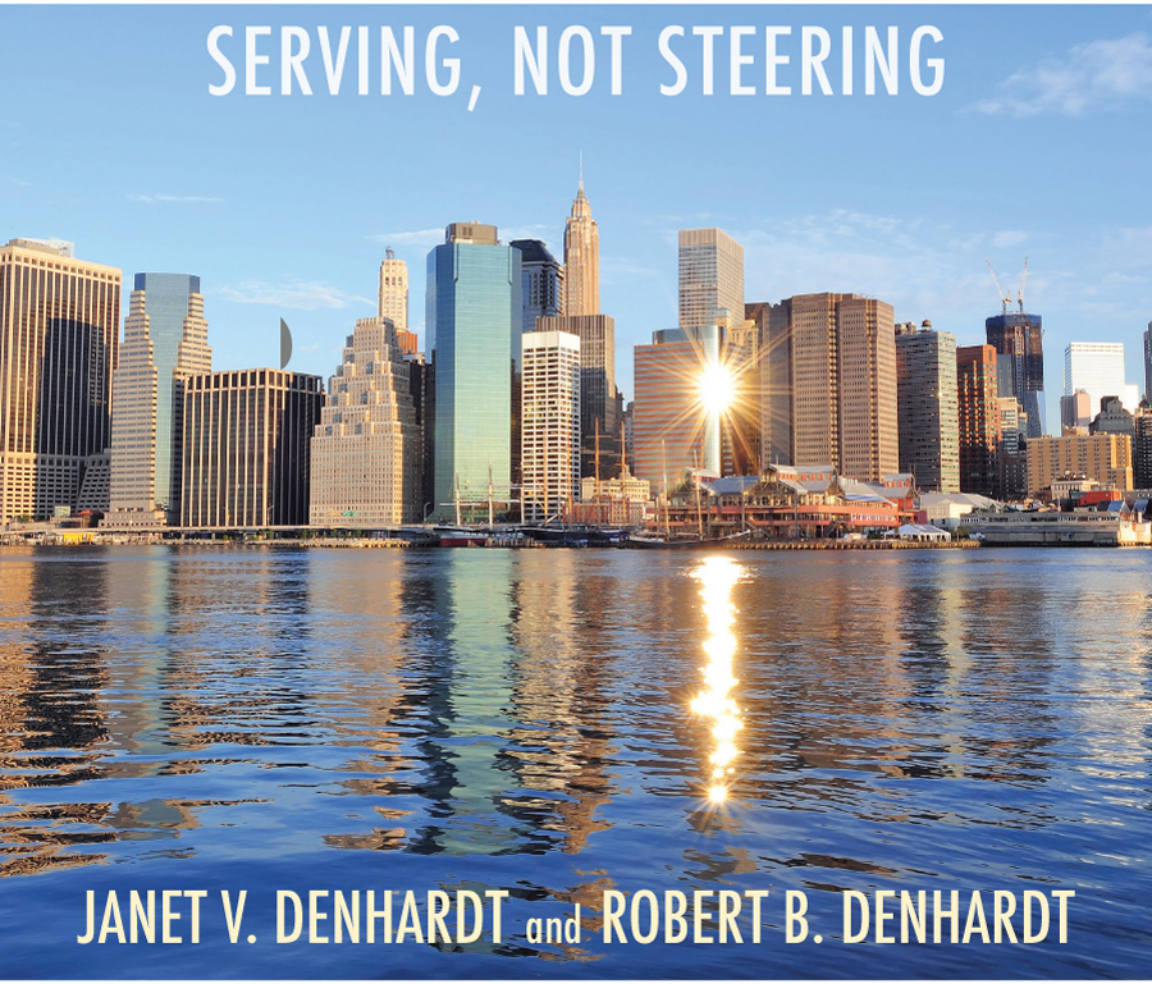
FOURTH EDITION

THE NEW PUBLIC SERVICE

SERVING, NOT STEERING



JANET V. DENHARDT and ROBERT B. DENHARDT

ROUTLEDGE

THE NEW PUBLIC SERVICE

FOURTH EDITION

The New Public Service: Serving, not Steering provides a framework for the many voices calling for the reaffirmation of democratic values, citizenship, and service in the public interest. It is organized around a set of seven core principles: (1) serve citizens, not customers; (2) seek the public interest; (3) value citizenship and public service above entrepreneurship; (4) think strategically, act democratically; (5) recognize that accountability isn't simple; (6) serve, rather than steer; and (7) value people, not just productivity.

The New Public Service asks us to think carefully and critically about what public service is, why it is important, and what values ought to guide what we do and how we do it. It celebrates what is distinctive, important, and meaningful about public service and considers how we might better live up to those ideals and values. The revised fourth edition includes a new chapter that examines how the role and significance of these New Public Service values have expanded in practice and research over the past 15 years.

Although the debate about governance will surely continue for many years, this compact, clearly written volume both provides an important framework for a public service based on citizen discourse and the public interest and demonstrates how these values have been put into practice. It is essential reading for students and serious practitioners in public administration and public policy.

Janet V. Denhardt is Chester A. Newland Professor of Public Administration and Director of the Price School Sacramento Center at the University of Southern California, USA.

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"The first edition of this book was published just after 9/11, a time when renewed attention to public service was exemplified by the firefighters and other volunteers who reminded us all what the true value of public service is. However, with the Great Recession government has been used to prop up markets and the Denhardts' call for renewed attention to serving the public is sorely needed. New Public Management's failure has been to equate government with market and substitute consumers for citizens. But, the Denhardts remind us that democracy, not consumer choice, must be the basis for government, and public service, not market service, is its primary function."

Mildred E. Warner, Cornell University, USA

"This book is a great read full of insights that challenge our status quo ways of thinking. It is a 'must read' for everyone who cares about building a better public service."

Rosemary O'Leary, Edwin O. Stene Distinguished Professor of Public Administration, University of Kansas, USA

THE NEW PUBLIC SERVICE

SERVING, NOT STEERING

FOURTH EDITION

JANET V. DENHARDT AND ROBERT B. DENHARDT

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To the women and men of the public service

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Preface to the Fourth Edition

This book has two primary aims. The first is to synthesize some of the many ideas and voices that have called for a reaffirmation of democratic values, citizenship, and service in the public interest as the normative foundations for the field of public administration. The second is to provide a framework to organize those ideas around principles, giving them a name, a mantle, and a voice that we believe had been lacking. This book is a call to think about and act on our values. It is intended as a challenge for us to think carefully and critically about what public service is, why it is important, and what values ought to guide what we do and how we do it. We want to celebrate what is distinctive, important, and meaningful about public service and to consider how we might better live up to those ideals and values.

Two themes form both the theoretical core and the heart of this book: (1) to advance the dignity and worth of public service, and (2) to reassert the values of democracy, citizenship, and the public interest as the preeminent values of public administration. It is our hope that the ideas presented here may help us, not only to initiate more conversations, but also to look within ourselves for the soul of what we do. We want words such as "democracy" and "citizen" and "pride" to be more prevalent in both our speech and our behavior than words such as "market" and "competition" and "customers." *Public servants do not deliver customer service; they deliver democracy*.

These themes—the dignity and worth of public service and the values of democracy, citizenship, and the public interest—were the subject of two online articles we wrote for the American Society for Public Administration website following the September 11 attacks on the United States. In the first article, we expressed our grief and disbelief, along with our admiration for the brave public servants who went to the aid of those in need. The story of the police and firefighters running up the stairs of the World Trade Center as others struggled down was particularly compelling to us:

> These people showed America, once again, that they stand apart. What makes them different is their quiet, often anonymous heroism. They are public servants. They serve their fellow citizens in a way that many people would find very difficult if not impossible to understand. . . . In a peculiar way, this ghastly act of terrorism reminds us of why we are in the public service. We care about our country, our community, and our neighbors. Each of us, whether we wear a uniform, a suit, a jacket, coveralls, or a hard hat, plays a role in improving the lives of others. Service to the public—helping people in trouble, making the world safer and cleaner, helping children learn and prosper, literally going where others would not go—is our job and our calling.
>
> (Denhardt and Denhardt 2001a)

In the second article, we wrote about our continuing admiration for the many public servants who work tirelessly on our behalf and also about the importance of citizenship and our responsibility to promote citizens' active involvement in their government:

> The spirit of public service extends beyond those formally working for government, those we think of as public servants. Ordinary citizens have also wished to contribute. However, the avenues through which they might bring their many talents to bear have been somewhat limited, in part, we think, because over the past several decades we have severely constrained the citizenship role, preferring to think of people as customers or consumers rather than citizens.
>
> (Denhardt and Denhardt 2001b)

We were gratified and a little surprised at the response. Many people wrote to us and talked with us about what the articles meant to them and, most importantly, how much they wanted to hear and talk about the values, the soul, and the nobility of public service. In this book, we are trying to extend that discussion by grounding it in history and in the development of thought and practice in public administration. The ideas are not new, but they are beginning to have a clearer voice and spark a renewed interest. What happened to the ideals of public service, and when did we stop hearing about them? How have changes in management philosophy and theories about the proper role and identity of government altered how public servants act, think, and behave? What values of public service, especially those that give the field dignity, courage, and commitment, have been lost in the process? How can we rediscover and affirm them?

In the time since the first edition of *The New Public Service* was published, this discussion has continued. We have been grateful for the opportunity to

visit with, and listen to the ideas of, those interested in the New Public Service in communities and organizations across the United States, as well as in Brazil, Sweden, the Netherlands, Italy, Korea, and China, where a Chinese translation of the book was published in 2004. The insights and ideas we gained from these discussions have reinforced our convictions and deepened our respect for the very difficult and important work of public servants in democratic governance. It reminds us of why we wrote this book in the first place—not to lay claim to a set of novel and original ideas, but rather to give voice to the democratic ideals and perspectives that are so critical to effective governance but have too often become overshadowed by other efforts to use business values and approaches to reinvent and otherwise *fix* government.

Subsequent editions of this book (2007, 2011) included new materials on how the principles of the New Public Service can be put into practice and factors to consider in choosing among the many approaches to citizen engagement that have been found successful.

In 2014, the original *Public Administration Review* (*PAR*) article, "The New Public Service: Serving Rather than Steering" (2000) was selected as one of the 75 most influential out of the more than 3,500 articles appearing in the journal since its inception in 1940. We were asked to revisit the key features of the New Public Service and provide an update on how and to what extent those ideas have been discussed, promoted, practiced, and applied over the last 15 years. That review became the basis for a new chapter in this edition titled, "Fifteen Years Later: Are We Rowing, Steering, or Serving?" Our review of the empirical evidence suggests that New Public Service principles and practices have become increasingly evident in scholarship and practice. Citizen engagement has proven to be both effective and widely used, the "public interest" is increasingly significant both as an ideal and as a guide to practice, and the reliance of governments on entrepreneurship and privatization has decreased.

We do not pretend that these developments are a result of this book. Rather, they are a result of the dedication of public servants to the difficult and all-important task of making democratic governance work for citizens. We have never claimed to provide the answers or to define the *correct* values of the field; rather, we want people to continue to thoughtfully examine what values ought to guide action in public service. Ultimately, our purpose is to reinforce the nobility and calling of public service and to help public servants rediscover the soul and meaning of what they do and why they do it.

Janet and Robert Denhardt

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Acknowledgments

We are indebted to many people for their guidance and help during our work on this project. We especially want to acknowledge the important models of public service and civic engagement provided by forward-looking public servants and active and engaged citizens across the country and around the world. These are the people who have already established the "New Public Service." We have simply given their work a name.

We also want to thank friends and colleagues in the academic community for their assistance and support during our work on this project. Among the many practitioners and academics we might mention, we especially want to recall the intellectual contributions, support, and friendship of Marvin Andrews, Maria Aristigueta, Lynn Bailey, Eric Bergrud, Dick Bowers, Harry Briggs, Joe Cayer, Linda Chapin, Jeff Chapman, Manuella Cocci, Paul Danczyk, Tom Eichler, Eileen Eisen, Frank Fairbanks, Mark Glaser, Elizabeth Graddy, Elizabeth Granda, Joe Gray, Joe Grubbs, Jay Hakes, John Hall, Mary Hamilton, Mark Holzer, Ed Jennings, Jim Keene, Cheryl King, Jack Knott, Christiaan Lako, Lena Langlet, Juliet Lee, Roz Lasker, Brian Marson, Barbara McCabe, Cynthia McSwain, John Nalbandian, Nico Nelissen, Robert O'Neill, Phil Penland, Jan Perkins, Jeff Raffel, Randy Reid, Dan Rich, Faye Schmidt, Scott Steele, Camilla Stivers, James Svara, Larry Terry, John Thomas, Karen Thoreson, and Orion White.

We also owe a very special thanks to Gregor McGavin, Kelly Campbell, Qian Hu, and Ljubinka Adonoska, our brilliant research assistants, who have made and will continue to make great contributions to the field of public administration. We are also thankful for the assistance of our publisher at Routledge, Laura Stearns. A sincere thanks to all! And, as always, we want to express our love and admiration for our children: Michael, Ben, Cari, and Mary.

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Chapter 1

Public Administration and the New Public Management

Government shouldn't be run like a business; it should be run like a democracy. Across this country and around the world, both elected and appointed public servants are acting on this principle and expressing renewed commitment to such ideals as the public interest, the governance process, and expanding democratic citizenship. As a result, they are learning new skills in policy development and implementation, recognizing and accepting the complexity of the challenges they face, and treating their fellow public servants and citizens with renewed dignity and respect. Public employees are feeling more valued and energized as this sense of service and community expands. In the process, public servants are also reconnecting with citizens. Administrators are realizing that they have much to gain by *listening* to the public rather than *telling*, and by *serving* rather than *steering*. At the invitation of public servants, even their urging, ordinary citizens are once again becoming engaged in the governance process. Citizens and public officials are working together to define and to address common problems in a cooperative and mutually beneficial way.

These developments can be understood as part of a movement that we call the "New Public Service." The New Public Service seeks to pose and inform a number of central, normative questions about the field. How can we define the essential character of what we do in the public service? What is the motivating force that propels our actions? What gives us strength and capacity when the trials and turmoil of our work get us down? How can we

keep going, even as we face problems that are complex and intractable, with extremely limited resources and a public that often resents and criticizes what we do? We think the answer lies in our commitment to public service.

We find no other reasonable explanation for the extraordinary dedication and commitment of the people who work to make the world safer and cleaner, to improve our health, to teach our children, and to unravel the host of societal maladies that confront us. Where else can we find the foundations for our efforts to facilitate citizenship and public engagement as a central part of our work? What else can keep the firefighters, the police officers, the social workers, the planners and the inspectors, the receptionists and the clerks, the managers and the analysts serving their communities and their country with energy, resolve, and determination?

Research tells us that the ideals of public service are critically important in understanding how public servants can be successful in the work they do. Our objective is to present a unifying set of themes and principles that both express and reaffirm the importance of these public service values. Questions about these values have, of course, been debated throughout the history of public administration in this country, and elsewhere, but there seems to be more concern for these issues today than before. Certainly, there are some important *driving forces* that have been widely discussed in the field of public administration: the New Public Management and the Managing for Results movement, to name just two. Although these influences have been important, none has satisfied our more basic yearning to answer some core questions: Who are we? Why are we here? What does all this mean? People in public administration throughout the history of our field have been encouraged to make things work, but that's only a partial answer. We also want to do something of societal value.

Therein lies the soul of public administration. What is most significant, and most valuable, about public administration is that we serve citizens to advance the common good. Public administrators are responsible for improving the public health, for maintaining public safety, for enhancing the quality of our environment, and myriad other tasks. Ultimately, for them, for us, what really matters is not how efficiently we have done our jobs, but how we have contributed to a better life for all. In this book, we call for an affirmation of the soul of the profession through the New Public Service, a movement grounded in the public interest, in the ideals of democratic governance, and in a renewed civic engagement. This movement, we will argue, is more than ever being manifest in the way we interact with political leaders, in the way we engage with citizens, and in the way we bring about positive changes in our organizations and our communities.

We will approach the task of describing the various elements of the New Public Service by contrasting it with both traditional and more contemporary approaches to public policy and public administration. In this chapter, we will very briefly review the history and development of traditional public administration, what we must now call the Old Public Administration. Then, we will outline what has been the dominant or mainstream approach to contemporary public administration, the New Public Management. In Chapter 2, we will note some of the most important alternative views of public administration, views that have been less than "mainstream" throughout the history of the field, but are now being voiced with increasing urgency. Having examined the context and historical grounding for understanding the New Public Service, in Chapters 3 to 9, we will explore seven aspects of the New Public Service that we find most compelling. In Chapter 10, we provide some examples of how New Public Service values are being implemented in the United States and around the world. At the outset, we should note that we have not attempted to develop a complete theoretical argument for the New Public Service, nor catalog all of the many examples of its practice. Rather, our purpose is to simply lay out, in a very basic way, the normative issues and the alternative ways of thinking about public administration that may be helpful to those working to build the New Public Service.

The Old Public Administration

Although governments have used complex structures of management and organization throughout human history, public administration as a self-conscious field of study and practice is generally thought to have begun around the turn of the century. Its American version, for example, is typically dated to a well-known essay by Woodrow Wilson, then college professor, later president of the United States. Wilson acknowledged the growing and increasingly complex administrative tasks of government by commenting that, "it is getting harder to run a constitution than to frame one" (Wilson 1987/1887, 200). In order to more effectively run government, Wilson advised that we look to the field of business, as, "the field of administration is a field of business" (209). In order to follow the model of business, Wilson advised, government should establish executive authorities, controlling essentially hierarchical organizations and having as their goal achieving the most reliable and efficient operations possible.

Those residing at these centers of power, however, were not to be actively or extensively involved in the development of policy. Their tasks were,

instead, the implementation of policy and the provision of services, and in those tasks they were expected to act with neutrality and professionalism to execute faithfully the directives that came their way. They were to be watched carefully and held accountable to elected political leaders, so as not to deviate from established policy. Wilson recognized a potential danger in the other direction as well; the possibility that politics, or more specifically corrupt politicians, might negatively influence administrators in their pursuit of organizational efficiency. This concern led to Wilson's well-known dictum, "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 1987/1887, 210). Thus, Wilson established what was known for many years as the politics–administration (or policy–administration) dichotomy.

Two Key Themes

In Wilson's essay, we find two key themes that served as a focus for the study of public administration for the next half-century or more. First, there was the distinction between politics (or policy) and administration, with its associated ideas of accountability to elected leaders and neutral competence on the part of administrators. Second, there was concern for creating structures and strategies of administrative management that would permit public organizations and their managers to act in the most efficient way possible. Each of these ideas deserves further comment.

First, the idea of separating politics and administration received much early commentary and came to guide practice in a number of important ways. For example, the dichotomy is clearly the basis for the council–manager form of local government, which involves the council being given the responsibility of establishing policy and the city manager being charged with implementing it. Of course, in the council–manager example, as in other areas, a strict separation of politics and administration proved difficult. Members of governing bodies, whether members of city councils or state or federal legislators, always maintained an active interest in the operations of administrative agencies. Especially through the oversight function, they exercised considerable influence in the operations of agencies. Conversely, administrators came to play a more active role in the policy process, especially as they brought expert advice to bear on the legislative process. Over time, many commentators, such as Luther Gulick, first city administrator of New York and a founder of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA), argued that policy and administration could not be separated, that every act of a public manager involves a "seamless web of discretion and

action" (1933, 561). Others, such as Paul Appleby, dean of the Maxwell School at Syracuse University, were even more to the point: "public administration is policymaking" (Appleby 1949, 170).

The distinction Wilson drew between politics and administration has certainly blurred over time. Yet, in many ways, the relationship between politics and administration remains important to the field of public administration. Although a *dichotomy* between politics and administration is overdrawn, the interaction of political and administrative concerns is certainly key to understanding how government operates, even today. Perhaps more important, however, the separation of politics and administration lies at the heart of the Old Public Administration's version of accountability, one in which appointed administrators were held to be accountable to their political "masters"—and only through them to the citizenry. In this view, the requirements of democratic governance are satisfied where a neutral and competent civil service is controlled by and accountable to elected political leaders. Frederick Cleveland, an early writer, commented that democratic accountability is maintained where there is a "representative body (such as a legislature) outside of the administration with power to determine the will of the membership (the citizens) and to enforce (that) will on the administration" (Cleveland 1920, 15; parentheses added). In this view, the legislature operates somewhat like a board of directors overseeing a business operation.

Second, Wilson held, and others agreed, that public organizations should seek the greatest possible efficiency in their operations, and that such efficiency was best achieved through unified and largely hierarchical structures of administrative management. Certainly, that view was consistent with thinking among business managers of the period. Many, such as the efficiency expert Frederick W. Taylor (1923), employed a "scientific management" approach to try to learn, through detailed "time and motion" studies, exactly how the productive process could be improved. Taylor, for example, sought to determine the "one best way" to shovel dirt by designing an experiment that would calculate the ideal weight of a single shovelful of dirt—ideal in the sense of producing the most shoveled dirt per day!

Other early theorists, such as Leonard White (1926) and W.F. Willoughby (1927), focused on building organizational structures that would operate with high efficiency. Again, most found attractive the idea of a strong chief executive vested with the power and authority to carry out the work assigned to the agency. Moreover, that chief executive would be most successful if he or she operated through an organizational structure characterized by unity of command, hierarchical authority, and a strict division of labor. The job of the executive, therefore, was to determine the best division of labor, then to develop the appropriate means of coordination and control.

Or, following Gulick's classic acronym POSDCORB, the work of the executive was planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting (1937, 13). But again, efficiency was the key value accepted by most early writers and practitioners.

Dissenting Views

That is not to say, however, that *all* accepted efficiency is the ultimate criterion by which to judge administrators. Marshall Dimock, an academic and practitioner, challenged that idea, writing that mechanical efficiency is "coldly calculating and inhuman," whereas, "successful administration is warm and vibrant. It is human" (Dimock 1936, 120). Successful administration, he continued, "is more than a lifeless pawn. It plans, it contrives, it philosophizes, it educates, it builds for the community as a whole" (133). Others suggested that administrators, as well as political leaders, were ultimately concerned with issues such as justice, liberty, freedom, and equality—issues far more formidable and difficult than efficiency alone.

Finally, many writers noted that the search for organizational efficiency might easily occur at the expense of involving citizens in the work of government. Writing somewhat later, Dwight Waldo, perhaps the best-known public administration theorist of his generation, summarized the emerging orthodoxy in the field of public administration by writing that, "The means and measurements of efficiency, it was felt and strongly stated, were the same for all administration. Democracy, if it were to survive, could not afford to ignore the lessons of centralization, hierarchy, and discipline" (Waldo 1948, 200). Moreover, he commented, "Both private and public administration were in an important . . . sense false to the ideal of democracy . . . by reason of their insistence that democracy, however good and desirable, is nevertheless something peripheral to administration" (Waldo 1952, 7).

So, in contrast to using efficiency as the sole criterion for assessing administrative performance, one might employ other criteria, such as responsiveness to the concerns of citizens. An appealing view, one might say. Yet these alternative voices were counterpoint at best, as the emerging field of public administration moved firmly through the ideas of "politics and administration," "scientific management," "administrative management," and "bureaucratic management." In each case, theory and practice confirmed the importance of tightly integrated hierarchical structures, controlled from the top by managers interested in achieving the organization's goals and objectives in the most efficient manner possible. Interestingly, even as the field moved through the next several decades and into its behavioral or

"scientific" phase, these same issues continued to be highlighted. Though the justification was somewhat different, the resulting recommendations were much the same.

The Rational Model

The classic *Administrative Behavior* (1957), written by Herbert Simon, a political scientist who later won a Nobel Prize in economics, laid out the argument best. According to the positive science viewpoint Simon represented, statements may be classified according to whether they are true or false. Scientists, of course, are concerned with establishing the truth of certain propositions. In order to do so, they must strip away those pesky "values" that tend to interfere in human affairs. So, those terms that speak to individual or group preferences are not to be admitted into scientific study, in this case the study of administrative behavior. Rather, Simon argued that a single standard, the standard of efficiency, may be used to help remove values from the discussion of organized action.

The key to this argument is the concept of rationality. According to Simon, human beings are limited in the degree of rationality they can obtain in reference to the problems they face, but they can join together in groups and organizations to deal effectively with the world around them, and they can do so in a rational manner. After all, in the abstract, it's not hard to develop a rational course of action to achieve most objectives. The problem comes when we insert real live people, with all their human concerns and idiosyncrasies, into the picture. The issue then becomes one of how to match these people with the rational plan and how to assure that human behavior follows the most efficient path possible.

In contrast to a long philosophical tradition that holds human reason to be concerned with such issues as justice, equality, and freedom, Simon's more restricted view is that rationality is concerned with coordinating the proper means to accomplish the desired ends. In this view, rationality is equated with efficiency. For what Simon called "administrative man," the most rational behavior is that which moves an organization efficiently toward its objectives.

> Administrative man accepts the organizational goals as the value premises of his decisions, is particularly sensitive and reactive to the influence upon him on the other members of the organization, forms stable expectations regarding his own role . . . and has high morale in regard to the organization's goals.
>
> (Simon, Smithburg, and Thompson 1950, 82)

Then, through what is called the inducements–contributions model, by controlling the inducements offered to members of the organization, its leaders could secure their contribution and compliance with the rational design of the organization, the result being a far more efficient and productive organization.

Public Choice

Some years after Simon's work, an interesting interpretation of administrative behavior, and one more closely allied with the classic "economic man" position, emerged. This new approach, called "public choice theory," actually provides an interesting bridge between the Old Public Administration and the New Public Management, for, although public choice theory was developed during the time period we generally associate with the Old Public Administration, as we will see later, public choice became much more significant as the key theoretical basis for the New Public Management. For this reason, we will only briefly outline public choice theory here, but return to it frequently throughout the material that follows.

Public choice theory is based on several key assumptions. First, and most important, public choice theory focuses on the individual, assuming that the individual decision maker, like the traditional "economic man," is rational and self-interested and seeks to maximize his or her own "utilities." According to this view, individuals "always seek the biggest possible benefits and the least costs in [any decision situation]. People are basically egoistic, self-regarding and instrumental in their behavior" (Dunleavy 1991, 3). Even if people are not that way, economists and public choice theorists argue that it enables us to better explain human behavior if we *assume* that they are. Second, public choice theory focuses on the idea of "public goods" as the output of public agencies. These can be distinguished from private goods in that a public good, such as national defense, when provided to one person will be provided to all.

A third idea associated with public choice is that different kinds of decision rule or decision situation will result in different approaches to choice making. For this reason, structuring decision rules to influence human choice, and in turn human behavior, is a key to the operations of public agencies and the governance system more generally. In this view, "public agencies are viewed as a means for allocating decision-making capabilities in order to provide public goods and services responsive to the preferences of individuals in different social contexts" (Ostrom and Ostrom 1971, 207). In other words, the public choice approach involves the application of economic models and approaches to nonmarket circumstances, especially

government and political science, so as to provide structures and incentives to guide human behavior.

There are a number of questions that have been raised about public choice theory. The first and most obvious is the empirical one. Do individuals really consistently act in a self-interested way so as to maximize their utilities? Obviously, there are many situations in which they do, but also many in which they do not. This means that the public choice model must sacrifice behavioral accuracy in order to put forward a key construct upon which the rest of its theorizing is based. The result is a set of logical propositions based on assumptions that may only remotely correspond to actual human behavior. To an even greater extent than Simon's model of "administrative man," the more purely "economic man" of the public choice model is based on an assumption of complete rationality. One might ask, "Why not focus on other aspects of the human experience, such as feelings or intuition?" For the public choice theorist, the answer is that, in order to provide better explanations for human behavior, we should concentrate on the way individuals and groups attempt to maximize their own interests and on the way that market mechanisms both influence and respond to individual choices.

As Yale political scientist Robert Dahl (1947) pointed out in a critique of Simon's view, a critique also applicable to the more recent public choice model, to say that an action is rational is not to say that it serves moral or politically responsible purposes, but merely to say that it moves the organization forward more efficiently. Dahl suggested that, in contrast, efficiency is itself a value and should compete with other values, such as individual responsibility or democratic morality. In many cases, argued Dahl, efficiency would not be the primary value chosen. For example, how would we evaluate the operation of the German prison camps in World War II, camps that by all accounts were run quite efficiently? Or, more to the current point, how would we balance a concern for administrative efficiency in a public agency with the need for that agency to involve citizens in its decision processes? We think that is an important question. But Dahl's point, like similar arguments made by Waldo and others, was relegated to a position somewhat outside the mainstream in the emerging dialogue about the structure and conduct of public organizations.

Core Ideas

Obviously, many other scholars and practitioners contributed to the early development of the field of public administration. And, as we have seen, there is not a single set of ideas agreed to by all those who contributed over the decades to the Old Public Administration. However, we think that it is

fair to say that the following elements generally represent the mainstream view of the Old Public Administration:

- The focus of government is on the direct delivery of services through existing or through newly authorized agencies of government.
- Public policy and administration are concerned with designing and implementing policies focused on a single, politically defined objective.
- Public administrators play a limited role in policymaking and governance; rather, they are charged with the implementation of public policies.
- The delivery of services should be carried out by administrators accountable to elected officials and given limited discretion in their work.
- Administrators are responsible to democratically elected political leaders.
- Public programs are best administered through hierarchical organizations, with managers largely exercising control from the top of the organization.
- The primary values of public organizations are efficiency and rationality.
- Public organizations operate most efficiently as closed systems; thus citizen involvement is limited.
- The role of the public administrator is largely defined as planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting.

There's no question that the Old Public Administration should be given a considerable amount of credit. Administrators operating largely within the confines of this view made (and continue to make) dramatic and important contributions to society, in areas ranging from national defense, to social security, to transportation, to public health, and to the protection of the environment. The Old Public Administration has allowed us to deal effectively with extremely complex and difficult problems and to maintain a balance between political and administrative concerns. Given the circumstances of its time, the Old Public Administration served well, even if imperfectly. It continues to do so. Most government agencies still follow this basic model of organization and management—or at least this model seems to be the "default" position for agencies at all levels of government. But the old model has come under increasing attack, especially by proponents of what we will call the New Public Management.

The New Public Management

As it is used here, the New Public Management refers to a cluster of contemporary ideas and practices that seek, at their core, to use private-sector and business approaches in the public sector. Although, as we have seen, there have long been calls to "run government like a business," the current version of this debate involves more than just the use of business techniques. Rather, the New Public Management has become a normative model, one signaling a profound shift in how we think about the role of public administrators, the nature of the profession, and how and why we do what we do.

Over the past couple of decades, the New Public Management has literally swept the nation and the world. As a result, a number of highly positive changes have been implemented in the public sector (Barzelay 2001a; Kettl 2005; Kettl and Milward 1996; Lynn 1996; Lynn 2006; Osborne and Gaebler 1992; Osborne and Plastrik 1997; Pollitt and Bouckaert 2000; Shamsul 2007). The common theme in the myriad of applications of these ideas has been the use of market mechanisms and terminology, in which the relationships between public agencies and their customers is understood as involving transactions similar to those that occur in the marketplace. "Painted with the broadest brush, these reforms sought to replace the traditional rule-based, authority-driven processes with market-based, competition-driven tactics" (Kettl 2000a, 3).

In the New Public Management, public managers are challenged either to find new and innovative ways to achieve results or to privatize functions previously provided by government. They are urged to "steer, not row," meaning they should not assume the burden of service delivery themselves, but, wherever possible, should define programs that others would then carry out, through contracting or other such arrangements. The key is that the New Public Management relies heavily on market mechanisms to guide public programs. Harvard's Linda Kaboolian explains that these arrangements might include "competition within units of government and across government boundaries to the non-profit and for profit sectors, performance bonuses, and penalties" (Kaboolian 1998, 190). The aim is to loosen what advocates of the New Public Management see as an inefficient monopoly franchise of public agencies and public employees. Elaborating on this point, Christopher Hood, of the London School of Economics, writes that the New Public Management moves away from traditional modes of legitimizing the public bureaucracy, such as procedural safeguards on administrative discretion, in favor of "trust in the market and private business methods . . . ideas . . . couched in the language of economic rationalism" (1995, 94).

Following these ideas, many public managers have initiated efforts to increase productivity and to find alternative service-delivery mechanisms based on economic assumptions and perspectives. They have concentrated on accountability to customers and high performance, restructuring bureaucratic agencies, redefining organizational missions, streamlining agency processes, and decentralizing decision making. In many cases, governments and government agencies have succeeded in privatizing previously public functions, holding top executives accountable for measurable performance goals, establishing new processes for measuring productivity and effectiveness, and reengineering departmental systems to reflect a strengthened commitment to accountability (Barzelay 2001b; Boston et al. 1996; Pollitt and Bouckaert 2000).

Donald Kettl, of the Brookings Institution, sees what he calls the "global public management reform," focusing on six core issues (adapted from Kettl 2000a, 1–2):

1. How can government find ways to squeeze more services from the same or a smaller revenue base?
2. How can government use market-style incentives to root out the pathologies of bureaucracy; how can traditional bureaucratic command-and-control mechanisms be replaced with market strategies that will change the behavior of program managers?
3. How can government use market mechanisms to give citizens (now often called "customers") greater choices among services—or at least encourage greater attention to serving customers better?
4. How can government make programs more responsive? How can government decentralize responsibility to give front-line managers greater incentives to serve?
5. How can government improve its capacity to devise and track policy? How can government separate its role as a purchaser of services (a contractor) from its role in actually delivering services?
6. How can government focus on outputs and outcomes instead of processes or structures? How can it replace top-down, rule-driven systems with bottom-up, results-driven systems?

Similarly, New Zealand's Jonathon Boston had earlier characterized the central features or doctrines of the New Public Management, as follows:

> [An] emphasis on management rather than policy; a shift from the use of input controls . . . to a reliance on quantifiable output measures and performance targets; the devolution of management control coupled with

> the development of new reporting, monitoring, and accountability mechanisms; the disaggregation of large bureaucratic structures into quasi-autonomous agencies, in particular the separation of commercial from non-commercial functions . . . a preference for private ownership, contracting out, and contestability in public service provision; the imitation of certain private sector management practices, such as . . . the development of corporate plans (and) performance agreements, the introduction of performance-linked remuneration systems . . . and a greater concern for corporate image; a general preference for monetary incentives rather than non-monetary incentives, such as ethics, ethos, and status; and a stress on cost-cutting, efficiency, and cutback management.
>
> (Boston 1991, 9–10)

Around the World

The effectiveness of this practical reform agenda in such countries as New Zealand, Australia, Great Britain, and later the United States put governments around the world on notice that new standards were being sought and new roles established. That is not to say that each of these countries followed exactly the same pattern in seeking management reform in the public sector. As leading European scholars Christopher Pollitt and Geert Bouckaert are careful to point out, efforts to reform are constrained by the philosophy and culture of governance within a particular country, by the nature and structure of that country's government, and by luck and coincidence. However, "Certain regimes look as though they are much more open to the 'performance-driven,' market-favouring ideas of the New Public Management than others, particularly the 'Anglo-Saxon' countries, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK, and the USA" (2000, 60–61).

New Zealand's reform efforts were noteworthy, beginning in the mid 1980s as the Labor Party came to power after nine years out of office. At the time, New Zealand's economy had stagnated, and the country found it hard to sustain its traditionally generous social programs and economic support. "The New Zealand reforms began with a top-down approach that sought to privatize programs wherever possible, to substitute market incentives for command-and-control bureaucracies; and to focus single-mindedly on outputs and results instead of inputs" (Kettl 2000a, 8). The key principles underlying the model seemed to be that the government should only be involved in activities that could not be more efficiently and effectively handled elsewhere, and that government should, wherever possible, be organized along the lines of private enterprise. Additionally, there was a strong dependence on incentive systems and the use of explicit contracts between

ministers and managers or between purchasers (agencies) and providers (contractors) (Boston et al. 1996, 4–6). In terms of management systems, New Zealand essentially did away with its civil service system, allowing managers to negotiate their own contracts with employees and to introduce budget systems more focused on performance and results. The result was a massive transformation of public management in New Zealand.

Similar changes in the Australian approach to public administration and management in the 1980s and beyond were also triggered by difficult economic times, but went far beyond simply enabling the government to make deep cuts in public programs. As early as 1983, the government under Prime Minister Robert Hawke had endorsed the notion of "managing for results" and had initiated a series of financial management and other reforms to achieve this objective. Again, a variety of efforts at privatization and governmental restructuring and efforts to evaluate programs in terms of specific desired results were implemented. Managers were encouraged to use corporate-style planning processes to identify priorities, goals, and objectives, to reconstitute financial management processes so as to better track expenditures in light of desired results, and to emphasize efficiency, productivity, and accountability for results.

The British reforms largely were triggered by Margaret Thatcher's neoconservative efforts to reduce the size of the state. A key early effort was to reduce costs and spin off those activities that might be better accomplished in the private sector, while subjecting those that remained to market competition wherever possible. Additionally, the Financial Management Initiative centered on identifying specific centers of responsibility, associating costs with outcomes, and holding managers contractually responsible for achieving those outcomes. A later "citizen's charter" exercise sought to hold agencies responsible for meeting specific service standards.

> The [British version of] the new public management stemmed from the basic economic argument that government suffered from the defects of monopoly, high transaction costs, and information problems that bred great inefficiencies. By substituting market competition—and marketlike incentives—the reformers believed they could shrink government's size, reduce its costs, and improve its performance.
>
> (Kettl 2000a, 14)

(For recent reviews of the New Public Management in other countries, see Dent, Chandler, and Barry 2004; Lægreid and Christensen 2007; Levy 2010; Lynn 2006; Pollitt, Van Thiel, and Homberg 2007; Ramesh, Araral, and Wu 2010.)

The American Experience

These ideas were first crystallized and popularized in the United States by David Osborne and Ted Gaebler's best-selling book, *Reinventing Government* (1992; see also Barzelay 2001a; Osborne and Plastrik 1997). Drawing on the experiences of other countries, especially New Zealand, as well as experiences at the state and local level in America, Osborne and Gaebler, a journalist and a former city manager, provided a number of now-familiar "principles" through which "public entrepreneurs" might bring about massive governmental reform, ideas that remain at the core of the New Public Management:

1. *Catalytic Government*, *Steering Rather than Rowing*: Public entrepreneurs move beyond existing policy options, serving instead as catalysts within their communities to generate alternative courses of action. They choose to *steer*, recognizing a wide range of possibilities and striking a balance between resources and needs, rather than rowing, concentrating on a single objective. Those who steer define their future, rather than simply relying on traditional assumptions (35).
2. *Community-Owned Government*, *Empowering Rather than Serving*: Public entrepreneurs have learned that past efforts to serve clients produced dependence, as opposed to economic and social independence. Rather than maintain this approach, these entrepreneurs shift ownership of public initiatives into the community. They empower citizens, neighborhood groups, and community organizations to be the sources of their own solutions (52).
3. *Competitive Government*, *Injecting Competition into Service Delivery*: Public entrepreneurs have recognized that attempting to provide every service not only places a drain on public resources but also causes public organizations to overextend their capabilities, thus reducing service quality and effectiveness. These entrepreneurs counter this trend by fostering competition among public, private, and nongovernmental service providers. The results are "greater efficiency, enhanced responsiveness, and an environment that rewards innovation" (80–83).
4. *Mission-Driven Government*, *Transforming Rule-Driven Organizations*: Public entrepreneurs have seen how excessive rule making in bureaucratic organizations stifles innovation and limits government performance. Such rule making is further supported by rigid systems of budgeting and human resources. In contrast, public entrepreneurs focus first on the mission of the group—what the organization strives

for internally and externally. Then, the budget, human resources, and other systems are designed to reflect the overall mission (110).

5. *Results-Oriented Government*, *Funding Outcomes*, *Not Inputs*: Public entrepreneurs believe that government should be dedicated to achieving substantive public goals, or outcomes, as opposed to concentrating strictly on controlling the public resources expended in doing the job. Current evaluation and reward systems focus mainly on fiscal efficiency and control, rarely asking what impacts were gained from each public initiative. Public entrepreneurs transform these systems to be more results-oriented—that is, accountability based on government performance (140–141).
6. *Customer-Driven Government*, *Meeting the Needs of the Customer*, *Not the Bureaucracy*: Public entrepreneurs have learned from their private-sector counterparts that, unless one focuses on the customer, the citizen will never be happy. As legislative bodies provide most public resources to government agencies, these agencies operate completely blind of their customer base. They function according to their own priorities, and those demanded of them by the funding source, instead of what their customers actually need. Public entrepreneurs stand this system on its head, serving the customer first (166–167).
7. *Enterprising Government*, *Earning Rather than Spending*: Public entrepreneurs face the same fiscal constraints as their traditional counterparts, but the difference is in the way they respond. Rather than raise taxes or slash public programs, public entrepreneurs find innovative ways to do more with less. By instituting the concept of profit motive into the public realm—for example, relying on charges and fees for public services and investments to fund future initiatives—public entrepreneurs are able to add value and ensure results, even in tight financial times (203–206).
8. *Anticipatory Government*, *Prevention Rather than Cure*: Public entrepreneurs have grown tired of funneling resources into programs to resolve public problems. Instead, they believe the primary concern should be prevention, stopping the problem before it ever occurs. Government in the past prided itself on service delivery—on being able to put forth initiatives aimed at curing public ills. However, as the problems in postindustrial society became more complex, government lost its capacity to respond. By returning to prevention, public organizations will be more efficient and effective for the future (219–221).
9. *Decentralized Government*, *from Hierarchy to Participation and Teamwork*: Public entrepreneurs appreciate the role centralized organizations served in the industrial age. These institutions represented the

first steps toward professionalization in the field of public administration. Yet, the age of the hierarchical institution has passed. Advances in information technology, improved communications systems, and increases in workforce quality have brought in a new age of more flexible, team-based organizations. Decision making has been extended throughout the organization—placed in the hands of those who can innovate and determine the high-performance course (250–252).

10. *Market-Oriented Government*, *Leveraging Change through the Market*: Public entrepreneurs respond to changing conditions, not with traditional approaches, such as attempting to control the entire situation, but rather with innovative strategies aimed at shaping the environment to allow market forces to act. Each jurisdiction—whether a nation, a state, or a local community—represents a market, a collection of people, interests, and social and economic forces. Public entrepreneurs realize that these markets remain beyond the control of any single political body. So, their strategy centers on structuring the environment so that the market can operate most effectively, thus ensuring quality of life and economic opportunity (280–282).

Osborne and Gaebler intended these 10 principles to serve as a new conceptual framework for public administration—an analytical checklist to transform the actions of government.

> What we are describing is nothing less than a shift in the basic model of governance used in America. This shift is underway all around us, but because we are not looking for it—because we assume that all governments have to be big, centralized, and bureaucratic—we seldom see it. We are blind to the new realities, because they do not fit our preconceptions.
>
> (321)

In the United States, the effort to "reinvent government" came later than those in other Anglo-Saxon countries, was more highly politicized, and, in part for that reason, had its effect less on the overall structure of governance in the country and more on managerial practices. Two efforts were particularly important, the National Performance Review (NPR) and the Government Performance and Results Act. The NPR was President Bill Clinton's effort, spearheaded by Vice President Al Gore, to create a government that "works better and costs less." To do so, scores of government employees were sent throughout government agencies seeking out ways in which operations could be streamlined and made less costly. Specific recommendations numbered in the hundreds and included procurement

reforms, changes in personnel policy, and developments in information technology. Moreover, there was a strong emphasis on serving the "customers" of government. The NPR, however, took place against a political backdrop necessitating serious cutbacks in federal employment, because this was the one activity that could produce rapid savings. Meanwhile, the congressionally driven Government Performance and Results Act required managers to establish specific performance standards and to "manage for results." Summarizing the first five years of the NPR, Kettl writes that, despite its shortcomings, the NPR "saved a significant amount of money, brought substantial managerial reforms (especially in customer service and procurement processes), and promoted a more performance-based discussion about the functions of government" (Kettl 2000a, 29).

Intellectual Support

To this point, we have discussed the New Public Management in terms of the practical efforts undertaken in governments around the world to reform government operations. But we should also note the various intellectual justifications for the New Public Management. These justifications, as Lynn (1996) notes, largely came from the "public policy" schools that developed in the 1970s and from the "managerialist" movement around the world (Pollitt 1993).

The policy perspective that emerged in schools of public affairs and especially schools of public policy in the last few decades had its roots more clearly in economics as opposed to the more political, science-oriented programs in public administration. Many, though certainly not all, policy analysts and those engaged in policy evaluation were trained in, or at least familiar with, economics and were quite at home with terms such as "market economics," "costs and benefits," and "rational models of choice." In turn, these schools began to turn their attention to policy implementation, which they called "public management" to distinguish it from the earlier "public administration," notwithstanding the fact that both public management and public administration are concerned with implementing public policy through the conduct and operation of the various agencies of government. (The two terms can be used synonymously and often are, but, if there is a difference, it is that discussions of public management tend to show a bias toward economic interpretations of managerial behavior, as opposed to discussions of public administration, which are more likely based in political science, sociology, or organizational analysis.)

As the ultimate extension of the economic view, the New Public Management is clearly linked to the rationalist perspective and, as we noted

earlier, especially public choice theory. One important variation on public choice theory that has also influenced the development of the New Public Management is what is called "agency theory" or "principal agent theory." Simply put, agency theory is concerned with the relation between principals and agents. "Agency" refers to a situation in which one individual (the agent) acts on behalf of another (the principal). For example, if I hire a lawyer, I am the principal, and the lawyer is my agent, but the lawyer has multiple incentives—win the case (my goal) and maximize billable hours (his goal). Because our objectives aren't consistent, all sorts of problems arise. In the New Public Management, agency theory can be employed either to analyze issues arising within a particular bureaucracy (e.g., what incentives might a principal provide to assume compliance on the part of an agent?) or to assess the effects of different institutional structures (e.g., how might the multiple interests influencing police officers' behavior affect a decision to privatize a police force?).

Public choice and its companion, agency theory, not only afford an elegant and, to some, compelling model of government, they have also served as a kind of intellectual road map for practical efforts to reduce government and make it less costly. For example, Boston and colleagues argue that, "one of the most distinctive and striking features of New Zealand's public management reforms was the way they were shaped by . . . public choice theory and organizational economics, especially agency theory" (1996, 16). As we have seen, in its simplest form, public choice views the government from the standpoint of markets and customers. In turn, the commitment of public choice theory to rational choice implies a selection of values, most often a commitment to efficiency and productivity. It is not surprising then, as Hood suggests, that the New Public Management has clearly placed its emphasis on values such as efficiency, eliminating waste, or matching resources to clear goals (what he calls "sigma values"). However, he also points out that achieving those values may come at the expense of honesty and fair dealing, the avoidance of bias, or the pursuit of accountability ("theta values"), or security, resilience, and the capacity to adapt ("lambda values") (Hood 1991; see also Hood and Jackson 1991, 14).

The second intellectual justification suggests that the New Public Management is deeply rooted in what has been termed "managerialism" or "neomanagerialism." In the managerialist view, business and public-sector success depends on the quality and professionalism of managers. Christopher Pollitt has described "managerialism" as the belief that the road to social progress is through greater productivity, that such productivity will be enhanced by the discipline imposed by managers oriented toward greater efficiency and productivity, and that to perform this important role, managers

must be given what is variously termed the "freedom to manage" or even the "right to manage" (Pollitt 1993, 1–3; see also Lynn 2006).

Some have argued, in addition, that the rise of the New Public Management is attributable, not only to managerialism, but also to the increasing influence of "managerialists." Interestingly, in both New Zealand and Australia, a part of the transformation that occurred was very clearly linked to the emergence of a managerial class dominated by economists and those trained in economics. The Australian scholar Anna Yeatman, for example, argues that the turn toward managerialism in the Australian public service occurred when a large number of university-educated candidates, highly committed to a rationalized and task-oriented concept of public administration, were hired into high-level positions (Yeatman 1987). Michael Pusey, of the University of New South Wales, supports that view, arguing that, in Australia's central agencies, staff drawn from economics or business-related professions—a group he terms "economic rationalists"—were able to capture the line bureaucracies and, especially by threatening to withhold resources, draw them into the rationalist perspective (Pusey 1991).

We have seen that the New Public Management, as the Old Public Administration before it, is not just about the implementation of new *techniques*, but that it carries with it a different set of *values*, a set of values in this case largely drawn from market economics and business management. As already noted, there is a longstanding tradition in public administration supporting the idea that, "government should be run like a business." For the most part, this recommendation has meant that government agencies should adopt those practices, ranging from "scientific management" to "total quality management," that have been found useful in the private sector. The New Public Management takes this idea one step further, arguing that government should adopt, not only the *techniques* of business administration, but certain business *values* as well. Today, the New Public Management is presented as a normative model for public administration and public management.

Engaging the Debate

Certainly, the New Public Management has not been without its critics. Many scholars and practitioners have expressed concerns about the implications of the New Public Management and the role for public managers this model suggests. For example, in a *PAR* symposium on leadership, democracy, and public management, a number of authors thoughtfully considered the opportunities and challenges presented by the New Public Management. Those challenging the New Public Management in the symposium and

elsewhere ask questions about the inherent contradictions in the movement (Fox 1996); the values it promotes (Box, Marshall, Reed, and Reed 2001; deLeon and Denhardt 2000; Frederickson 1996; Schachter 1997); the tensions between the emphasis on decentralization promoted in the market model and the need for coordination in the public sector (Bumgarner and Newswander 2009; Dent et al. 2004; Levy 2010; Meier and O'Toole 2009; Peters and Savoie 1996); and the implied roles and relationships of the executive and legislative branches (Carroll and Lynn 1996; Lynn 2006). Others have questioned the implications of the privatization movement for democratic values and the public interest (McCabe and Vinzant 1999) and how entrepreneurship and what Terry (1993, 1998) has called "neomanagerialism" threaten to undermine democratic and constitutional values such as fairness, justice, representation, and participation.

Osborne and Gaebler (1992) told us to steer, not row, the boat. Our question is this: As the field of public administration has increasingly abandoned the idea of rowing and accepted responsibility for steering, has it simply traded one "adminicentric" view for another? In other words, have we traded one model in which public managers seek to achieve greater efficiency and productivity by controlling their agencies and their clients for another model in which the same thing occurs? Osborne and Gaebler write, "those who steer the boat have far more power over its destination than those who row it" (1992, 32). If that is the case, the shift from rowing to steering may have not only left administrators in charge of the boat—choosing its goals and directions and charting a path to achieve them—but also given them more power to do so.

In our rush to steer, *perhaps we are forgetting who owns the boat*. In their book, *Government is Us* (1998), King and Stivers remind us that the government belongs to its citizens (see also Box 1998; Box et al. 2001; Cooper 1991; Eikenberry and Kluver 2004; Kelly 2005; King and Zanetti 2005; King, Feltey, and O'Neill 1998; Romzek and Johnston 2005; Stivers 1994a, 1994b; Thomas 1995). Accordingly, public administrators should focus on their responsibility to *serve and empower citizens* as they manage public organizations and implement public policy. In other words, with citizens at the forefront, the emphasis should not be placed on either steering or rowing the governmental boat, but rather on building public institutions marked by integrity and responsiveness.

Importantly, in making their case, proponents of New Public Management have often used the Old Public Administration as the foil against which principles of entrepreneurship can be seen as clearly superior. Note, for example, how Osborne and Gaebler contrast their principles to an alternative of rigid bureaucracies plagued with excessive rules, restricted by rule-bound

budgeting and personnel systems, and preoccupied with control. These traditional bureaucracies are described as ignoring citizens, shunning innovation, and serving their own needs. According to Osborne and Gaebler, "The kind of governments that developed during the industrial era, with their sluggish, centralized bureaucracies, their preoccupation with rules and regulations, and their hierarchical chains of command, no longer work very well" (1992, 11–12). In fact, although they served their earlier purposes, "bureaucratic institutions . . . increasingly fail us" (15).

If the principles of New Public Management are compared with the Old Public Administration, the New Public Management clearly looks like a preferred alternative. However, even a cursory examination of the literature in public administration clearly demonstrates that these two approaches do not fully embrace contemporary government theory or practice (Adams and Balfour 2009; Agranoff 2007; Bevir 2009; Box 1998, 2008; Bozeman 2007; Bryer 2010; Bryson and Crosby 1992; Carnavale 1995; Catlaw 2007; Cook 1996; Cooper 1991; deLeon 1997; Denhardt 1993, 2008; Farmer 1995, 2005; Fox and Miller 1995; Frederickson 1997; Gawthrop 1998; Goldbard 2010; Goodsell 1994; Harmon 1995, 2006; Hummel 1994; Ingraham et al. 1994; Ingraham and Lynn 2004; Jun 2006; Kettl 2009; Lee 2005; Light 1997, 2008; Luke 1998; McSwite 1997; Meier and O'Toole 2006; Miller and Fox 1997; Moynihan 2008; Nabatchi and Mergel 2010; O'Leary 2006; Perry 1996; Rabin, Hildreth, and Miller 1998; Rohr 1998; Sorensen and Torfing 2008; Stivers 1993; Svara 2007; Terry 1995, 1998; Thomas 1995; Van Wart 2005; Vinzant and Crothers 1998; Wamsley et al. 1990; Wamsley and Wolf 1996). The field of public administration, of course, has not been stuck in progressive reform rhetoric for the last hundred years. Instead, there has been a rich and vibrant intellectual and practical evolution in thought and practice, with important and substantial developments that cannot be subsumed under the title "New Public Management." Thus, there are more than two choices.

We reject the notion that the reinvented, market-oriented New Public Management should be compared only with the Old Public Administration, which, despite its many important contributions, has come to be seen as synonymous with bureaucracy, hierarchy, and control. As we said, if that is the comparison, then New Public Management will always win. In contrast, we will suggest that what is missing in the debate is a set of organizing principles for a more contemporary alternative to the New Public Management. We would like to suggest that the New Public Management should be contrasted with what we will term the New Public Service, a set of ideas about the role of public administration in the governance system that places public service, democratic governance, and civic engagement at the center.

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