

From Responsiveness to Collaboration: Governance, Citizens, and the Next Generation of Public Administration

The evolution of the New Public Management movement has increased pressure on state bureaucracies to become more responsive to citizens as clients. Without a doubt, this is an important advance in contemporary public administration, which finds itself struggling in an ultradynamic marketplace. However, together with such a welcome change in theory building and in practical culture reconstruction, modern societies still confront a growth in citizens' passivism; they tend to favor the easy chair of the customer over the sweat and turmoil of participatory involvement. This article has two primary goals: First to establish a theoretically and empirically grounded criticism of the current state of new managerialism, which obscures the significance of citizen action and participation through overstressing the (important) idea of responsiveness. Second, the article proposes some guidelines for the future development of the discipline. This progress is toward enhanced collaboration and partnership among governance and public administration agencies, citizens, and other social players such as the media, academia, and the private and third sectors. The article concludes that, despite the fact that citizens are formal "owners" of the state, ownership will remain a symbolic banner for the governance and public administration–citizen relationship in a representative democracy. The alternative interaction of movement between responsiveness and collaboration is more realistic for the years ahead.

Introduction

Modern public administration involves an inherent tension between better responsiveness to citizens as clients and effective collaboration with them as partners. This tension stems from tangible differences between the nature of responsiveness and the essence of collaboration. While responsiveness is mostly seen as a passive, unidirectional reaction to the people's needs and demands, collaboration represents a more active, bidirectional act of participation, involvement, and unification of forces between two (or more) parties. Moreover, responsiveness is based on the marketplace view of better service for citizens as clients or customers. Answering their needs is seen as vital for government and public administration (G&PA) systems that seek extensive legitimization and high performance. On the other hand, collaboration highlights a moral value of genuine cooperation and teamwork between citizens and G&PAs where each party is

neither a pure servant nor the master, but a social player in the theatre of state.

The differences between responsiveness and collaboration/partnership are not merely conceptual or terminological. In fact, they represent an intensifying paradox that emerges in both the theory and the practice of contemporary public-sector management. The paradox increases because of an ongoing consensus on the necessity of both responsiveness and collaboration for moving G&PA systems toward future reforms. Thus, it is quite surprising to

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find that most of the current theoretical thinking in public administration deals with these values separately, neglecting the mutual benefit of integrating them in a useful manner. An overview of the literature reveals two distinct groups of studies. One group highlights administrative responsiveness to citizens' requests as the most important value of public agencies in a businesslike arena (Chi 1999; Rourke 1992; Stivers 1994; Vigoda 2000). The other group emphasizes partnership between the sides as a premise for cultural revolution in contemporary bureaucracies (Nalbandian 1999; Thompson, Tancredi, and Kisil 2000; John et al. 1994; Hart 1997; Callahan and Holzer 1994). To date, very little literature has consolidated these two prominent themes to illuminate the theoretical as well as the empirical merit of their coexistence (Fredrickson 1982).

This article argues that expanding the orientation of G&PA systems toward responsiveness, as prescribed by New Public Managerialism, is frequently accompanied by lower willingness to share, participate, collaborate, and partner with citizens. This paradox is identified as a theoretical as well as a practical rift in the present array of the New Public Management (NPM) approach. While the article applauds the recent trend in public managerialism that fosters manager–customer relationships in the public arena, it also criticizes such leanings for resting solely on a unidirectional pattern of relationships where citizens are covertly encouraged to remain passive clients of government. The role of “customer” or “client” denotes a passive orientation of citizens toward another party (G&PA), which is more active in trying to satisfy the customer/client's needs. Such a pattern of dependency is likely to create serious obstacles to reforms in public agencies and interrupt the emergence of better public service. The paradox between serving clients and collaborating with citizens needs to be resolved on the way to creating a high-performing type of public organization, one that will work better for societies as well as for individuals in the generations to come.

To promote understanding of the processes that modern societies require and may undergo, I advance in three stages. First, several similarities and differences are presented between the ideas of responsiveness and collaboration as they are developed in recent public administration studies. These discussions make use of various disciplinary sources such as democratic theory, comparative political science, and political economy, as well as theories of administrative reforms. Second, I provide my analysis and view of “one lady with two hats,” a metaphor for one continuum connecting two current alternatives of the state of the discipline. In light of this, I finally suggest a discussion that redefines the duties and responsibilities of various players and compares this view and other perceptions of the next generation of public administration.

Responsiveness and Collaboration: Two Different Ladies, or One Lady with Two Hats?

Responsiveness to Citizens as Clients

Previous work by Vigoda (2000) identifies two approaches to understanding public administration's responsiveness. These approaches can be defined as controversial but also as complementary. They provide distinct views of responsiveness, but, in addition, each approach contains checks and balances missing in the other. According to one approach, responsiveness is, at best, a necessary evil that appears to compromise professional effectiveness and, at worst, an indication of political expediency if not outright corruption (Rourke 1992). According to this line of research, responsiveness contradicts the value of professionalism in G&PA because it forces public servants to satisfy citizens even when such actions run counter to the required public interest. In the name of democracy, professionals are almost obliged to satisfy a vague public will. Short-term considerations and popular decisions are put forward, while other long-term issues receive little and unsatisfactory attention. In addition, there is a risk that powerful influences of some may ring out loudly and wrongly pretend to represent the opinions of many. Such influences can result in an antidemocratic decision-making pattern and simply may not represent the true voice of the majority. The other approach to responsiveness suggests that democracy requires administrators who are responsive to the popular will, at least through legislatures and politicians if not directly to the people (Stivers 1994; Stewart and Ranson 1994). This approach is more alert to the need to encourage a flexible, sensitive, and dynamic public sector. In fact, it argues that only by creating a market-derived environment can G&PA adopt some necessary reforms that will improve their performance, effectiveness, and efficiency.

While responsiveness is occasionally considered problematic in the public administration literature, it is undoubtedly critical for politicians, bureaucrats, and citizens alike. A responsive politician or bureaucrat must be reactive, sympathetic, sensitive, and capable of feeling the public's needs and opinions. Because the needs and demands of a heterogeneous society are dynamic, it is vital to develop systematic approaches to understanding it. Undoubtedly, this is one of the most important conditions for securing a fair social contract between citizens and government officials. Hence, scholars and practitioners suggest the elaboration of performance indicators based on public opinion. The opinions of service receivers must be considered good indicators of public policy outcomes (Palfrey et al. 1992; Winkler 1987; National Consumer Council 1986; DHSS 1979). This information can help us to (1) understand and establish public needs; (2) develop, communicate, and dis-

tribute public services; and (3) assess the degree of satisfaction with services (Palfrey et al. 1992, 128). Consequently, the NPM approach advocates the idea of treating citizens as clients, customers, and main beneficiaries of the operation of the public sector that is today more oriented toward assessing its performance (Thomas and Palfrey 1996). In essence, the motivation to meet the demands raised by citizens is equivalent to satisfying the needs of a regular customer in a regular neighborhood supermarket. According to this view, responsiveness in the public arena closely complies with business-oriented statements such as “the customer is always right” and “never argue with the clients’ needs” that every salesperson memorizes from the first day at work.

But what does responsiveness actually mean? How can we best define and operationalize it for dependable social research? In essence, responsiveness generally denotes the *speed* and *accuracy* with which a service provider responds to a request for action or information. According to this definition, speed may refer to the waiting time between a citizen’s request for action and the reply of the public agency or the public servant. Accuracy means the extent to which the provider’s response meets the needs or wishes of the service user. Yet while speed is a relatively simple factor to measure, accuracy is more complicated. Beyond the recent trends of analyzing public arenas in terms that are appropriate for the marketplace, public-service accuracy must take into consideration social welfare, equity, equal opportunities, and fair distribution of “public goods” to all citizens (Vigoda 2000). These values are in addition to the efficiency, effectiveness, and service that characterize market-driven processes (Rhodes 1987; Palfrey et al. 1992). To test the accuracy of G&PA endeavors, several methods may be applied:

1. Examining citizens’ attitudes and feelings when consuming public services; this can be achieved by using satisfaction measures that indicate the outcomes of certain activities and the acceptance of public administration actions as fruitful, beneficial, equally shared among a vast population, effective, fast, and responding well to public needs.
2. Examining the attitudes and perceptions of others who take part in the process of planning, producing, delivering, and evaluating public outcomes. These “others” include external private and not-for-profit firms, suppliers, manufacturers, and constructors.
3. Comparing objective public outcomes with absolute criteria for speed, quality, and accuracy. The absolute criteria need to be determined in advance within a strategic process of setting performance indicators (Pollitt 1988). Such a comparison is even more effective when it is conducted over time, populations, cultures, and geographical areas.

4. Comparing the distribution of services and goods with moral and ethical criteria set forth by academics and professionals.

Subject to several restrictions and balances, responsiveness has a potentially positive effect on social welfare, and it improves the process of modernization in the public sector. Recent managerial positions, such as the NPM approach, also suggest that, as in the private sector, increasing external outcomes (that is, responsiveness of G&PA to citizens’ demands) will have a profound impact on internal control mechanisms (Smith 1993). It simply implies that managers and public servants become more sensitive to their duties and highly committed to serving the people.

Collaboration with Citizens as Partners

At first glance, collaboration and partnership between G&PA and citizens seem to contradict the essence of bureaucracy. The ideal type of bureaucracy, as set out by Max Weber, clearly defines organizational characteristics that have remained relevant through the years. Public organizations have undergone many changes in the last century, but they are still based on the Weberian legacy of clear hierarchical order, concentration of power among senior officials, formal structures with strict rules and regulations, limited channels of communication, confined openness to innovation and change, and noncompliance with the option of being replaceable. These ideas seem to be substantially different from the nature of collaboration, which means negotiation, participation, cooperation, free and unlimited flow of information, innovation, agreements based on compromises and mutual understanding, and a more equitable distribution and redistribution of power and resources. According to this utopian analysis, collaboration is an indispensable part of democracy. It means partnership in which authorities and state administrators accept the role of leaders who need to run citizen’s lives better—not because they are more powerful or superior, but because this is a mission to which they are obligated. They must see themselves as committed to citizens who have agreed to be led or “governed” on condition that their lives continuously improve.

In support of the above recognition, Thompson (1983) states that “democracy does not suffer bureaucracy gladly. Many of the values we associate with democracy—equality, participation, and individuality—stand sharply opposed to hierarchy, specialization, and impersonality we ascribe to modern bureaucracy” (235). Bureaucracies, like other organizations, constitute a work site that is anything but democratic. According to Golembiewski and Vigoda (2000), bureaucracies embody a firm hierarchy of roles and duties, a vertical flow of orders and reports, accountability to highly ranked officers, fear of sanctions and restrictions, and sometimes even a lack of sufficient account-

ability dynamics. All of these signal that the “natural state” in public administration is authoritarian.

It seems odd to ask for genuine collaboration between those in power and those who delegate power. In many respects, growing citizen involvement by interest groups, political parties, courts, and other democratic institutions may only bother politicians in office and state administrators. Too broad an involvement, in the eyes of elected politicians and appointed public officers, may be perceived as interfering with their administrative work. The freedom of public voice is thus limited and obscured by the need of administrators and politicians to govern. Consequently, the public lacks sufficient freedom of voice and influence. While mechanisms of direct democracy are designed to show such impediments the door, modern representative democracy lets them in through the rear entrance. Representative democracy frequently diminishes the motives for partnership with governance. Constitutions, legislatures, federal and local structures, as well as electoral institutions are in slow but significant decline in many Western societies. They suffer from increasing alienation, distrust, and cynicism among citizens; they encourage passivism and raise barriers before original individual involvement in state affairs (Eisinger 2000; Berman 1997). Consequently—and as a counterrevolutionary course of action—a swelling current in contemporary public administration seeks to revitalize collaboration between citizens and administrative authorities through various strategies. In fact, such trends are not so new. The need to foster certain levels of cooperation among political government institutions, professional agencies of public administration, and citizens as individuals or groups has been mentioned before and was advanced in several ways. Among these philosophies and strategies, one should mainly consider the following:

1. Greater cooperation with the third sector (Thompson, Tancredi, and Kisil 2000; Gidron, Kramer, and Salamon 1992; Grubbs 2000).
2. Greater collaboration with the private sector and initiation of plans aimed at supporting communities through various services in the fields of internal security, transport, and education (Glaister 1999; Collin 1998; Schneider 1999).
3. Encouragement of state and local municipality initiatives that foster values of democratic education, participation, and involvement among citizens (for instance, the local democratic club established in Culver City, CA [<http://www.culvercityonline.com/>]). This pattern also coheres with the idea of a communitarian spirit that transfers some (but not all) responsibility for civic development from central government to local authorities in states and cities, as well as directly to individual citizens (Etzioni 1994, 1995).

4. Innovation by original citizenry involvement through not-for-profit civic organizations that help to establish a culture of participation and practice of voice (see the examples of “citizens conventions” in Denmark and Israel [<http://www.zippori.org.il/English/index.html>]).

Still, advocates of the NPM approach continue to claim the main instrument to restore ill-functioning G&PA systems is better responsiveness to citizens as clients or customers. According to this line of thinking, which is rooted in political-economy rationality and social choice theory (Kettl and Milward 1996; Hughes 1994), only better compliance with people’s wishes can steady the wobbly interface between citizens and rulers in contemporary democracies. But is a market-driven responsiveness really the best answer to crises in governance, or is it only an oversimplification of wider problems in modern society?

Customers or Partners? A Quest for Hats and Ladies

What are the advantages of citizens being treated as clients and customers over their being perceived as equal partners in the process of governance? A metaphor of ladies and hats may prove useful here to examine two competing options: (1) There are two substantially separated faces of government and public administration (two ladies), one that adopts the idea of responsiveness and one that favors collaboration; (2) the discipline of governance and public administration is more coherent (only one lady) than we might think, and at most it changes colors over time (two hats).

Above, I portrayed two themes in current public administration research as separate and dissimilar perspectives. I argued that responsiveness is the essence of NPM, and further suggested that NPM seems detached from the idea of collaboration. Therefore, it may be there are two different types of public administration: Like two ladies, one is attired by the supporters of responsiveness, the other by supporters of collaboration. These two ladies differ substantially because, as explained earlier, they advocate independent views of the roles of G&PA and citizens in the process of running states and societies. Yet it may in fact be only one lady with two hats. One hat, an older styled classic, is more oriented toward bureaucratic tyranny and concentration of power in public agencies. It reflects a situation in which public administration is the right hand of politicians and thus must preserve power through maximum centralization and control over decisions and resources. This hat/attitude implies minimal care for either responsiveness or collaboration because both mean depriving G&PA of its power. The other hat, however, is newer and more receptive and appreciative of de-concentrated managerial ideas, such as better responsiveness and improved col-

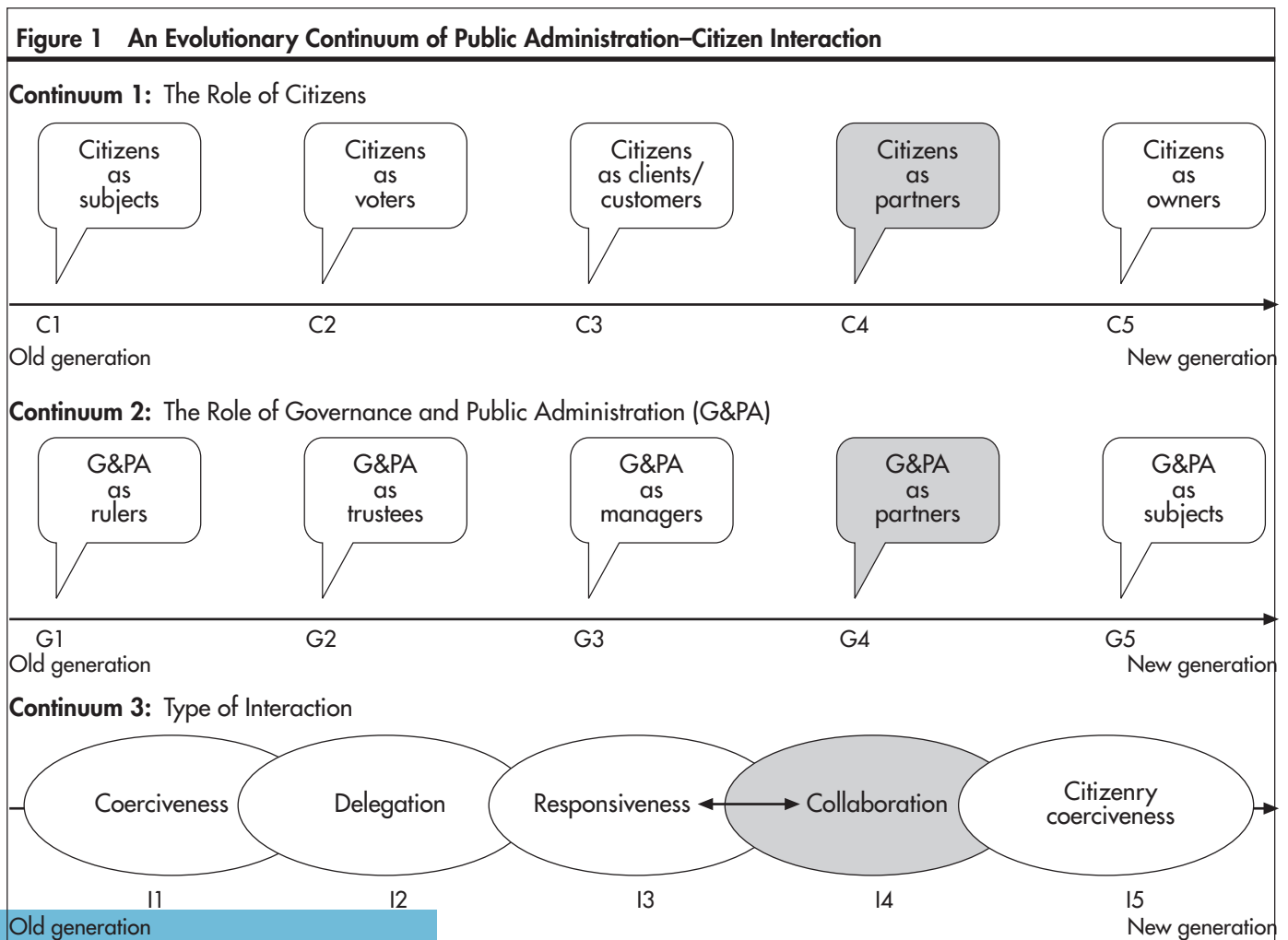
laboration with citizens, that effect a wider process of modernization. This last hat signals a continuous change in public administration systems, and, maturing with time, it implies more citizen participation in the administrative process. A lady of public administration wearing the newer hat is less concerned about bureaucracy losing power and control, but instead favors sharing responsibilities and dialogue with citizens, which may lead to cooperation and partnership on a higher level.

In addition, the “two ladies” version is a more classic approach to the understanding of responsiveness and collaboration in public arenas, so it has received wide scholarly attention over the years. One group of studies has concentrated on the first “lady” of public administration, namely, the idea of responsiveness (Stivers 1994; Rourke 1992), while the other group has focused on the other lady, who represents the idea of collaboration and partnership (John et al. 1994; Thompson, Tancredi, and Kisil 2000; Nalbandian 1999). In fact, hardly any attempt has been made to try to integrate these views or to suggest they may stem from one another. The “two hats for one lady” image inclines to this integration, but it is also less frequently developed and needs more extensive explanation and elabo-

ration. According to this image, responsiveness and collaboration are inherently related. They designate different points on a continuum of G&PA–citizen interaction that are constantly shifting and being reframed with time and social events. Thus, a framework of interaction with citizens is better presented here by one evolutionary continuum (one lady) of public administration. Along this continuum, responsiveness and collaboration are only different “hats” on one line of symmetry.

Interacting with Citizens: An Evolutionary Continuum

Figure 1 presents an evolutionary continuum of the role of citizens, G&PA authorities, and their reciprocal interaction as it advances with the years. Along this line, citizens may be seen as subjects, voters, clients or customers, partners, or owners. Moving along the continuum, I also observe G&PA as rulers, trustees, managers, partners, or subjects. Stemming from these are five types of interactions between G&PA and citizens. These profiles circle through coerciveness, delegation, responsiveness, collaboration, and back to coerciveness, but this time it is of a



different type, namely, citizenry coerciveness. The profiles overlap, indicating the progress and development of interactions are frequently characterized by coexistence of profiles and a gradual decline of the former before the latter (Weikert 2001, 362).

Coerciveness

The old generation of public administration treated *citizens as subjects*, where leaders and administrators held almost absolute power and control over the people. Citizens, for their part, accepted the unlimited tyranny of the state and made only a minimal effort to sound their voices in such an unreceptive environment. The kinds of services delivered to the people were limited and, in any case, absolutely dependent on the government's will and decisions. This type of coercive interaction existed for ages, until the mid- or late-eighteenth century (Fredrickson 1997; Marshall 1950). In many respects, it still predominates in the "popular democracies" or dictatorial states of the second and third world in our era. In both cases, centralized power in governance is accompanied by rigorous bureaucratic structures and is mostly a result of nondemocratic culture. Such a culture imposes a G&PA monopoly on national resources through armed force and dominance of education and socialization systems. The old, orthodox public administration controlled and monitored many, if not all, aspects of citizens' daily lives, creating a pattern of coerciveness in the citizen-ruler relationship.

Delegation

The first institutional option for citizens' input into the process of government and society building was through the installation of the voter electoral system, better defined as democratic G&PA or an interaction of delegation. Without a doubt, democracy has created a more equal, fair, open, and flexible coexistence of citizens and rulers and has enabled the former to become active in framing the nature of governance. This is how a *citizens as voters* style emerged, and it has made a tremendous conceptual and practical change in the understanding of citizen-government relationships. Since the end of the eighteenth century, and more robustly toward the late nineteenth century, developing representative democracies of the Western world induced the idea of delegation. In a representative democracy, it was argued, citizens cannot manage their lives but count on the wisdom, experience, and civic goodwill of their representatives. Woodrow Wilson and Dwight Waldo called for a reform of G&PA and for an emphasis on specialization, professionalism, merit-based appointment and promotion, and the application of management sciences in local, state, and federal agencies. Following this, citizens were given the option of voice, but only through representatives and at wide intervals of time (be-

tween elections), with no sufficient instruments for an effective in-between influence. Nonetheless, citizens in America and in Europe initiated self-derived attempts to become more involved in administrative actions through interest groups and political parties. Fredrickson (1997) argues that in the 1950s, "pluralism" emerged as the best term to describe the indirect connection between citizens and governments. Yet with the passage of time, it also became clear that such attempts were too few, too vague, and too slight in their impact on G&PA. The formal "open gate" for citizenry involvement did not mean that a widespread atmosphere of original participation by individual citizens or groups actually matured.

As scientific knowledge has accumulated, the theory of political participation has clarified that there are people who are unable or unwilling to participate in government or political processes, while others are simply not aware of the importance and contribution of this involvement (Verba, Scholzman, and Brady 1995). In fact, representative democracy highly contradicts the promise of vast, spontaneous citizenship involvement. Being remote from decision-making centers, by choice or not, citizens developed increased cynicism toward government and public administration systems. As Eisinger (2000) argues, "over the past decades, scholars, political pundits and elected officials have professed that cynicism has spiraled up and down ... to the point that it has become an endemic part of the psyche in the 1980s [when] a fog of cynicism surrounds American politics, and that the 1990s are a time of unparalleled public cynicism about politics, which has continued and accelerated to this day" (55). Hence, this simple delegation type of relationship between rulers and citizens drew heavy fire from academics, professionals, public servants, and even politicians. In many respects, the need for an additional change in the nature of state-citizen interaction drove the NPM movement in the following years.

Responsiveness

Citizens as voters was only one step toward the development of the *citizens as clients/customers* model. As Rainey (1990) suggests, the 1960s and 1970s were characterized by the initiation of unsuccessful public policies in Europe and America. Over the years, efforts by governments to create extensive changes in education, welfare systems, health programs, internal security, and crime control were widely criticized for being ineffective and low performing and for misusing public budgets, while responsiveness to the real needs and demands of citizens was paltry. The crisis in practical public policy implementation, together with citizens' increased cynicism toward G&PA, generated rich scholarly activity aimed at creating useful alternatives for improved policy in various social fields as well as in the administrative processes in general

(Peters 1999). Voters expressed their dissatisfaction with governors and, hand-in-hand with the academic community, called for extensive reforms in government. This call produced a large number of working papers, articles, and books that portrayed and targeted extensive administrative changes. One of the most inspiring works, Osborne and Gaebler's *Reinventing Government* (1992), is frequently mentioned as the unofficial starting point of such reforms, later known as NPM. According to Peters (1996), Terry (1998), and Weikert (2001), NPM is presently increasing in popularity in North America and across the world, and many governments are adopting ideas and recommendations that have proven beneficial in the continuous implementation of this strategy.

True enough, the NPM approach suggests a different type of interaction between citizens and rulers in democracies. However, the roots of such interactions can be found nearly a century ago. For example, Weikert (2001) asserts that "the ideas behind NPM are not new" and that "NPM builds on a long history of using business practices in government and reflects a resurgence of old ideas about the form and functions of government" (362). During the first years of the twentieth century, reformers and business leaders demanded greater accountability in local government, and many politicians and public officers turned to business principles to improve government activities, invigorate performance, and decrease corruption. However, the vision of NPM is also far different from the old business-guided governance because it aspires to decrease government size and lower its involvement in citizens' lives. NPM relies on the theory of the marketplace and on a business-like culture in public organizations. For example, in an extensive review of NPM literature, Hays and Kearney (1997) find five core principles of this approach: (1) downsizing—reducing the size and scope of government; (2) managerialism—using business protocols in government; (3) decentralization—moving decision making closer to the service recipients; (4) debureaucratization—restructuring government to emphasize results rather than processes; and (5) privatization—directing the allocation of government goods and services to outside firms (Weikert 2001). All of these principles are mutually related, relying heavily on the theory of the private sector and on business philosophy, but they are aimed at minimizing the size and scope of government activities. Integrated with ideas rooted in political economy, they became applicable for public-sector institutions (Farnham and Horton 1995).

Stemming from these above principles, a major belief among NPM advocates is that G&PA encourages a view whereby citizens are clients and customers of the public sector, while G&PA is perceived as managers of large bureaucracies. According to this outlook (Aucoin 1995; Garson and Overman 1983; Pollitt and Bouckaert 2000),

the state and its bureaucratic subsystems are equivalent to a large private organization operating in an economic environment of supply and demand. In this spirit, a major goal of government is to satisfy the needs or demands of citizens, namely, to show higher responsiveness to the public as clients. In line with this, Savas (1994) argues that modern states must rely more on private institutions and less on government to satisfy the societal needs of vast populations. Hence, the goal of satisfying the needs of citizens became central to NPM legacy.

Nevertheless, NPM may be criticized for not doing enough to encourage and infuse the idea of collaboration or partnership between citizens and G&PA and for failing to apply these themes in modern managerial thinking (Vigoda and Golembiewski 2001). Unlike traditional public administration, the NPM movement focuses on citizens as sophisticated clients in complex environments. The principles of NPM cohere with theories of political economy, such as regulative policy by governments or the trend of transferring responsibilities from the state sector to the third sector. As Farnham and Horton (1995) suggest, "these ideas, and the governmental policies deriving from them, challenged the social democratic principles and values" (3) in Britain, America, and many other Western democracies. Public authorities were urged to treat the public well, not only because of their presumed administrative responsibility for quality in action, but also because of their obligation to marketplace rules and economic demands, and above all because of their fear of losing clients in an increasingly competitive, businesslike arena. In fact, while NPM has proved an advance over more classic views of public administration that see citizens as subjects or voters, it is still very limited in fostering the idea of vital collaboration between citizens and G&PA, which is in the essence of democratic civil society.

In line with this, "neo-managerialism" (Terry 1998) places an additional obstacle before productive partnership that also must be recognized and isolated. According to Terry, neo-managerialism fosters the idea that administrative leaders should assume the role of public entrepreneurs. However, "public entrepreneurs of the neo-managerialist persuasion are oblivious to other values highly prized in the U.S. constitutional democracy. Values such as fairness, justice, representation, or participation are not on the radar screen (and this is indeed, troublesome" (200). In many respects, neo-managerialism and NPM encourage passivity among the citizenry. They impart to citizens the power of *exit* (which was virtually unavailable in the past), but at the same time they discourage use of the original power of *voice* by citizens, who may have much to contribute to their communities (Vigoda and Golembiewski 2001). Hirschman (1970) in fact suggests that exit is an economic choice, while voice is more of a political selection by individuals in and around

organizational systems. Exit is also classified as a generally destructive behavior, while voice is a productive one. According to this rationality, NPM restricts and discourages the productive political voices of the people.

Recent developments in the study of NPM have focused on the responsibilities of G&PA in its interaction with citizens, but have paid far less attention to the active roles of citizens and to their obligations in the community. Most of the up-to-date NPM literature favors massive socialization of business management practices in the public sector to provide governments with better tools for policy implementation (Lynn 1998; Pollitt 1988; Pollitt and Bouckaert 2000; Rosenbloom, Goldman, and Ingraham 1994). On the other hand, these orientations and practices so far have not been integrated with another core construct of healthy democracies: genuine collaboration and partnership with citizens founded on equal opportunities for participation and massive involvement in running public life more effectively (Peters 1999). This underevaluation of the idea of partnership and collaboration, at the expense of good responding management, may be deemed a flaw in contemporary NPM theory.

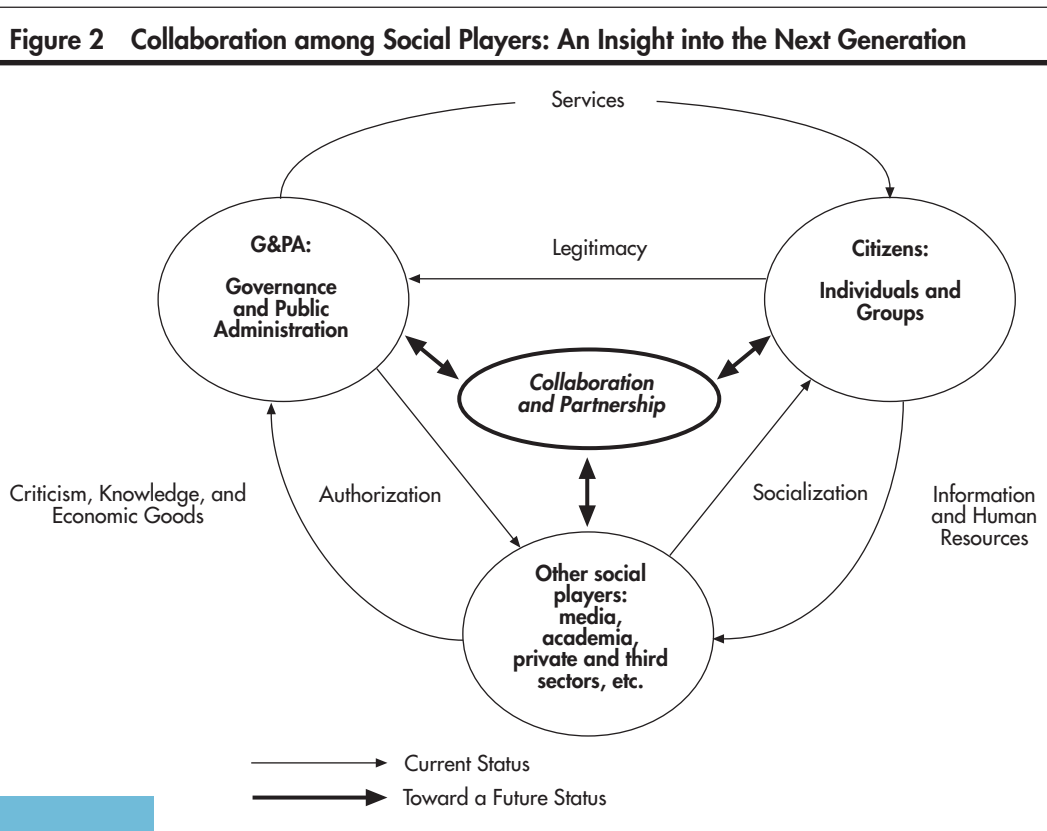
Toward Collaboration and Partnership: A Multidimensional Perspective

Between Clients and Partners

As I have indicated, collaboration is founded on responsiveness. However, it also reaches decidedly beyond. Moreover, while greater collaboration is not a new idea in public administration, it has never fulfilled its promising potential, partly due to informal competition with businesslike strategies such as NPM. An economic interaction between managers and customers carries some basic deficiencies for modern states. The term *client*, or *customer*, which is so applicable in the private sector (that is, rational-choice theory or agency theory), contradicts the very basic notion of belonging, altruism, contribution to

society, and self-derived participation in citizenry actions. When someone is defined as a client, he or she is not actively engaged in social initiatives, but is merely a passive service (or product) consumer, dependent on the goodwill and interest of the owner. While direct democracy suggests that citizens themselves “own” the state, representative democracy adds an interface to this ownership by politicians and administrators. Citizens run their lives through representatives only because they also need a “board of directors” that is professional and capable of making wise decisions for huge communities. An absolute democracy, in which every citizen is equally responsible for every single decision of the state, cannot practically survive and function in growing, expanding, and fast-moving societies (as opposed to the limited nature of the Greeks’ polis).

The evolutionary process of G&PA–citizen interactions must be followed by a rational and applicable level of integration across all social players. As figure 2 demonstrates, interrelationships among G&PA, citizens, and other social players are becoming a strategic goal of modern democracies on their way to a new administrative spirit (Fredrickson 1997). The old, orthodox type of public administration was characterized by a triple structure of transactions: (1) a legitimacy-services transaction between G&PA and citizens; (2) a socialization-information and human resources transaction between citizens and other social players; and (3) an authorization-criticism, knowledge, and economic goods



transaction between G&PA and other social players. The new, cooperative hat of public administration, however, will be dominated by higher levels of collaboration and partnership that exceed the nature of simple transactions as presented here. In fact, this is one core challenge for future generations. G&PA must take a step forward, going beyond elementary exchange relationships and responsiveness to demands.

This view seeks to expand on future possible trends in public administration scholarship by renewing the values of collaboration and partnership. I argue that civic society is almost unthinkable in purely rational-economic patterns. Thus, following the dimensions of new governance suggested by John et al. (1994), and somewhat enlarging them for our purposes, the discussion now elaborates on several questions: (1) *What* do collaboration and partnership actually mean? (2) *Where* are they located on the continuum of public administration evolution? (3) *Whose* responsibility is it to make the partnership possible? Consequently, (4) *how* can this productive collaboration between G&PA and citizens be achieved?

The answer to the first question is relatively simple. Three main players are identified. Above all, both G&PA and citizens have core responsibilities in this process. Contrary to the perception of responsiveness, in which G&PA holds almost exclusive power and authority and is expected to navigate among various public demands, the collaborative approach asks for extensive responsibilities and involvement on the part of the public. This can take a form of individual initiatives that seek greater participation in administrative decisions and actions or, alternatively, various kinds of organized citizenry actions (for instance, as represented by semi-organized groups or formed by the third sector). Hence, both parties (citizens and G&PA) must be actively engaged in the process of administrative change and reforms, otherwise the very essence of collaboration is spoiled. Still, in addition to these two central players there is vast room for the operation of other social units. Among these, I have chosen to expand on the role of the media and academia, but other players are relevant here as well (political parties, interest groups, constitutional and electoral institutions, and other bodies of the private sector and the third sector). As will be explained, the role of these institutions is mostly educative and is directed at enhancing socialization for citizen-G&PA collaboration.

The second question—how this collaboration may be accomplished—is more complex. It can benefit from a practical method of studying public organizations, as Golembiewski (1995) suggests. Accordingly, I will try to define and explain various operative goals to be pursued by each accountable party.

The Role of G&PA

The present starting point of G&PA–citizen relationships is not very encouraging. King, Feltey, and Susel (1998) argue that “although many public administrators view close relationships with citizens as both necessary and desirable most of them do not actively seek public involvement. If they do seek it, they do not use public input in making administrative decisions ... (and) believe that greater citizen participation increases inefficiency, ... delays, and red tape.” Following this, Peters (1999) elaborates on the common belief that public institutions today are structured to prevent effective participation. Given this, the implications for collaboration need no further interpretation; they only emphasize the change and challenge facing modern bureaucracies of our era.

In light of this, the prime responsibility of governments and public administration is to define strategic goals that can enhance partnership with and empowerment of citizens. This partnership also must conjoin with resources that are available in the private and third sectors, which, for diverse reasons, become more willing to engage in actions for the community and for the public. To respond to the demands for effective participation by the public, these institutions may engage in future structural and cultural changes and extensively use the tool of “empowerment” by which collaboration develops. Empowerment may encourage authentic voluntary behavior by citizens that is not manipulated by the state. Governments can only stimulate environmental conditions that are necessary to generate spontaneous behavior by citizens as individuals and groups or as part of organized institutions. Programs of involvement and collaboration need to be governed by citizens and administered by practitioners who understand them. However, public-service practitioners will fulfill their duties by becoming citizens’ honest advisers and helpers rather than controllers of public organizations (Box 1998, 1999; Rimmerman 1997). As previous studies suggest, several programs and techniques can be applied to achieve these goals.

First, volunteer programs in the fields of health, welfare services, education, and security need to receive national and federal support (Brudney 1990). Adequate training programs for volunteers as well as volunteer leadership and management need to be developed and implemented by professionals. Second, educational efforts that emphasize the importance of individual-level and organized entrepreneurialism may start in the very first years of school and create awareness in the very young of the high values of citizenship involvement. Without such an extensive educational effort, long-term initiatives will remain limited and incomplete. Governments will also be responsible for coordinating cooperation among different voluntary groups

and institutions. This coordination may increase the efficiency of volunteer groups and third-sector organizations to get more value for effort. However, G&PA's role must not be coercive, but must remain consultative. Using their delegated authority, governments can establish public volunteers' committees to coordinate voluntary activity at the local and national levels. G&PA will maintain its advisory position, providing citizens with sufficient conditions and experience to work out their spontaneous ideas.

Public administration may become more active and entrepreneurial in the initiation of partnership between public servants and citizens. In some countries (Britain, Germany, and Australia), public servants—in contrast to governments and elected politicians—usually enjoy a less political image in the eyes of citizens, so they may gain more public trust and participation than politicians. In other countries, such as the United States, public trust can be gained differently, perhaps through higher transparency of G&PA, more involvement of the media, and communal administrative ventures that bring citizens closer to the daily administrative process. The focus of New Public Management in collaborative spheres will benefit from adjusting more vigorously to include transformation of “goodwill” into “effective operations.” Public administration, through its professional cadre, can lead the operative involvement of citizens by improving the partnership between government and citizens. Investment in the spontaneous behavior of the people is low cost and economical compared with other reform efforts and thus must be encouraged (Brudney and Duncombe 1992). Another responsibility of public administration is the function of evaluation. All programs of citizens' involvement will benefit from obtaining continuous evaluation by unbiased professionals. These can be found in academia or in the private sector.

The Role of Citizens

First, it is important to define who are the citizens that are requested to join leaderships in taking progressive initiatives for the public good. Box (1998, 73–74) identifies three types of citizens, classified along a continuum of their desire to affect rulers' actions and public policy processes. (1) “Freeriders” are considered consumers of public services who receive public goods gratis and let others do the work of citizenship; (2) “activists,” by contrast, are deeply involved in public life and in citizenship actions for the community; and (3) “watchdogs,” in the middle of the continuum, are involved only in key issues that are relevant to themselves personally. According to this classification, Box (1998) further suggests that public administration of our time denotes partnership with citizens. Practically and theoretically, G&PA mostly encourages the freeriders and perhaps some of the watchdogs. They do not, however, elaborate on the significance of activ-

ists, who are the most natural partners in launching high-quality administrative endeavors. Nonetheless, activists are few in modern societies. Even the most optimistic estimates by scholars in the field of participatory democracy affirm that their proportion is less than 10 percent of the population (Almond and Verba 1963; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). Still, the political and social influence of this relatively small group is immense and must not be underestimated. Practically and ideologically, this vanguard paves the way for potential social changes, whatever these may be. Collaboration of G&PA with these people, as individuals or as groups, may also lead others to join. The growing activity of the third sector is perhaps one positive signal in this direction. According to O'Connell (1989), voluntary organizations and the third sector constitute about 10 percent of the economic volume of all governmental activities in the United States, and these numbers (including numbers of volunteers) continue to grow.

Supported by rapidly growing academic interest and practical ventures, the promising potential of reciprocal linkage and collaboration between G&PA and citizens can be further developed. In this linkage, citizens have several roles. The most elementary is active participation in running their lives and managing their communities. This role is momentous, so it should not be left solely in the hands of politicians or even professional public servants. It can be accomplished on several levels: individual, group, or institutional (Vigoda and Golembiewski 2001). Participation in neighborhood associations or voluntary groups to aid the young, the elderly, or other sections of the population; active involvement in citizens' committees; involvement in parents' committees at schools; donating money, time, or effort for charity or equivalent social goals; development of community services in various manners; and encouraging others to take part in such activities—all are worthy missions that allow continuous partnership among the people in administrative processes. In addition, citizens have a duty to voice constructive criticism of the public system to encourage a culture of accountability and to provide feedback for politicians and public servants, thereby increasing their responsiveness and sense of responsibility. This can be achieved through original civic journalism, letters to newspapers, public officials, and politicians, radio and television programs, and use of computerized media to spread knowledge and attitudes. The educational system has the power to teach the youngest to become more involved and to use these methods more extensively. This way, civic involvement may resound when children grow up and become adult citizens with formal rights and duties. Thus, citizens, like other social players, serve as socialization agents of partnership. They have an educational mission to contribute

increased motivation and furnish values of involvement in future generations. It is well within their power to promote understanding of shared responsibilities within social life.

Lastly, it would be naive to seek large-scale political participation (Almond and Verba 1963; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995) and vast self-derived mobilization by citizens without creating the necessary conditions for such involvement. People have a duty to become engaged in collaborative activities with G&PA but, as mentioned earlier, G&PA has the greater duty to create conditions for such involvement by all available means. Moreover, the voyage to increased collaboration between citizens and G&PA can become calmer and much more effective when the media and academia join in the effort.

The Role of the Media and Academia

Fox and Miller (1997) suggest that “public policy discourse has entered an era of media-driven hyperreality, becoming detached from the lived experience of the polity” (64). The media in free democracies bear responsibility for promoting accountability to citizens. To achieve this goal, the media seek increased transparency of governmental institutions. This important task advances a legitimate debate between citizens and government about how public resources are spent and whether responsibilities are properly shared to increase the public good. Despite its considerable limitations, the positive elements of “loop democracy” (Fox and Miller 1995) cannot be realistic without active, independent, and responsible media.

However, the media have other roles as well. Their primary responsibility is to serve as an effective and reliable communication channel between citizens and governments, one that promotes collaboration and partnership. The media are a powerful tool exercising immense influence over people’s attitudes and opinions. This power can be used to encourage citizen involvement and participation in a variety of ways, but also to extend administrative willingness to consult citizens on relevant policy decisions. The promotion of this goal on public television and radio channels as well as computerized networks is subject to policy makers’ decisions. Citizens who are aware of their power may demand greater involvement by the public media in covering entrepreneurial actions and in generating favorable public opinion about supportive community activities. The media may also encourage public recruitment to collaborative activities by means of educational programs. Regarding private media, newspapers, and computer networks, citizens’ power may be aimed directly at the business telecommunication firms, using the collective strength of consumer groups and general public opinion. This is an important way in which responsiveness can work in the service of collaboration.

Another important player in these processes is academia. The contribution of the management and administration sciences to G&PA—citizen collaboration and partnership is twofold. First, by pointing out theoretical considerations, conceptual grounding, and practical means for cooperation, managerial science promotes the understanding of mutual social efforts. This knowledge is crucial for isolating and cultivating the benefits of partnership. It also highlights its advantages over a simple state of competition, which is a major construct of economics-based systems or a responsiveness-based interaction. Second, when reconfirmed by the power of science, the discussion on collaboration takes priority over other issues in social affairs. The public agenda becomes more sensitive to issues of partnership and their growth value. This way, the managerial and administrative sciences also promote legitimization of cooperation and encourage more individuals to participate in public management enterprises. Scientific confirmation of the actual benefits of collaborative actions fosters their acceptance in the eyes of both citizens and rulers, which, in the long run, may establish them more solidly in state culture.

The Next Generation: Collaboration—One Step Beyond Responsiveness

Looking toward the future of G&PA, Ott (1998) argues that “traditional bureaucracy is not an adequate form of governmental organization” and that “the questions now are not whether government bureaucracies should be reformed but whether it is possible to govern through traditional bureaucratic government structures, whether traditional bureaucratic structures can be reformed enough so that we could govern through them and, which of the many alternative models being proposed would be best suited to governing the United States” (540). This article suggests that traditional structures of G&PA face reforms that are based on an evolutionary continuum. Such reforms will create a different and more flexible model of governing that combines responsiveness, collaboration, and the ideal type of citizens’ ownership.

So far, treating citizens as clients of the public system has definitely worked for the benefit of bureaucracies by illuminating some neglected dimensions in G&PA—citizen relationships. Among these improvements are (1) the assumption of greater responsibility by G&PA toward citizens; (2) accountability in and transparency of the public-sector operation; (3) the idea that governments’ actions must be continuously monitored to ensure high efficiency, effectiveness, and better economic performance; and (4) recognition that the government’s power must depend principally on citizens’ support, voice, and satisfaction with the services they receive.

However, in this article, it is argued that some adjustment must be made in the process of running modern states by the new generation of public administration. In fact, this view is much in line with the discourse theory of Fox and Miller (1995). In their stimulating book *Postmodern Public Administration: Toward Discourse*, these authors develop an alternative philosophy for both the institutionalist/constitutionalist and communitarianism approaches to G&PA–citizen relationships. Instead, they render a synthetic (not analytic) idea that the public sphere is an energy field in which mixed interests and explanations of reality coexist despite deep contradictions. According to Fox and Miller (1995, 101), the discipline of public administration, in theory and in practice, is facing a *paradigm shift* from bureaucracy (the orthodox type) to public energy fields (the future “new” type). The discourse theory is built on the public energy explanation, which paves the way for a new model for public administration and policy.

Moreover, while according to Fox and Miller (1995), representative democracy is neither representative nor democratic, it is definitely here to stay. In such a system, citizens cannot and do not want to be in the position of owners in a citizenry-coerciveness type of interaction. Citizens give up ownership of G&PA because of restraints impelled by the structure and culture of modern states. Thus, citizens as owners, defined on my continuum as “citizenry-coerciveness” interaction, is an “ideal type of democracy,” one that must remain *ideal* but can never be implemented practically. Citizens are unwilling—perhaps incapable—of becoming practical owners of the state even if they are the real owners by all democratic and business criteria. Still, they resist being treated as subjects or even as simple voters, as is usually accepted in the old, orthodox type of G&PA. They generally seek practical flexibility between the role of clients and customers and the position of equal partners. G&PA, at the other extreme, moves between the roles of manager and the proposed mission as citizens’ partners. In the last decade, many G&PA systems in America and abroad have gladly adopted the role of managing citizens’ lives, and they do so from a businesslike standpoint. In the coming decades, they are likely to face citizens’ demands to treat them as equal partners. This shift forward is expected to be less readily adopted by G&PA.

The suggestion, then, is that a better definition of the G&PA–citizen relationship must rely on the conception of collaboration and partnership, if not citizenry ownership and control. Put another way, “government will continue to govern ... but the more authentic the encounters with citizens will be, the less will government be ‘they’ and the more will it be ‘we’” (Fox and Miller 1995, 128). Hence, this article has attempted to fill a conceptual and practical gap between perceptions of responsiveness and the quest

for productive partnership by citizens, state administrators, politicians, and other social players such as the media and academia. I portrayed a normative possible interaction among these players in an evolving marketplace arena that will become even more turbulent in the future. The administrative-democratic turmoil will lead to growing and serious risks of citizens’ alienation, disaffection, skepticism, and increased cynicism toward governments. Such trends are already intensifying, and only a high level of cooperation among all parties in society may guard against these centrifugal forces. Thus, the new generation of public administration will need a different spirit, perhaps a combination of communitarianism, institutionalism, and energism—but in any case, one that successfully fosters *mutual effort*. This movement from a “they” spirit to a “we” spirit is perhaps the most important mission of public administration in our era.

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