes within the domain of government as distinct from inter-organizational processes between government and private and non-profit actors”* (Osborne, et. al. 2013:135).

### **Efficiency under the New Public Service (2013 To Date).**

According to the UNDP Global Centre for Public Service Excellence (UNDP-GCPSE) 2015:4 *“Public administration in the 21st century is undergoing dramatic change, especially in advanced economies, but also in many parts of the developing world”*. These changes, as the UNDP-GCPSE (2015:4) continues to argue, are driven by *“globalization and the pluralization of service provision”*. However, while these changes are inevitable, the UNDP-GCPSE (2015:4) argues *“that public sector reform efforts especially in developing countries should embrace these changes selectively and draw on a range of public management models that are appropriate to their own contexts while putting the needs and interests of their citizens at the heart of reform efforts consistent with the New Public Service approach (NPS)”*.



The NPS approach is the most coherent of the approaches discussed in this article because it comes from the vantage point of democratic theory and is premised on the notion of an active and involved citizenship (UNDP Global Centre for Public Service Excellence (UNDP-GCPSE 2015). The NPS starts with the premise that the focus of public management should be citizens, community, and civil society (Your Notes Library 2020:1). In terms of this conception, “the primary role of public servants is to help citizens articulate and meet their shared interests rather than to control or steer society” (Denhardt & Denhardt 2000:549). While the role of the state or government is to serve in terms of the NPS (Denhardt & Denhardt 2000:549), its role is to steer in the case with the NPM (Uwizeyimana 2015). Thus, according to Your Notes Library (2020:1), “the NPS is in sharp contrast to the philosophical premise of the NPM approach in which transactions between public managers and customers reflect individual self-interest and are framed by market principles”. Finally, it is also distinct from the old public administration approach where citizens are generally “related to the bureaucracy as clients or constituents and are treated as passive recipients of top-down policy making and service delivery mechanisms” (Bourgon 2007, Your Notes Library 2020:1).

In seeking to address wider societal needs and develop solutions that are consistent with the public interest, governments will need to be open and accessible, accountable, and responsive, and operate to serve citizens. This is what Bourgon (2007) refers to as democratic citizenship. According to Bourgon (2007), democratic citizenship opens up fresh perspectives, “where the role of public administrators is not confined to responding to the demands of users or carrying out orders” but to fully engage with the stakeholders in order to find solutions to the socio-economic problems affecting societies. Bourgon’s (2007) democratic citizenship approach to new public administration contains four elements. They are (a) building collaborative relationships with citizens and groups of citizens; (b) encouraging shared responsibilities; (c) disseminating information to elevate public discourse and to foster a shared understanding of public issues; and finally, (d) seeking opportunities to involve citizens in government activities. Therefore, according to the UNGCPSE (2015:11), in placing a fresh emphasis on the public interest and citizens as the focus of public service, the NPS model has the potential of providing a useful corrective method to prevailing notions of control and steering which are associated with earlier models of public administration and management.

## Conclusions and Policy Implications

The synthesis on efficiency and effectiveness raises key issues. First, the concern of all writers has been on how to better deliver services in a coordinated and better way. Second, different approaches have been placed on table with institutional and behavioural theories competing with the managerialism and economic-oriented models which borrow from the private sector. The network view which shades reality has been emphasized. Third, a huge gap remains on who between the public sector and the private sector should be better placed to offer better services in an efficient and effective manner. Fourth of the classical and contemporary proposals, what is the position of the individual? Fifth, the separation of politics and administration needs to be revisited. While some author may consider such a debate a tired one, the current inefficiency and uncoordinated works of public administrative systems caused by this mix calls for a renewed demarcation.



One theme that runs through all paradigms is government on one side and the citizens on the other extreme. The two sides are brought together by the payment of taxes on the compromise that government uses the same to provide services. The citizens transfer their rights to government for the collective good. Efficiency and effectiveness are the only weapons available to ensure things work for the common good. Mukandala (2000) rightly submitted that governments in Africa have suffered from several well-known bureau pathologies that include inefficiency, centralization, fragmentation, poor leadership, lack of capacity, patrimonialism, rent seeking, corruption, poor accountability, and legitimacy. He cautioned that reversing the trend demanded a confrontation approach within institutions. Many would with minor variations, if any, agree with Mukandala's right diagnosis on the crisis of institutions in most public sectors. Based on the analysis in this article, the following needs to be done to promote administrative efficiency and effectiveness. First, different approaches will need to be combined as each plays a part. The institutionalists have strongly suggested remedies for efficiency as the legal and managerialists equally have. Second, both the public and non-public actors have a critical role in service delivery and a clear demarcation needs to be drawn. At the bare minimum, the regulatory nature of the state needs to be maintained because governments now operate decentralized, open and globalised systems, but it is always important to note that what works at the central level may not work at the local level, in the same way what works in developed countries does not always work in developing countries' contexts. Finally, to achieve administrative efficiency and effectiveness, the public leadership needs to renew their focus because, it is good leadership that forms the centrepiece of effective transformation of society.

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