REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE

The Tenth Inter-African Public Administration Seminar

Held at
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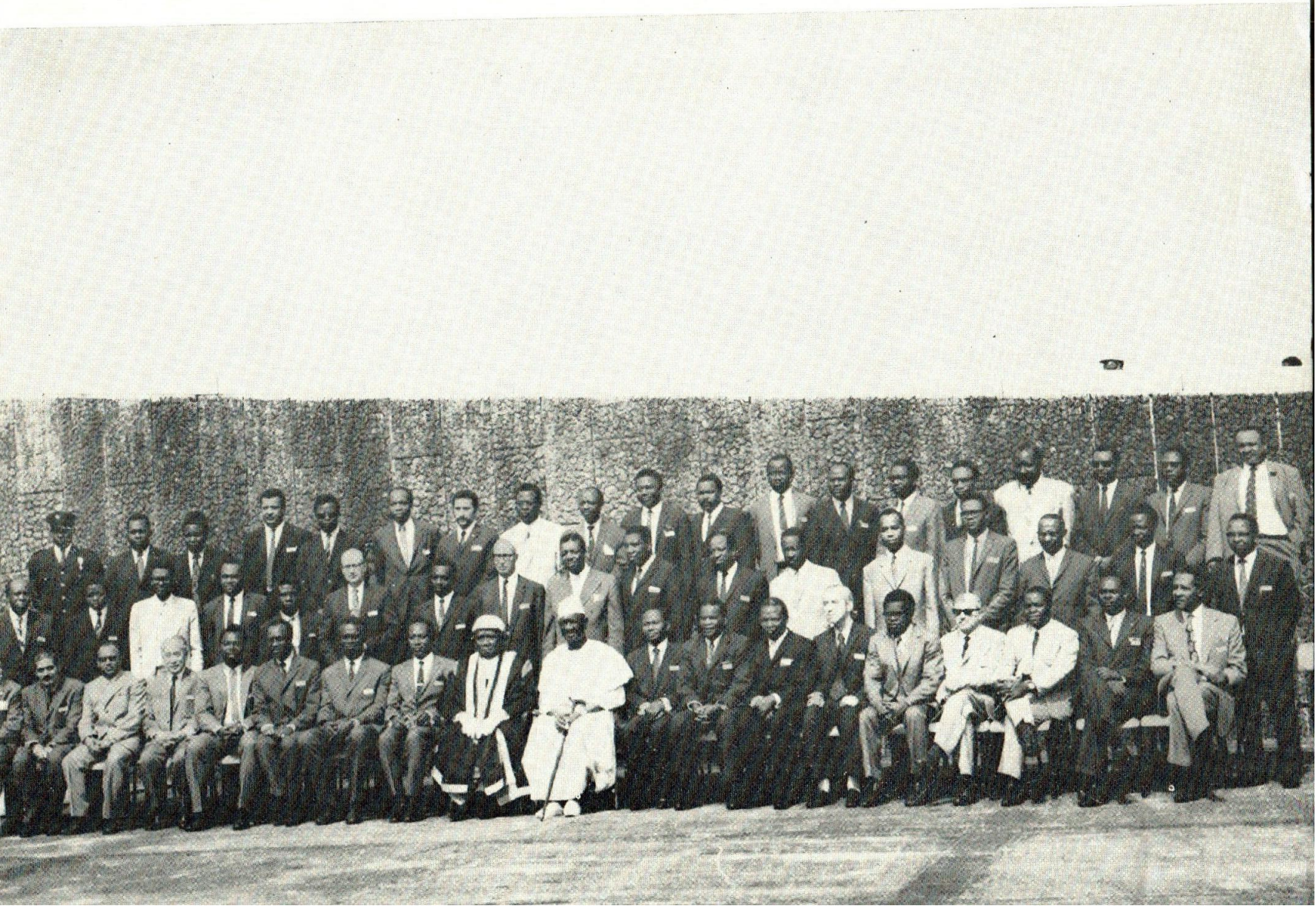
PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT

REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE

The Tenth Inter-African Public Administration Seminar



Preface

This report is the summary of the discussions which took place at the Tenth Inter-African Public Administration Seminar held in Freetown from the 3rd to the 10th of November 1971 on the subject of the Professionalization of Public Administration and Management. The Seminar also witnessed the inauguration of the African Association for Public Administration and Management, a professional association which took over the organization of the Seminar series. The principal object of the Association is the development of competent administrators and managers for rapid economic and social development of the African region. The Constitution and Rules of the Association are contained in Part III of the Report.

The Seminar discussions were based on a number of background papers on various aspects of the subject. These are reproduced in Part II of the report. Also published with the report is the opening address of the President of Sierra Leone, Dr. Siaka Stevens, the keynote address by Mr. Chi-Yuen Wu, Director of the United Nations Public Administration Division and the inaugural address by Dr. R. J. Ouko, East African Minister for Common Market and Economic Affairs and President of the Association.

J. O. UDOJI
Secretary-General

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OPENING ADDRESS

by

His Excellency Dr. SIAKA STEVENS President of the Republic of Sierra Leone

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have great pleasure in welcoming the Seminar participants to Sierra Leone. We are particularly pleased that the Tenth Session of the Seminar is being held here. It coincides with the Tenth Year of our Independence, the anniversary of which we celebrated only a few months ago. It also coincides with our celebration of "Tourist Week" and I hope that in between meetings many of you will find time to avail yourselves of our new hotel and restaurant facilities and to see something of the scenic beauty of the Peninsula at least. I am sure you will find no limits to the friendship, co-operation and hospitality of our people. All doors are open to you; those that are closed are without locks: all you need do is to turn the knobs.

For my countrymen, for my colleagues in Government and for myself I must say that this Seminar is of considerable importance. I do not know of any Conference or Seminar which brings together such a galaxy and cross section of African talent. We have here the most highly placed officials in both the public and private sectors of the participating countries: we have Ministers, Secretaries to Presidents and Cabinets, Heads of Civil Services, Vice-Chancellors of Universities, Governors of Central Banks, Chairmen of Corporations and Directors of big private firms like Shell and the Diamond Selection Trust. How I wish the Seminar could meet more often in its informal but professional environment, free from predetermined positions, to deliberate on some of the current and complex problems of African Administration and Development. Under such a setting I cannot think of any problem that will defy solution by the group.

Another reason why we attach importance to the Seminar is that it provides a practical step to the much-talked-of regional co-operation in Africa. During my travels abroad in recent years I have always made the observation that with the advancement of technological science the world is getting smaller and smaller; and that the opportunities of getting to know each other more intimately and for establishing arrangements for regional as well as external co-operation in the public and private sectors are increasing significantly. The intrinsic value of a Seminar of this kind is that by the host country selecting a subject for discussion, it enlists the participation of several countries in the discussion and consideration of one of its problems. Another corollary of the Seminar which is not less in importance is the far reaching effects of contacts and friendships made at these meetings by public

officers in positions of influence and authority. We know from experience that in a majority of cases, officials have more reasons to disagree than politicians and that agreements between politicians are easier once officials resolve their points of difference. It is only an inexperienced politician that does not realise the power and influence of bureaucracy.

We are also pleased that Sierra Leone has been chosen as the place for launching of the African Association for Public Administration and Management (AAPAM). I note that the principal objective of the Association is the development of competent administrators and managers for the rapid economic and social development of Africa. The formation of such an Association could not have come at a more opportune moment, for if there is anything that we in Sierra Leone, and every African country for that matter, is short of, it is administrative and managerial capability for present day tasks.

Public Administration has long passed the stage of being confined to the maintenance of Law and Order and the collection of revenue as it was in the colonial era. Today, Public Administration is principally concerned with development and that is probably why we now use more of the expression, "Development Administration" rather than "Public Administration". This is as it should be, for the promises made to the people at Independence, and the expectations of the present generation, for life more abundant, cannot be met without development. But development means change and change requires careful planning and management. It follows that the present task of the Administrator is to plan and manage economic and social change. This obviously is no longer the job of the amateurist law and order administrator of the colonial days. It is the job of a new type of administrator, one educated, no longer in classics and abstract philosophies, but in one of the social sciences; trained, no longer in the "outward bound school", but in the concepts and disciplines of development economics, planning and management: in other words, a professional development administrator. Without such men and women, all our political manifestos and development plans will remain empty slogans and paper proposals.

I sincerely hope therefore, that the Association would take early steps towards the achievement of the admirable objectives enshrined in its Constitution. I am particularly interested in the sixth objective, which refers to the adoption of more effective and adequate administrative and management systems and practices. Our resources, limited as they are, in relation to our insatiable desire for progress and development, make it absolutely necessary that we must adopt such administrative and management practices that would facilitate the best allocation for the benefit of the greatest number. This again calls for various aspects of management, namely: planning, co-ordination and control, all directed to the attainment of

pre-determined objectives. The application of these systems and practices will of necessity require training, and I hope that officers of all grades will not hesitate to submit themselves to whatever training will enable them to discharge their development responsibilities with competence and efficiency.

Finally, I am pleased to see that several bodies are represented at this inaugural meeting of AAPAM. I hope that in carrying out its objectives, particularly those connected with Management Training, the Association will co-operate with them. We are all aware that Management is a recent concept and that only few of the developed countries are able to give technical assistance in that field. I am however encouraged by the fact that the United Nations, the United States of America and Canada, which are in the forefront in Management tecchniques, are well represented at this meeting. I have no doubt that their presence is not only indicative of their interest, but that that interest will manifest itself in the expansion of aid in all fields of management training.

Whilst on this I might as well make one confession, which is, that as politicians, while we recognise the advantages of management training we are necessarily obliged to give high priority to visible infrastructure and social services, namely, roads, schools and hospitals. This being the case, we look up to developed countries to supplement our deficiencies in this field. It is in this connection that I should like to pay particular tribute to the Ford Foundation not only for its support in making this Seminar possible but also for its continued support in the last ten years. I hope that their support will increase now that the Association is venturing into the field of professional management, a field which everyone agrees is indispensable if we are to achieve our economic and social goals, for the promotion of human welfare, and for the restoration and maintenance of human dignity, everywhere in Africa.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I declare the Tenth Session of the African Administration Seminar open and wish the Seminar fruitful deliberations, and the Association success in its proposals.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

by

Mr. CHI-YUEN WU, Director of the U.N. Public Administration Division

PROFESSIONALIZATION AND MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICES OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES

It is indeed a great honour to have been invited to address this distinguished group of senior administrators, managers and scholars from the English speaking contries of this great continent of Africa. The honour is to the United Nations, of which I am only a humble servant, making a modest contribution in the field of development.

Over a decade ago, I was fortunate in having an opportunity to participate in the work of organizing the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), first in New York, then with the Executive Secretary in Addis Ababa for the inauguration of the Commission. The changes between the time when ECA was started and today when this important organization, the African Association for Public Administration and Management, is being inaugurated, have been so rapid and dynamic that few in those days were able to envisage. When the General Assembly adopted the resolution creating ECA, there were only six independent African countries. We have now seven times that number. In the intervening period two of the major tasks of the new countries were to establish new government machinery and to ensure the functioning of the Civil Service. Today, the era of post-independence adjustments is virtually over for most of the African countries. On the whole, the African Governments have been able to adjust their organizational structures, to keep the Civil Services working, and to weather the stormy changes in a way much better than any one dared to expect late in the 1950s. At that time, many anticipated a complete disruption of the public administration machinery and a great need for operational and executive personnel from abroad, but they proved to be incorrect. While there were difficulties and even crises, the process of establishing government machinery to discharge the responsibilities of an independent state and that of Africanization of the Civil Service were, by and large, completed within a decade.

Now that the government machinery and the Civil Service are functioning as going concerns, it is time to examine in depth how the public administration of the countries could be improved in order to achieve a high degree of effectiveness and efficiency. While we should be proud about the achievements in the past decade

in keeping governments functioning, it would be incorrect to say that most development programmes have been implemented as planned. It is also common knowledge that many civil servants do not have the professional qualifications and the management skills to meet the new demands that economic and social development has placed on them. In order to increase the administrative capability for development, the challenge at this time is for the professionalization of the Civil Service and the development of modern management skills. Without such a capability, no government could cope effectively with the ascending complexity of the problems of development.

As His Excellency President Siaka Stevens pointed out in his Opening Address, the formation of the African Association for Public Administration and Management (AAPAM) could not have come at a more opportune moment. The Association, in addition to its basic objectives of providing senior administrators, managers and scholars with an opportunity to exchange ideas and experience in public administration, and promoting research and comparative studies of public administration problems, will foster the professionalization of the public services in Africa; and will advance the study and application of management techniques with a view to achieving more effective and adequate administrative and management systems and practices. As Mr. A. L. Adu shows in his classical work on the Africa Civil Services.[1] the upgrading of their quality would be an urgent task of today. Professionalization and management development are two of the most important tasks facing Africa's public administration. These are both the objectives of the Association and the subjects for discussion at our gathering here.

Mr. Adebayo Adedeji, in his penetrating paper on professionalization presented to this conference,[2] argues for the professionalization of public administration in Africa. It would take a great deal of effort if the Civil Service is to achieve two of the basic characteristics of a profession, namely, the possession of specific expertise and high qualifications. The specific expertise a civil servant should possess includes administration and management. Management development is therefore closely related to professionalization.

Mr. Adedeji interprets "professionalism" broadly and includes among its basic characteristics also the development of ethical codes applicable to the professional practice and the establishment of a relation of trust with one's client. I would go a step further and would include among the qualifications of a civil servant a broad vision and a logical mind. To argue for professionalization is not to argue for complete abolition of the generalist. What we want today is both a new type of general-

1. A. L. Adu, *The Civil Service in Commonwealth Africa*, (London, 1969).
2. Adebayo Adedeji, "The Professionalization of Public Administration in Africa".

ist and a sufficient number of specialists. The generalists should possess both management skills and some general specialized knowledge (for example, in economics, in finance, or in social welfare). The specialists (for example, in health, in engineering, or in agriculture) should have management training.

The public administrators today have to deal with an environment characterized by rapid and turbulent changes. They must learn to anticipate changes, to plan and to take action required to cope with such changes, and to serve as changing agents. I would consider this to be an important qualification for any one who should choose public administration as a profession. Unless the civil servants acquire this qualification, they will not be able to keep the executive arm of the government running smoothly and they will have to deal continuously with crisis situations.

Modern management technology is making its entry into the public services of developing countries. Although some countries have not yet gotten to the point of making a real start and some countries are just beginning, a number of countries have already made noticeable progress by way of institution-building, training, and certain specific applications of modern management techniques, mostly dealing with operational problems in large agencies. As pointed out by the United Nations Interregional Seminar on the Use of Modern Management Techniques in the Public Administration of Developing Countries (held in 1970), the potentialities of modern management approaches and techniques as an instrument for development are great. We should, however, also be aware of their limitations as well as the costs involved. The true significance of such technologies, it should be emphasized, does not derive from their being prestige symbols of modernity, from the attraction of faddism, the glamour of sophistication, or the ready temptation to keep up with the fashions of a highly technological world. Rather, it derives from the testable promises that the development problems faced by the developing countries are complex and that these technologies would enhance management capabilities in dealing with such complex problems.

Modern management techniques are themselves changing rapidly. The explosion of new knowledge and technology has led to changes in the perception of problems and in the methods of tackling them. For a long time, rationality was the most sought after value in public administration, as in economics. Then attention was turned to human behaviour and motivation. In recent years, with the use of computers, information and communications have come to the forefront.[3] The management technology has undergone significant development because of these changes.

3. See the paper presented to this Conference by A. Fouad Sherif on "Electronic Data Processing Systems: Their Potential for Modernization of Public Administration in Africa".

Professionalization of public administration and modernization of management of public affairs often form essential parts of efforts at major administrative reforms. Two days ago, the United Nations concluded its Interregional Seminar on Major Administrative Reforms, held in the United Kingdom under the Chairmanship of Lord Fulton. Some of the conclusions reached there may be relevant to our discussions here.

It was indicated that opportunities for a system-wide comprehensive reform covering all aspects of public administration were many. In the majority of cases, administrative reform was concentrated on one or a few key elements which could eventually bring about system-wide changes. Such key elements included the Civil Service (the reforms in the United Kingdom); financial administration (e.g. budgeting reform); structure of government machinery (certain recent reforms in the United States); central and local relations (for example, the recent administrative reform in Yugoslavia with concentration on decentralization); co-ordination and planning; as well as modernization of management.

An analysis was made as to how different approaches affected the approaches to administrative reforms. The classical rationality school approached administrative reform in terms of efficiency and economy, in terms of systematic departmentalization based on homogeneity of functions, clear demarcations of authority and responsibility of each level and position in administration, systematization of processes and procedures, unity of command, and adequate arrangements for reporting and co-ordination. The stress was on order and tight control of organization which could be depicted in tidy organization charts. Similarly, in terms of personnel, the ideal was the duplication of Weberian bureaucracy with its attributes of fixed and official juridicial areas ordered by rules, distribution of activities as official duties, stability of authority to give commands, employment of qualified persons only, application of principles of hierarchy and adherence to the principle of management by written words.

The last two or three decades witnessed the emergence of the behavioural sciences approach. This approach emphasized the human element in administration and the environment that would be most conducive to individual initiative and creativity. In terms of administrative reform this meant primary emphasis on individual development and performance. In practice, many of the advocates of the classical theory and the Weberian model, despairing of fundamental organizational changes, had joined forces with the advocates of the behavioural sciences school in recommending educational and training programmes for administrators, who would act as catalysts in administration. This could be one of the explanations for the large expansion of training institutes in programmes of administrative reform.

More recently, the outbreak of the "computer revolution" and the emergence of the systems approach in public administration gave new impetus to administrative reform. It was becoming increasingly necessary to adopt administrative patterns to the computer systems and other modern management techniques to ensure organization development and survival. More and more emphasis had also been given to a systems approach to administrative problems, to the linking of planning, budgeting and other aspects of administration, to the development of effective information and communications systems.

Both from the point of view of administrative reform and from that of the actual need of Africa, we fully support the objective of the Association in the field of management. In this connexion, I fully endorse the views recently expressed by Mr. Robert J. Ouko, the interim President of the Association, that Africa's indigenous managers and administrators should intensify their research activities in the field of management to evolve systems and approaches that are consonant both with the ecological factors of the society and with its development objectives.[4]

Mr. Chairman, my colleagues and I in the United Nations Public Administration Programme, both at Headquarters and in Africa, do heartily welcome the formation of this important professional association. We do stress the need to encourage public servants and managers to play an increasingly important (individual as well as professional) role in the improvement of public administration. In fact, the Second Conference on Urgent Administrative Problems of African Government, convened by ECA in November 1968, recommended strongly "to assist with the development of professional bodies in African countries". In the Interregional Seminar on Major Administrative Reforms, just concluded, mention was made of civil servants themselves as a source of pressures and ideas for administrative reform. In the past, civil servants had been among the critics of their own performance and anxious to improve it. In fact, there was a school of thought which believed that proposed measures for administrative reform were implemented only if they either originated from within the administration or at least had its tacit support. This Association, I believe, can provide a forum for the senior administrators to exchange views and experience on administrative reforms and management improvements.

I am also very happy to note that it is the intention of the organizers of this Association to search for appropriate forms for integrating the French speaking countries in the movement that this Association represents. The United Nations and its Economic Commission for Africa, as well as CAFRAD (a regional institu-

4. Robert J. Ouko, "Development — The Challenge Ahead", the second Tom Mboya Memorial Lecture, in *East African Management Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (September 1971). (It may be noted that Mr. Ouko was subsequently elected as President of the Association.)

tion assisted by UNDP with the United Nations as the Executive Agency in close collaboration with UNESCO), will do their best to assist in such cross-fertilization of ideas. My colleagues and I are also most gratified of the assurance of full co-operation of unnecessary duplication of efforts. The total resources available to Africa for the improvement of public administration and management are far below the urgent needs of the region. It is therefore important to make the fullest use of such resources through co-operation and co-ordination.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to conclude by wishing the Association every success in achieving its objectives. The tasks before the Association are really important and challenging. Let all of us who are present here join forces in supporting the Association and in ensuring its success.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

by

Dr. ROBERT OUKO, Interim President

It is indeed an honour and privilege for me to address this inaugural meeting as Interim President of the African Association for Public Administration and Management which we are gathered here to launch.

This Association is a product of the Intra-African Public Administration Seminar series which began in 1962 as an informal colloquium of selected senior officers from some of the English-speaking countries of East and West Africa. The purpose of the seminar series is to provide an opportunity for practising administrators to improve their knowledge and experience in the examination of practical problems which have been, are being or might be in the administration of public services in new African States.

The seminars provide a forum for frank and friendly exchange of views among senior administrators from Anglophone Africa, and have proved to be of considerable value and popularity. For the first three years seminars were quite informal. No papers were presented, although brief notes were prepared to guide the discussions. Participants spoke about the practical problems they were experiencing in their own circumstances, and listened with interest to similar experience elsewhere.

In 1965 the meetings became officially known as the Intra-African Administration Seminars. Attendance has steadily increased from year to year, with applications constantly in excess of places at the seminars. The quality of participants has also remained high. More recently the seminars have been attended by Ministers responsible for civil service matters, Heads of Civil Service, Chairmen of Public Service Commissions, and Directors of Institutes of Public Administration, in addition to Permanent Secretaries and professional officers of similar standing. Also, we have been greatly encouraged by the requests from an increasing number of English-speaking African States to host the seminars. For example, at the last seminar in Botswana, there were bids from three African States to play host to the 10th Seminar which starts here today in this friendly city of Freetown.

I would like at this juncture to express my gratitude and that of the Interim Committee of this Association, to the Sierra Leone Government for the arrangements they have made to host not only the 10th Seminar, but also the launching of this Association. Previous Seminars were held in Tanzania (1962), Nigeria (1963),

Uganda (1964), Zambia (1965), Egypt (1966), Ghana (1967), Kenya (1968), Liberia (1969), and Botswana (1970). To all these countries we record our thanks.

We also wish to place on record our gratitude to the Ford Foundation which has shared the cost of the Seminars with each of the countries that have hosted the meetings. They have done this by shouldering the responsibility for international travel, hotel expenses, the cost of producing preparatory papers, and the printing of the final report, while the host countries have met the cost of internal transport and other expenses. In particular, we owe a great deal to the untiring efforts of one man, David Anderson of the Ford Foundation, who has planned and directed all these ten seminars. We are happy that David Anderson is here with us today to witness the birth of the Association to which the Seminar series has given rise.

I would also like to pay tribute to Chief Udoji, also of the Ford Foundation, who has so ably assisted Mr. Anderson from May 1968 in the organization of these meetings, in addition to his other duties at the East African Staff College in Nairobi. Chief Udoji, as you know, is also the Interim Secretary-General of the Association. My special thanks also go to the members of the Interim Committee who, in spite of their busy schedule of work, spared some of their valuable time to attend several meetings and draw up for the consideration of this inaugural meeting the draft Constitution and draft Rules of the Association, copies of which are already in your possession.

A number of international organizations operating in Africa have observer status at our Seminars. These include the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in Addis Ababa, the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning (IDEP) in Dakar, the African Training and Research Centre in Administration for Development (CAFRAD) in Tangier, and the Commonwealth Secretariat in London.

At the ninth meeting at Gaborone, Botswana, the Seminar reaffirmed its belief in the value of these seminar series not only as a forum for discussing in depth current problems in African countries but also as a means of establishing the foundation for regional co-operation. It was that Seminar which recommended the formation of an Association of professional administrators and managers. They considered that the main aim of the Association should be to promote through relevant research the improvement of the theory and practice of administration and management in Africa to help accelerate economic and social development. It was also the opinion of that seminar that once established the Association should take over the organization of the seminar series.

The Gaborone Seminar recommended that to begin with membership of the

Association should be restricted to individuals who have made significant contribution towards the progress of African administration and management. The Interim Committee found itself in complete accord with this recommendation, and has accepted for membership of the Association persons whose names appear in Appendix I to the address. The list of institutions enrolled as corporate members is at Appendix II. Appendix III[1] contains the names of the prominent African Administrators and Managers selected by the Gaborone Seminar to found the Association. Twelve of these gentlemen met in Nairobi in March 1971 and after two days of prolonged deliberations agreed on the establishment of an Association to be known as the African Association for Public Administration and Management. The interim constitution and rules were adopted at subsequent meetings, where it was also agreed that the formal launching of the Association should take place here in Freetown, Sierra Leone, to coincide with the 10th anniversary of the Intra-African Public Administration Seminar series.

The efforts which we seek to make through this Association to improve the theory and practice of public administration in Africa is in no way an isolated one. It is part of the overall global strategy for development. Indeed, the United Nations General Assembly resolution on the international development strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade has many implications for public administration, particularly in the developing world. For example, it requests developing countries to "pay special attention to the orientation and organization of their public administration at all levels for both the effective formulations and implementation of their development plans . . . ."

As we are all aware, development does not involve only economic and social change. It concerns the transformation of whole societies. Public Administration must therefore play its role as an effective instrument for managing this process of transformation. Since development is a continuous process, efforts to improve administrative capability must also be continuous. The fact that demands are continually rising imposes obligations on management that cannot be taken lightly. Management must be dynamic and responsive to these demands if it is to cope effectively with the increasing administrative load imposed by change.

Yet in all developing countries the rate of development remains below expectation. The role of our developing Governments as the prime movers of economic and social development obliges them to maintain and improve upon their administrative capability. There is need to measure this capability and to continuously identify and adopt the means of increasing it. Administrative capability can be increased quantitatively by measuring the supply of good administrators, and qualitatively by improving the quality of the tools and techniques which they use.

1. The appendices are not included in this report.

There has been much talk about the strategic importance of public administration in the economic and social development of societies. As far back as 1948 the United Nations General Assembly identified the lack of expert personnel and lack of technical organization as being among the factors which impede the economic development of the under-developed areas.[1] Seventeen years later, i.e. on December 4, 1965, the General Assembly again expressed the conviction "that in order to hasten the economic and social progress of the developing countries it is necessary to intensify measures for the full utilisation of human resources and especially for the training of national personnel . . .". Also, at about the same time as the first Intra-African Public Administration Seminar was taking place in 1962, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations was passing a resolution urging member Governments to include in their development plans targets for the provision of qualified administrators, and to place special emphasis on training in public administration.[2]

This strategic importance of public administration has similarly been articulated on many occasions by the Economic Commission for Africa itself, notably in their resolution on Public Administration in the formulation and implementation of development plans and programmes for African countries.[3] The Economic Commission for Africa has also rightly expressed the conviction that "the African states can help one another in the field of public administration". One can find similar statements in almost all the reports of national, regional and international conferences which have had a bearing on the various aspects of public administration.

Yet, in spite of all these pronouncements, not enough attention has been paid in the past to investments in administrative capability. For example, not all development plans include components specifically dealing with investment in major administrative reforms to improve the quality of management, or in an overall transformation of administrative systems, although of course there exist examples of serious efforts in this direction, of which the Ndegwa Report in Kenya is one of the latest and most outstanding.[4] How and why this inadequacy occurred in the past is of relative unimportance. What is important for us as an Association of professional managers and administrators is how to highlight, honestly, intelligently, and practically, factors which will make such inclusion imperative.

As far as the overhauling of administrative systems is concerned it can be said that we in developing Africa have spent the most part of the last decade mainly identifying our needs and requirements; spelling out what needs to be done.

1. General Assembly Resolution No. 200 (iii) of December 4, 1968.
2. ECISIC Resolution No. 907 (XXXIV) of August 2, 1962.
3. ECA Resolution No. 124(vii) of February 27, 1965.
4. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry (Public Service Structure and Remuneration 1970-71)*, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1971.

We have heard it said time and time again that since the colonial system of administration was geared towards the maintenance of law and order and the collection of taxes, it is manifestly unsuited for the task of national development which has become the number one domestic imperative since independence. We have also heard it stated that the rules and regulations operative in the colonial days were aimed basically at eliciting obedience and ensuring subservience. Similarly, we have listened to long sermons and read considerable literature about the need to change the civil service structures to adapt them to the objectives of national development.

One could go on and on about what we have considered should be removed, done or changed. Yet how far we have succeeded in actually removing, doing or changing these things remains a matter of debate. There is no simple answer for Africa as a whole, as circumstances differ from one country to another. There are definitely areas where considerable advance has been made, more so in some countries and less so in others. Obviously, some administrative reform of one kind or another has taken place in all our countries. The literature available tends to show that these have been sporadic and piece-meal. It is not clear what impact these have had on the totality of management systems in our states. What seems certain is that in spite of all the good work and the efforts that have been made in the last decade, a lot remains to be done. As Dr. Robert Gardiner, a founder member of this Association, has warned, the substance of the colonial tradition has disappeared but the form lingers on in many administration practices. Many of Africa's problems will have to be solved largely by herself, and the international community has called upon the less developed countries of the world to carry themselves as far as possible in the field of promoting development. It is in this spirit that the African Association for Public Administration and Management has been established and launched. The Association seeks to foster the professionalization of public administration and management in Africa, and particularly to develop through research and comparative studies an increasing appreciation of the value and importance of public administration and management. We also seek to promote the adoption of more effective and adequate administrative and management systems and practices, and to foster affiliation and maintain liaison with international bodies and organizations interested in the progress of public administration and management.

We hope to be able to achieve these aims in a number of ways. Firstly, by establishing standing committees in research and documentation on special problems related to administrative and management practices. Secondly, by organising training seminars, short courses and conferences on specific issues. Thirdly, by distributing and exchanging documents and by publishing research and occasional papers in our own journal for promoting the development of administrative and management

science in Africa. Fourthly, by providing consultancy services to professional training centres, governments and bodies interested in the progress of African administration and management. Last but by no means least, by promoting inter-country schemes of exchange of public servants and managers. In all these we shall need assistance of various kinds. I would, therefore, like to take this opportunity to appeal to all those governments and international institutions which have an interest in the development of management practice in Africa to come forward and assist this young Association. We shall gratefully acknowledge assistance, however small. Although this Association does not at present cover countries in Francophone Africa, we expect to be able to maintain close liaison with them in our efforts, from which we hope they will benefit as well.

I have already expressed gratitude to the Ford Foundation for the generous financial and other support which they have given us during the last ten years. It is our earnest hope that we shall continue to enjoy this generous support, and that this assistance will in fact increase. Our need for this kind of support has been great all along, but it is greater today than it has ever been before hence this appeal to the international community. But as Africans we must realise that however much support we receive from outside the major burden must be borne by us. We seek external support not as an end in itself but merely as a means to get us into the stage where we shall avoid excessive dependence on external aid, i.e. the stage where we as Africans will be proudly self-reliant in many of our endeavours. This will obviously call for sacrifice and complete dedication to the objectives which this Association seeks to achieve. It is our commitment to these objectives and to their fulfilment that has led to the formation of this Association. We must justify to Africa not by word but by deed our decision to form an Association of this kind. In this, I wish the Association every success.

Part One

Summary of Discussions

PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT

The subject was introduced by a panel of speakers led by the Hon. H. S. Pratt, Sierra Leone Foreign Minister and Professor Adebayo Adedeji, Nigerian Commissioner for Economic Development and until recently the Director of the Institute of Public Administration, Ife University. Professor Adedeji dealt with the question of the need for professionalization. The question, he said, would be considered unnecessary if the meeting were that of lawyers or doctors merely because those professionals had well known and recognised qualifications. This was not the case in Administration and Management. It was therefore necessary for the meeting to advert its attention to the prescription of qualifications which should be more than the occupation of positions and seats designated as administrative or managerial. If and when such qualifications were prescribed the Association should provide for self-discipline and an enforceable code of conduct particularly in view of the fact that the clientele of the administrator is different from that of other professions.

He thought that "only rarely should one who is not a graduate in one of the disciplines in the social sciences (Economics, Political Science or Sociology) be admitted to the profession". Such a broadly based degree should be a prerequisite for professional education which should take between four and five years. His proposal was that after the completion of the undergraduate studies the prospective administrator/manager should be given a two-year intensive postgraduate professional education and training. This should be followed by a period of internship or apprenticeship lasting one or two years. Thereafter the candidate should have another intensive course lasting from one calendar year to fifteen months, specialising in one aspect of administration or management.

Regarding the content of the training programme Professor Adedeji suggested that the two-year postgraduate course should be built on the undergraduate work and should consist purely of in depth education in various areas of public administration and management combining both theory and practice. The internship (18-24 months) following the two-year postgraduate studies should be spread between the public and the private sector, that is, between work in a government ministry and work in a parastatal or private firm. During the last period of training which should last about 12 months the trainee should specialise in one of the following areas of administration and management—personnel management, planning, financial management and budgeting, etc. On the successful completion of this course the trainee should be registered as a professional

administrator/manager by a legally recognised National Society for Public Administration and Management which should make the trainee a fellow of the Society.

Mr. Pratt emphasised the need for professionalization. He outlined the present weaknesses among public servants, particularly their inability to meet the present demands of development and hoped that professionalism and the training suggested by Professor Adedeji would result in the acquisition of not only necessary expertise to perform specific tasks but also the desirable and intangible qualities of leadership, creativity, quick decision, and lastly ability to plan, coordinate, review and evaluate. Whatever training was proposed for members of the Association should inculcate, develop, and nurture such qualities. The time had come to end the trial and error method of administration; to stop groping along and to adopt the latest practices of the profession. He further drew attention to the problem of clientele. In other professions like law and medicine the professional is independent and his client willingly submits to his advice or prescription as the case may be. In administration the professional is neither independent nor does his client always accept his advice. As a matter of fact the client is above and not under the professional administrator.

One participant was emphatic that Public Administration is already a professionalized activity in that it has a service structure based on objectives and functions; a service based on special training and competence; a code of ethics in the form of political neutrality; and a highly developed sense of mission in "serving the the government of the day". He thought that instead of discussing the need for professionalization the Seminar should discuss how to strengthen those basic characteristics in the face of increasing change. He would like discussions on organizational structures, career development and advancement, pay scales, the establishment of research groups for specific problems and the formation of professional associations. This view did not gather much support as the great majority felt that Public Administration could not, with justification, claim to be a profession like law and medicine.

In the discussion that followed participants concentrated on the requirements for admission to the professional body, the importance of a precise code of ethics, self-discipline and the problem of recognition and clientele.

The discussion on professional qualifications started with an attempt to define an administrator and whether the basic qualification should be in the social sciences or whether it should continue to be broadly based as at the moment. Several definitions were suggested ranging from "a social science engineer" to "someone who gets things done by organizing men, money and materials", but there was no unanimous or accepted definition. The majority was however of the view that the basic education of an administrator should be in one of the Social Sciences.

There was however a strong minority which insisted that, at least for the time being, the matter should be left to the needs of individual countries. An example was given of a country like Nigeria which, because of the development of the oil industry in the country, recently advertised for 40 engineers and chemists to join the Administrative Service at the level of Senior Assistant Secretaries. With regard to training it was felt that the 4-5 years postgraduate training suggested in Professor Adedeji's paper was too long. There was however no consensus as to the content and period of training required and it was agreed that both matters of qualifications and training be referred to a committee for further examination. In view of the multi-disciplinary nature of public administration and the recommendation that admission to the profession should be as broad as possible some participants stressed the need for some proof of competence. This proof of competence could be by some examination. This was necessary for self-confidence of the members and for acceptance by the public.

There was a recommendation that the Committee should pay special attention to the needs of professional men who perform administrative duties as well as to the needs of those who, in other professions, would be regarded as a sub-professional class. The criteria for admission to the class or profession of administrators should be *competence* rather than paper qualifications. The case was cited of some established professions which admitted those who were already practitioners but had not the necessary academic qualifications. The Association should resist the Trade Union habit of some established professions. These professions have vested interests in limiting the members of their professions and usually do so under the guise of raising standards. As a result of the pressure from practising lawyers the Council for Legal Education in some African countries have recently ruled that no one should be admitted to membership of the profession unless he had first obtained a law degree and subsequently undergone professional training. This has the effect of doubling the normal period of education and training as well as making it more expensive to enter the profession.

The Seminar agreed that the question of recognition was closely connected with that of qualifications. A profession cannot be recognised unless it has a body of knowledge and expertise over which it claims exclusive jurisdiction. The old idea that administrators are born not made no longer holds true. So also is the old-fashioned notion that administration is an art which is learnt on the job. It is becoming a science which can be learnt in a class-room and administrators and managers can be trained to use the tools of their trade in much the same way as a craftsman can be trained to use the tools of his craft. Other prerequisites for recognition are self-recognition, self-education, self-discipline, a clientele and public recognition.

The members of the profession must also have a "corporate concern" for advanc-

ing both the relevant body of knowledge and the techniques of its application. There should also be a close link between the practitioners and the contemplative members of the profession; the practitioner must continually update his knowledge by reading professional journals, attending conferences and by intellectual contact with his colleagues. In this regard it was suggested that Journals produced by member institutes should be circulated to other institutions and that the Secretariat of AAPAM might in due course consider circulating abstracts or reprints from Journals published outside Africa.

On self-discipline the Seminar agreed that there is need for a code of conduct which the members of the profession must uphold. The Code of Ethics in Professor Adedeji's paper was considered. It was recommended that a sub-committee should redraft the Code including suggestions about its enforcement. The following suggestions were put forward for the committee's consideration: (a) redrafting the Code in positive terms; (b) amending Code No. 2 to read "In the Service of My Country I will put Loyalty to the Highest Moral Principles above all other Loyalties" and (c) adding a new Code in the following terms "At all Times to remember that the Public is my client and that its good is my first duty".

The question of clientele and independence of public administrators were discussed together. The recent development in some military regimes of appointing top administrators as Commissioners and the politicization of top administrators in some one-party states raised some difficulties. Although public administrators operate in a socio-political atmosphere they must always bear in mind that the public and not the Ministers are the clientele and that its interest must always be paramount. Cases are bound to occur when the private interests of the Minister clash with those of the public. In such cases the job of the administrator will be to put the case of the public as clearly and as strongly as he can whilst allowing the Minister to pass political judgment on his assessment and recommendation. It may often be the case that the administrator is not in possession of all the facts including political considerations. Independence was considered a relative term. Some participants did not believe that other professionals enjoy as much independence as was being advocated. After all every professional has to practise within the limits of the law and in the same socio-political environment as administrators. It was however agreed that in view of their close proximity to politicians public administrators should not expect the same degree of independence as that enjoyed by other professions. Their degree of independence is however bound to depend on their degree of competence for in the final analysis politicians are likely not to interfere with the administrator whom they know to be competent and able to deliver their promises.

Finally the Seminar identified the following obstacles to professionalization and recognition by the public:

(i) *Political opposition.* Politicians would resist any attempt by a professional body to interfere with their control of the senior members of the profession. Reference was made of the quasi-political nature of the post of Permanent Secretary and the relative merits of acceptability and competence in the judgement of politicians in making appointments at that level. Very often political interference cuts across professional competence and ethics.

(ii) *Internal opposition.* Some participants were however of the view that the greatest opposition to professionalization would come from within and not from without. Sooner or later politicians would realise the short-term dividends of political acceptability and would eventually come down on the side of competence. The present generation of amateurist administrators who occupy the top posts in the Civil Service and who often lack competence will strongly oppose professionalism both from a natural resistance to change and from the point of view of the threat posed to their positions.

(iii) *Hierarchical structure of government and the vertical nature of its decision making process.* These do not encourage professionalism. There will be no professionalization unless more people representing professional disciplines have the power to influence decisions in an important way. This is true of both innovation, reform, development and actual production. At present the initiative for change almost always comes from top management where power is concentrated autocratically in a few hands. Seldom is anyone else listened to seriously. On the contrary in countries like the United States the scientist, the economist, and the accountant act as valued consultants to government and industry. The style of management encourages professionalism and inventiveness. Even in the laboratory the technician keeps a sharp eye for discoveries that might promote both himself and his organization.

(iv) *Lack of an enlightened public opinion.* At present the public does not appear to recognise competence, and lack of it is not yet a matter for public comment in the same manner as Africanization was in the early years of independence. The colonial idea of administration seems to have lingered on. Examples were given of some countries where Provincial Administrators still wear the colonial uniforms and behave, in some respects, like the colonial District Commissioners. Such a situation has several ill-effects. Firstly there is the association in the minds of people of an administrator as an authoritarian bureaucrat. Secondly it produces the 'jack of all trades' type of officer and militates against the acquisition of those techniques of management upon which professionalization depends. Professionalization will encourage the public to trust administrators as experts, so that when they speak or act in their professional capacities their words and actions will carry an authority which the public will recognise and accept. Professional competence

will make the public believe in the science of government, that as a science it can be learnt and that public officials have mastered it. Only efficiency can earn the profession the trust, respect and admiration of the public.

(v) *Lack of sanctions.* The importance of a system of sanctions against violations of the ethics of the profession was stressed. It was however noted that the custodian of the ethics of the profession is the Association. In this regard participants urged the absolute necessity of establishing national associations which should seek the recognition of National Governments as it is only with the cooperation of the Government and the public that sanctions can be effectively enforced. Some countries like Ghana and Sierra Leone have provisions in their laws for the registration of professional associations. Members were advised to take advantage of such provisions to register their associations as soon as the parent body is able to give guidelines about qualifications and training. The distinction between recognition and registration was however noted. One is administrative, the other legal.

MANAGEMENT BY OBJECTIVES

Because of the technical nature of the subject the Seminar agreed to the proposal of the Steering Committee that it should be introduced by someone with actual experience of the working of MBO in an organization. Messrs Paul and Blake of Aureol Tobacco Company Ltd. were thereupon invited to introduce the subject.

Mr. Paul narrated how MBO was introduced 18 months before in the Tobacco Company of which he was the Managing Director. The decision was taken by the Board of Directors, and a firm of Management Consultants was asked to send an MBO practitioner to give the Company some idea of how to go about introducing the technique. On arrival the Consultant spent a week with the Company. During that time he did a quick survey of its organizational structure and helped them to define their Purpose and to introduce them to MBO vocabulary. He also set them to prepare an overall "Organizational Plan" and individual managers "Results Guides". When the Consultant went off he left them exhausted but keen. He also left a bill for £1,000 for his week's work. He left an assistant, however, whose job was to steer them through a period of 3 months' hard work resulting in the completion of an Organizational Plan and individual managers "Result Guides". During the following 3 months they analysed, in detail, the strengths and the weaknesses of their organization and the opportunities and threats facing them. They made certain assumptions about the future — political, economic, labour relations and such like. They developed strategies and objectives which when put together made up their Organizational Plan. The plan simply stated where they were going, how they were going to get there, when they were going to get there and it also described the roles to be played by various people in order to get there. Having completed the "Organization Plan" it was then necessary to extend the exercise to individual managers — hence the birth of "Results Guide". These were nothing more than statements describing the results each member of the Management team and workforce must achieve to ensure that the Organization's plan was effected. The Results Guides spelt out what results must be achieved by individuals and at what dates. The emphasis was not on the work that had to be done but on the results that had to be achieved. The Results Guides were formulated and agreed by the manager and his subordinate working together towards the common goal.

Every three to four months there was a formal review session by the boss at each level with his subordinates on an individual basis. The review session was not an inquest. Its only concern with past mistakes was the insight that they gave to necessary future action. Where performance standards were not being achieved the question to be answered was not "why" but "what was to be done" to ensure that they were attained in future.

Having outlined how they went about introducing MBO, Mr. Paul commented on the problems they had so far experienced. The first major problem confronting any organization trying to introduce MBO is that of convincing the Management Team that it is necessary. Few managers will admit to their style of management not being Management by Objectives. The major hurdle is to convince the top echelon to accept the hard work involved in introducing MBO and maintaining it as a way of life. The head of the organization must take the lead and be directly involved in the setting of organizational objectives. To succeed it must be the organization's way of doing things and be compatible with the organizational chief's way of managing. Everyone in the MBO programme must be in no doubt as to its purpose. Careful preliminary briefing is therefore a highly essential ingredient.

Mr. Paul did not believe that it was possible to introduce MBO without the help of a first rate Consultant. They are expensive and the first pitfall would be for a firm to decide to go it alone without a Consultant. The presence of a Consultant in the early stages of introduction lends credence to the new concept. It is important that the Consultant spells out in simple language what MBO is all about, what stages are involved and what true definitions can be given to the new words used in the MBO vocabulary. Inspite of the presence of the Consultant some of Mr. Paul's managers were sceptical of the concept. The scepticism was the result of the individual's defensive mechanism at work. New concepts are not automatically swallowed. Another difficulty experienced was the fear of redundancy. This contributed to the resistance among executives.

The advantages so far were that they had a firm idea where they were going and how they intended getting there and who was going to be involved at each stage of the journey. They had also a systematic review procedure to check on progress. In their case MBO had resulted in a streamlined work-force for both management and non-management. By concentrating on Results they were able to discard the inevitable peripheral jobs which over the years got built into the organization but which did not directly contribute to results. In terms of cost alone the fees and expenses of the Consultant and his assistant had been offset several times over by the resulting staff reduction. Another advantage was that it had enabled managers and supervisors to get to know their men better and to concentrate on their development. Members of Staff were "stretched" and they appeared to perform with a high degree of productivity, especially when they were concentrating on "Results". With the development of subordinate staff they aimed at an ideal Management Team of half its former size (prior to MBO). Their greatest discovery was that after the departure of surplus manpower those that remained really felt that they had a role to play and that tended to raise their morale.

Mr. Blake, the Public Relations Director of Aureol Tobacco Company said that he was recently a member of Hugh Clarke's Commission that enquired into the

structure and remuneration of the Sierra Leone Civil Service. His experience at the Commission convinced him that the MBO style of management would be of immense value to the Civil Service. In fact he felt that there was a dire need for MBO in the public sector. The commonest complaints among civil servants were political pressure, tribalism and nepotism. He thought that the MBO style of management would, at least, eliminate the imaginary notions about tribalism. If, in accordance with the operation of MBO, you agreed with a subordinate what was expected of him, gave him an opportunity to perform, told him how he was getting on, gave him guidance where it was needed and rewarded him in accordance with his performance, surely he would be a fool to accuse you of tribalism or nepotism. One of the advantages of MBO is that it creates a new relationship between workers. Because of its results oriented approach to man management it brings about mutual understanding and commitment to the achievement of common goals.

A more important reason why public servants should consider the introduction of MBO is because it is designed to help organizations to adapt themselves to new situations calling for change. Two words which are on the lips of every African administrator today are "change" and "reform". These expressions are brought about by two entirely independent factors. The first is Independence. With it came the need for national governments to take on new tasks for which the pre-independence colonial machinery was not designed. The new tasks are principally those of national unity and economic development. The second factor is Technology which has brought about changes undreamt of a few decades ago. Our lives are now being ruled by science and everywhere around us changes are taking place. Society itself is undergoing rapid transformation in all fields. It is being transformed from a subsistence economy to a money economy; from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy; from a tribal community to a national and in some cases to a multi-national community; from a simple superstitious community to an educated and enlightened community. This transformation is taking place at varying stages with various communities and is causing stresses and tensions which administration should take care of. In other words administration must be responsive to all these changes. One way of doing this is through the MBO style of management.

In the discussion that followed a participant described the prevailing styles of Management in the Public Service as either Management by Crisis, Management by Rules or Management by Detailed Instructions. Management by Crisis is the system of muddling through. It is the opposite of the idea of MBO which is management by future planning for expected results. The other styles of management tend to deflect people from thinking of Results and to think rather of other performance criteria. In one case Rules/Instructions loom larger in the minds of workers than Results.

The participant doubted whether African Governments could afford to engage Consultants when introducing MBO and whether, in fact, MBO should be introduced initially in its entirety. He thought that a simple systematic approach would be preferable. He cited the example of the East African Corporations where novelty in the measurement and assessment of performance was introduced through a training intervention. The intervention was through a week's residential course for Chairmen, General Managers and their immediate subordinates. It was an opportunity for them to examine their style of management and the attitude of mind necessary for the achievement of objectives. The result was that top management set up a task force to find out what could be done. In countries like the U.K. top management is already aware of what MBO can do and they can readily engage a consultant and enter into a consultant/client relationship. In Africa things are different and new processes should be approached through training for it is only through training that the necessary change of attitude can be brought about.

Such an approach could be in three phases. The first phase would be to establish the need for measuring performance and getting rid of the deep seated attitude that performance is not measurable. In some countries the Budget is already being used to measure performance. The second phase would be to ask the group to set their own performance input targets. That would minimise the fear of threat if set from above. The third phase would be to seek to make the targets worthwhile, that is by motivating the group; that could be done by rewarding cost consciousness rather than penalising over-expenditure, and searching for ways and means of rewarding better results. These three phases combined with training should precede any formal introduction of MBO.

Participants were evenly divided over the question of the applicability of MBO to government operations. One group thought the concept of management by objectives as developed in the industries of the West was not applicable to the Civil Service because of its environment and inherent constraints. In the first place it was not always easy to translate political objectives in terms of what was to be done. Ministries did not hold their aims in isolation but as part of the overall aims of the Government of the day. In any case whatever the policies and objectives of Governments were, they were handed down from the top and not, as in the case of industries, agreed with those whose jobs were to achieve them. Furthermore the Ministries were so interdependent that in order to be successful the system would have to be introduced in all the Ministries.

In industry, MBO is based on the principle of the individual manager's responsibility i.e. funds and resources are allocated to an individual manager to carry out an assigned programme of work. In government, control over funds and personnel are centralised and senior officers have no power of recruitment and dismissal

over their subordinates nor have they power to exceed financial allocations without reference to the Ministry of Finance. Although the Civil Service is concerned with the deployment of financial and human resources to the best advantage, its aims and objectives cannot be expressed, nor its performance measured, in terms of profitability.[1] Because of the doctrine of public accountability the Civil Service would spend days in an effort to justify the expenditure of twenty shillings rather than on some more productive work. In Government the principle of anonymity together with that of vicarious responsibility militates against the application of MBO.

In the third place there is lack of motivation in government. Salary scales are fixed and workers are not rewarded in accordance with their contribution. The tendency to reward everyone alike militates against initiative, enthusiasm, a sense of success, achievement and recognition. Related to lack of motivation is the traditional and cultural handicap. In some patriarchal societies a junior cannot disagree with his boss and in such a situation there cannot be an effective dialogue between a manager and his subordinate.

In conclusion the group stressed that the present environment of some African Governments tended to encourage management by crisis. Many a time decisions were made only when the matter was near crisis point. There was also a great shortage of qualified and experienced officers and the few that there were work under great pressures and hardly have the time to consider the introduction of MBO.

The pro MBO group thought that most of the difficulties enumerated were more imaginary than real. They argued that long term objectives of governments were formally stated in political manifestos and clearly defined and articulated in five year development plans. Those of corporations, on the other hand, were contained in the Acts establishing them. Annual budgets usually broke down the plans into short term targets. It was however agreed that Ministries and Corporations do not have systematic and comprehensive targets nor do they always identify the key tasks to be performed in order to achieve the long term objectives. The group also agreed that the present "schedules of duties" of officers needs to be more specific in that it must establish precisely what sort of work is to be done, how much is to be accomplished, when and how well.

Although funds and personnel are centrally controlled the head of a Department has considerable powers of control. He knows what funds he has got and for what purposes and these are usually on the basis of what he asked for in the estimates. Again a head of Department does control his staff in that he recommends them for increment, promotion and discipline as the case may be and more often

1. Garret and Walker, *Management by Objectives in the Civil Service*, p. 7.

than not his recommendations are accepted by the Public Service Commission. In some governments a head of Department can suspend an officer from duties pending confirmation by the Public Service Commission. Reference was made to a report in Kenya which recommended the delegation of more personnel matters including appointments, promotions and discipline of certain categories of officers to Permanent Secretaries.

Referring to fixed salary scales the group argued that although these are fixed the system of accelerated promotion ensures that good men are not held down unduly. In any case the whole purpose of MBO in government is to eliminate disincentives and introduce the positive "satisfiers" such as involving workers at all levels of decision making and rewarding them in accordance with their contribution. Individual responsibility is also one of the principles that MBO hopes to bring about in government. The group concluded by saying that it is only by the introduction of MBO that government can hope to bring about a change in the problem areas enumerated by the other group for MBO succeeds best where problem areas are recognised, shortcomings acknowledged and a need for change accepted.

After further discussion the Seminar agreed that there are difficulties in setting targets for all major operations in government. It emphasised, however, the importance of having work programmes, targets and standards discussed and agreed between superior and subordinate officers at all levels; also the advantages of assessing performance on the basis of agreed targets and standards. The Seminar criticised the present confidential report system as subjective, negative and prone to distortion by inter-personal relationship; its emphasis on personal traits rather than on job performance, on faults rather than on achievements, and on weaknesses rather than on latent potential. Participants considered the MBO approach to performance appraisal to be positive and forward looking, particularly the review interview between the manager and his subordinate which is used to identify the subordinate's training needs, his suggestions for improved performance and management obstacles to his achievement of targets.

The Seminar felt that MBO would be of great potential value to the public service and recommended that participants should initiate further consideration of the matter by their governments.

THE BUDGET AS A TOOL OF MANAGEMENT

Defects of the Traditional Budget

The subject was introduced by Mr. Akinyele, the contributor of the background paper. He emphasised the need for change in the role of the traditional budget and listed some of its defects. The budget is looked upon as a means of matching revenue with expenditure and of controlling expenditure so provided. As such it is presented in a vertical organisational pattern with emphasis on units or objects of expenditure—personal emoluments, stores, vehicles, allowances—and on the control aspect. The whole basis of the traditional budget is accountability to members of Parliament, and the institutions of the Public Accounts Committee and the Auditor-General are to ensure this. The main responsibility of the Auditor-General is to ensure that canons of financial propriety are observed—vouchers for every payment and tenders for every contract. These are important but concentrate attention on observance of certain rules and not on whether the country is getting value for the money. It is management by rules instead of management by results.

The budget does not give decision makers sufficient information about the objective and purpose of the expenditure, the results expected and the relationship between various expenditures which cut across ministerial or organizational boundaries. In other words the budget is not structured to present expenditures in terms of programmes, sub-programmes and activities; nor does it present the full cost of programmes, the alternative courses of implementing them with analysis of costs and benefits.

Because there is no indication of expected results, such as miles of road to be tarred or the number of patients to be treated it is impossible to measure the performance of public officers and to hold them accountable for low productivity. The public officer does not know what output is expected of him and he is likely to be judged more by how little he has used than by how much he has achieved. Over-spending a vote is more apparent than falling short of a target and a premium appears to be on inactivity.

The Budget and the Plan

The two great defects of the traditional budget are, however, that it is not an effective instrument of plan implementation and secondly that it is not an effective instrument of management. The lack of close relationship between the budget and the plan are due to several causes. The processes of planning and budgeting are, in

most countries, undertaken by separate ministries, manned by people with different backgrounds, experiences and skills and who sometimes differ in their language and terminology. As a rule budgetary officers are cautious and conservative whilst planners are enterprising and forward-looking. There is also a power struggle between the two. The Ministry of Planning, as a late-comer, is struggling to establish its influence and acceptance against the tremendous prestige of the Ministry of Finance which tends to consider the Planning Ministry an unnecessary duplication.

Because of this lack of close relationship the plan does not always articulate the role of the budget in the overall programme of government investment. In such cases it is difficult to translate the plan in terms of annual budgets. For example, certain programmes in the plan may require certain financial policy and resource mobilization but unless there is harmony between the plan and the budget the programme cannot be satisfactorily implemented.

The Budget and Management

The second great defect of the traditional budget is in regard to its decision making process. No Permanent Secretary to the Treasury will agree that he is not the manager of his country's finances. Very few however can prove that they are adopting the principles of management in their budget decisions. These principles are:

(a) setting of objectives in precise and articulate terms;

(b) programming or the identification, evaluation, and selection of alternative methods of achieving the objectives;

(c) implementation or performance; this involves setting up the necessary organization and allocating it resources—funds and personnel—to enable it to carry out the programmes;

(d) control, evaluation and review; this entails establishing controls to monitor performance, evaluating the degree of achievement and determining reasons for any deviation from expected results.

The non-application of the principles of management has resulted in the following weaknesses in the traditional budget:

(a) vagueness of objectives;

(b) limited analysis of alternatives;

(c) partial costing of programmes;

(d) inadequate consideration of future year implications of present decisions;

(e) emphasis on expenditure control instead of performance; and

(f) short review and decision period.

Reform Measures

African governments face a growing gap between the expectations of their people and the delivery of goods and services by their governments. The major reason for this gap is that available resources are inadequate to meet the mounting demands of people. Other reasons are the dwindling of foreign aid and the mounting cost of development. There is therefore a pressing need for good housekeeping as well as a critical examination of the criteria for allocating available resources. In other words, because resources are limited, they must be properly managed. Unfortunately the structure of the traditional budget makes it impossible to serve such a managerial function. Fortunately, developed countries that have faced such problems in the past have evolved a body of knowledge and a group of techniques which can provide great assistance to policy makers and managers of government business. The system or management approach known as Planning-Programming-Budgeting (PPB) sometimes known as Programme Budgeting is now employed in a number of developed and developing countries.

Planning-Programming-Budgeting (PPBS)

PPBS is a system aimed at helping management to make better decisions on the allocation of resources among alternative ways to attain government objectives. Its essence is the development and presentation of relevant information as to the full implications — costs and benefits — of the major alternative courses of action. It enables the budget to be used effectively in planning and management, particularly programme evaluation. It ensures rational decision-making and forces those seeking budgetary allocations to adopt the following procedure:

(a) a clear definition of the main and fundamental purpose and objective to be achieved together with proposed programmes and activities for achieving the objective. There can be a hierarchy of objectives, programmes and activities regardless of the agency by which they are performed;

(b) a description of alternative programmes and activities through which the objective is to be achieved, together with analysis of costs. This is the crux of PPBS. It involves: *(i)* identification of the government objectives; *(ii)* explicit, systematic, identification of alternative ways of carrying out the objectives; *(iii)* estimation of the total cost implication of each alternative; *(iv)* estimation of the expected results of each alternative, and *(v)* presentation of the resulting major costs and benefits of each alternative along with the identification of major assumptions and uncertainties;

(c) an explanation of how performance is to be measured and evaluated.

Procedure for Introducing PPBS

The seminar considered whether programme structures should be designed centrally by the Treasury/Planning Ministry or whether it should be the responsibility of the operating Ministries. It was felt that if centrally designed the programmes would cut across ministerial boundaries unnecessarily and that would increase the initial difficulties. Some, however, felt that the programmes should be jointly designed by officials of the Treasury, Planning Ministry and operating Ministries. The majority view was that Ministries should be allowed to structure their programmes. They should, however, be guided and advised by a central body which should also provide general guidelines.

The importance of central guidance and departmental discretion was emphasised. Central guidance would ensure that departments fully understood the rationale of PPBS and avoided hastily produced programmes which might be ill-suited to departmental needs. Departmental discretion on the other hand would ensure the participation which was necessary for the success of the system. The principal purpose of PPBS is to serve the internal planning and management of departments and only secondarily the needs of a central agency or Treasury.

The seminar agreed that the system should be introduced gradually and in stages. The first stage should be that of reclassification of the budget on a programme structure. The exercise should not be done in a hurry but could be spread over a number of years. The reclassification should begin with identification of fundamental government objectives. Based upon these, the government activities should be grouped into categories which aim at grouping together activities which contribute towards the same objectives. As much as possible, programmes and activities should be kept within ministerial boundaries. Two examples of programme structure given were:

I. *Personal Safety*

(a) General law enforcement
(b) Traffic safety
(c) Fire prevention and control
(d) Safety from animals
(e) Protection and control of natural and man-made disasters

II. *Intellectual Development and Personal enrichment*

(a) Pre-school education
(b) Primary education
(c) Secondary education
(d) Higher education
(e) Adult education
(f) Public libraries
(g) Museums and historical sites

There should be no hesitation in changing the programme structure in the light of experience.

Programme Analysis

The second stage is that of programme analysis. This is the systematic identification and analysis of alternative ways of achieving government objectives. It is the essence and cornerstone of PPBS. It results in the identification and documentation of:

1. the fundamental governmental objectives involved,
2. the major feasible alternatives,
3. for each alternative the best available estimate of the total programme costs for each year considered,
4. for each alternative the best available estimates of the benefits (and/or "penalties") relevant to the objectives for each year considered,
5. the major assumptions and uncertainties associated with the alternatives, and
6. the impact of proposed programmes on other programmes, other agencies, levels of government, and on private organization.

The presentation and discussion of alternatives and of the costs and benefits of each goes considerably beyond the scope of typical budget justification material which describes specific budget funding requests and beyond the scope of material generally included in physical planning studies.

To be most useful, the analysis should indicate preferred programme mixes at different funding levels since specific funding levels should seldom be chosen without explicit consideration of the change in costs and benefits (i.e., the "marginal" costs and benefits) in going from one level to another.

The analysis process should not ignore the political and legislative constraints that are pertinent. The analysis should seek to optimize resource allocation within these constraints. However, analysis also should be used to indicate the potential penalties arising from them. This will provide information to government decision makers suggesting how worthwhile it might be to try to overcome these constraints. In the short run these may indeed be firm constraints; for the long run, however, changes may be made.

This type of analysis places emphasis on the preparation of quantitative information, but when this information is not available qualitative materials should be included to place the issues in proper perspective.

Programme analysis is not easy. Despite the difficulties, competent and thoughtful programme analysis should be able to provide considerably improved information on the important issues facing government decision makers. Much of the relevant analytical work done thus far in government PPB systems has not resulted directly from very sophisticated, technical analyses, but from penetrating questioning, and the improved perspective obtained from attempts to identify the true costs and benefits of alternatives that are relevant to the fundamental objectives.

Ideally there should be continuing analyses of all major programme problems and issues facing the Ministry. In practice, and certainly during the initial institution of PPB system, a Ministry will need to be quite selective in its choice of issues for analyses.

Performance Measurement and Evaluation

The third stage in the introduction of PPBS is the incorporation of standards of measurement in the budget. There are different types of measurement—output targets, unit costs, or standard—such as minimum percentage purity of water supply. Performance measurement simplifies control for it enables staff to know what is expected of them. It enables comparison between the operating efficiency of different units and provides a basis for relating requests for extra funds to changes in work-loads or outputs. The seminar, agreed, however, that some activities do not lend themselves to easy measurement of output—diplomacy for example. Concentration on particular targets may conceal other and more complex by-products of one's work. Obsession with output targets can also make the public servant insensitive to effects of his work on the public. Sometimes performance depends not only upon the efforts of a civil servant but upon external forces—weather and technological change for example.

The Limitations of PPBS

One of the Minister-participants cautioned that the change-over from the traditional budget to Programme Budgeting must be based on a philosophy of adaptation and not adoption. This means that the new system should be introduced within the context of the prevailing political, economic and social circumstances of the country concerned. Very often planners plan for economists and not for the people. They tend to forget that what goes into the budget is a highly political question and that priorities are likely to be revised in the light of political pressures. He thought that the solution lies in as many people as possible being involved in the planning process. In his experience planning was being done outside the main stream of politics and politicians were brought in at a later stage. He urged that political parties, local government bodies and other pressure groups should be brought in at the early stages. He appealed for patience and understanding on the part of planners. They should not feel frustrated when politicians appear not to realise that resources are limited. Politicians are also not used to viewing things in the long term but in relation to what is to be achieved next year and sometimes next year is an election year! Planners need not be surprised if politicians fail to share their preoccupation with well integrated plans, evaluation process, structures and instruments. On the other hand the preoccupation of politicians is with results. They want to see the plans "off the ground" and not in files and

endless staff discussions. The evaluation they want is not that of the structure of the civil service but of the work in the field—why a particular road has not been built or why a particular economic crop has failed.

Other difficulties likely to be encountered in the introduction of PPBS are the following:

1. *Resistance to change.* Programme Budgeting requires great adjustments and orientation which many top administrators are reluctant to make either because of their ego or vested interests. Since the technique is a tool for high level decision-making it will not be worthwhile unless the top administrators understand it, want it, and use it.

2. *Inadequacies of data.* Programme Budgeting requires extensive information on costs, planning factors, and evaluation of benefits. This will have a considerable effect on government's data systems. Automatic data processing will be a useful tool for facilitating data handling and analyses. This facility is not yet available in many developing countries.

3. *Personnel requirements.* A major difficulty is the problem of obtaining experienced analytical personnel.

The seminar was informed that even in the United States, where the technique originated, it has been a mixed success. It met with the resistance of the heads of the four Services. It succeeded, however, in the Ministry of Defence because of the backing that President Kennedy gave to the Secretary of Defence, Mr. Macnamara. After its introduction in the Ministry of Defence the officers who were responsible for its success were sent to the Bureau of the Budget. Because of its influence and authority the Bureau tried to introduce it in all departments. They succeeded only in departments where the Under Secretary had worked in the Ministry of Defence or in a completely new department such as Housing and Urban Development. In old-time departments like Agriculture, Labour, Interior, State Department and Justice it did not succeed because of vested interests, resistance to change, and the problem of ego. It did, however, work in some sections of the department of Education, Health and Welfare because someone there understood and was sympathetic to it.

After hearing Uganda's experience of the introduction of PPBS the seminar concluded that the reform should be accompanied by a comprehensive training programme and that too much should not be expected from the system in the early stages. The system could not give definitive answers, but it could provide considerably improved information pertinent to resource allocation and programme selection decisions.

THE USE OF COMPUTERS IN GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

Dr. Sherif, the contributor of the background paper, introduced the subject as part of the modernization of Public Administration systems in developing countries. He argued that with the growing involvement of governments in economic enterprises and their expanding economic management tasks public administrators ought to concern themselves with what they can learn from the management practices of the modern private sector. Whatever may be the shortcomings of the modern private sector in developing countries it has demonstrated the value of its management practices enough to qualify as a role-model in connection with the modernization of management and administrative practices. He therefore urged a shift from the traditional-departmental system of administration to the modern business-like systems.

The shift entails converting the traditional administrator to the scientific method of using high-powered problem-solving tools. The traditional administrator must realise that as the scientific method has demonstrated its superiority in tackling industrial production problems it is also demonstrating its potential in dealing with administrative and management problems. In developed countries modern management techniques have already demonstrated their superiority in military and industrial applications and are making their entry in the public administrations of those countries. Developing countries need not follow the same sequence or experience the same lag. In any case, public administrators in developing countries in making twentieth century decisions need not use eighteenth century management tools. In that respect there is some advantage in being a late-starter. But great as this potential advantage might be the process of transfer of management technology is limited by the level of development on the part of the user.

The present traditional system of administration prevailing in most African countries grew up around the capabilities of a clerical work force supervised by a hierarchy of generalists. It was a system geared to minimise procedural 'errors' rather than to maximize 'results'. The traditional system is becoming increasingly inadequate for the new tasks to be performed, the new problems to be solved and the new targets to be achieved. The traditional administrator has in consequence become a brake rather than a generator of development, yet the problem of effecting the required change remains more baffling than ever.

The traditional reform measures of the last decade had made little impact on the capability of the system to cope with complex problems of economic and social developments and with the growing demand for better results. Such reforms as structural reorganizations, external controls, work simplification, revision of rules,

salary adjustments, emphasis on merit selection and career development, remain tenuously connected with the traditional system, so that they have not resulted in marked outputs or tangible performance results.

Dr. Sherif described the electronic data processing system as one of the techniques of the modern private sector. Others are systems analysis, operational research and behavioural science-based methods. The computer is basically a high-speed adding machine. It is most useful in situations calling for massive memory, repetitive calculations and quick feedback of information. The use of the machine in office work is not different from the use of machines in a factory. The objective is the same—to increase efficiency by reducing both manpower and time required for a given process as well as the possibility of error.

Whether we like it or not the Public Services are entering the computer age. It is an inevitable trend and an aspect of professionalization. As such it is only reasonable that public administrators should ensure that they enter the age properly prepared. Dr. Sherif emphasised that he was not advocating the use of more computers but he was advocating being aware of the new capability of the use of computers. In other words, he was advocating the building up of computer capability.

That did not mean the installation of more computers but it meant building up a capability of using computers even if they would be installed ten years hence. It is easy to install a computer but it takes a long time to develop a capability to use it. Administrators should have a long term perspective plan of the use of computers.This entails an enlightened appreciation of its potential—what it can do, at what cost and what new management skills are required to make it work.

One participant observed that already many African countries have entered the computer age unprepared. He said that there are 32 computers in East Africa, 23 in Kenya, 6 in Tanzania and 3 in Uganda. Some organizations like the East African Airways, the East African Railways and the National Commercial Bank of Kenya have two computers each. Some of these computers are not fully employed and he wondered if African countries were not succumbing to the high-pressure-salesmanship of the manufacturers. The computer is becoming a status symbol and he doubted whether East Africa needs all the computers already installed.

Other participants were even more sceptical. They felt that developing countries in Africa must decide how far they can go with the importation of Western technologies and processes, all of which are a reflection of Western man's attempt to solve his problems and to adapt his mode of life to his social and economic environment. In that respect the computer, like automation, is his answer to mounting labour costs and the requirements for centralized control.

The Western solutions and technologies are being dumped on the African

by interested parties in the same way that some industries have been dumped on him by unscrupulous machine pedlars. Unless he is discriminating and on his guard he will be landed with models and processes which bear no relation to either his problems or his environment. This is not a total rejection of Western technology but it is a rejection of its wholesale adoption without discrimination and adaptation. The problems and environment in developing countries are such that it sounds premature for them to jump into the computer age. Why should countries install computers before they are able to use adding machines and punch cards efficiently? Why should computers precede proficiency in the collection and collation of data and statistics which form part of the soft ware of computers? To install computers under these conditions would mean the importation of a large number of expatriate operators, programmers, analysts and technicians.

The installation of computers at present would not only create a capability or technological imbalance but it would also create economic and social imbalances. If, as suggested by Dr. Sherif, the thinking of top management must be "one step ahead of the hardware potentialities for a balanced capability to be developed", then developing countries have a long way to go before they can close the gap between computer potentiality and their capability to use them. It must, however, be admitted that there are no strong forces compelling the development of such capability. It has yet to be demonstrated that Africa has a widespread need to calculate 10 million times faster than the mechanical calculator, to control operations on a microsecond basis, or for centralized direction and control.

On the economic side not many African countries can afford the high cost of computers particularly with respect to their foreign exchange component. Why should underdeveloped countries with a *per capita* income of less than $100 install computers at a cost of $1,000,000 for the purpose of speedy calculations. Why again should countries with great unemployment install computers to take over the work of clerks? It was reported that in East Africa computers are being used to ascertain the position of trains as well as the contents of wagons. This practice was not different from that of using earth-movers and bull-dozers for road construction in many African countries with great unemployment.

The effects of computerization on clerical and middle-level managers aroused a lively discussion. The pro-computer group argued that in the long run computerization creates jobs instead of taking them away. It creates jobs of a different class—computer engineers, technicians, programmers, analysts—and the savings in overall wage costs could be invested in other labour generating projects. It was also argued that labour consideration was taking a narrow view of computerization. In some businesses a point may be reached when the overall objective of the organization cannot be achieved by the employment of more hands. When a great volume of information has to be processed quickly for purposes of manage-

ment decisions, processing time becomes a major consideration, and a delayed decision may become very costly to the organization. When an organization's processes reach such a state it should be in its overall interests to computerize. This is the situation that has influenced banks and some distribution firms to install computers.

The anti-computer group adduced further arguments about the effects of computerization on middle level managers. They argued that the great need in Africa at the moment is to develop competent middle managers, first line supervisors, accountants, store keepers and inventory controllers. These are the group that are likely to be displaced by computers. Computer skilled professionals are filling middle management jobs, in staff, but not in line relationships to top management. The old relationship between staff and line is being blurred. Computerization is causing top management to absorb former middle management functions in the areas of planning, budgeting and forecasting. Also the function of controlling work procedures and maintaining employee productivity rates is being taken out of the hands of supervisors and foremen by machine-paced programmes. It was therefore suggested that in considering computerization its effects on essential middle level managers should receive adequate consideration.

Another important reason for delaying the use of computers in developing countries is the recent dramatic advances in electronic technology which has resulted in the manufacture of suitcase-sized computers. The low cost and high performance of the mini-computers make them suitable for the solution of single specific problems thus eliminating the costly overhead of operating bigger and general purposes computers. It has been predicted that by 1974 the annual sales of mini-computers would exceed 30,000 units with an annual market of $2 billion. It would therefore be wiser for developing countries to wait for the development of these cheaper and single purpose computers. Furthermore developed countries are now in the 4th generation of computers and delaying their introduction might result in the availability of models suitable for the particular needs of developing countries. This period of delay should be devoted to the acquisition of computer capability. This includes the training of personnel, the removal of the inertia of tradition, fear of being displaced, and creating the necessary organizational structures and environmental orientation.

Reporting his experience of the use of computers in the United States one of the observers said that it would be wrong for the seminar to think that every big corporation in the United States has a computer. They do not even hire one on a monthly basis but they buy computer time. They use them when required and pay just for the time it is used. His former university situated on the West Coast was using a computer 3,000 miles away in the East Coast. The computer had 35 other simultaneous users for completely different purposes. These

included the New York State Police, the University of Georgia, Los Angeles Public School System of Los Angeles County and Los Angeles Police Department. Each of the 35 users had a teletype. A message is typed on the teletype and as it is being typed it is picked up by the computer, which does all the work and in a few seconds the answer comes back. There can be many more than 35 users for a computer provided the users agree on the form of programming. He thought that African countries could cooperate in the use of computers. Based on his experience he did not, for the time being, see the need for more than two computers, one in East and one in West Africa. For a computer to be economical it must be used about 85 per cent of the time. Anything less than that is not worthwhile. Computer time runs between $300–500 dollars an hour as compared with $50,000 monthly for its hire and about $1,000,000 for purchasing one. He realised, however, that his suggestion depended on an efficient telecommunication system which does not appear to exist at present in Africa.

One of the questions raised during the discussion of computer time-sharing was that of security. How could governments ensure the security of their national secrets and sensitive information? A lot of personnel data might be computerized and unless there was some protection the information might be used for purposes other than those consented to by the subject. There was not only the possibility of leakage of information, there was also the risk of losing the data itself.

In the case of private companies the sharing of computer time raised the question of the security of trade secrets. Many industries in developing countries do not take the trouble to patent their proprietary information but prefer to try to keep them from falling into the hands of their competitors. Such information may become available to unauthorised persons either accidentally or deliberately. Accidental disclosure can result from equipment malfunction, human causes such as user procedural errors or the unanticipated operation of a programme. One cannot also eliminate leaks by maintenance engineers, computer operators and system managers who may succumb to bribery or blackmail by outside interests.

At the moment there appears to be no law to protect this threat to the privacy of individuals and firms. Unless there are counter-measures to minimize the occurrence of accidental leakages of computer information to unauthorised parties and to inhibit and detect individuals who deliberately attempt to steal such information the risk of sharing computers remains an important concern.

No consensus emerged from the discussions. If there was it was one of cynicism and caution. There was however a realization that the computer age is with us and that African administrators cannot avoid considering what "they want computers to do for them" as distinct from the salesman's idea of "what computers can do for them". Such consideration or feasibility study should take into account African

economic and social priorities; computer tendency for centralization of decision making as opposed to the growing demands all over Africa for participation; the rapid advance in computer technology and the need for developing competent computer capability to match the advance; and finally the special need of organizations where operations are becoming too complex or where speed in retrieving information is essential for success.

CLOSING SESSION

This session was devoted to the registration of members of the Association and the distribution of copies of the Constitution and Rules. Members were pleased that at last they were able to accomplish their long felt desire for a professional association. They were also pleased that the formation of the Association coincided with a shift from the discussion of general subjects to that of modern management systems. It was agreed that the discussions were only an introduction to the various techniques and that further discussions should be initiated by members in their home countries.

The members agreed to hold the next seminar in Swaziland, the date and theme to be decided by the Executive Committee in consultation with the host government. The following subjects were suggested:

Development of Senior Administrators
Administrative Reform in the Public Services
Politics and Public Administration
Improving the Performance of Public Enterprises
Rural Development

The President asked that the warm thanks of the Association be conveyed to the government of Sierra Leone for its generous hospitality, to the Ford Foundation for its continued financial support, and to the Speaker of the House of Assembly for allowing the use of the chamber and precincts of the House for the meeting and discussions. Tributes were paid to the recorders for the very valuable daily summaries which they had produced and to all the administrative staff who had contributed to the success of the seminar, and especially to Mr. A. M. Jallo, the officer in general charge of the administrative and logistical arrangements. Finally the members paid special tribute to the President of the Association for the able manner in which he had conducted the meetings and discussions.

THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN AFRICA

by

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THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN AFRICA

1. The Evolution of Modern Bureaucracies in Africa

Excluding the pre-colonial days, the evolution of modern bureaucracies in Africa has undergone three phases. During the pre-colonial era, there was hardly any bureaucracy in the modern sense of the word although there was a semblance of what would be regarded as the beginning of a modern civil service consisting of career men. Personal rule by the kings or the traditional rulers was the order of the day. These rulers performed not only political functions but also administrative duties. By and large they were their own mandarins. Indeed, they also performed spiritual functions. Although they did have a few paid officials who assisted them with the nitty gritty of administration and management, the establishment of regular civil services is a colonial development. There are however a few exceptions. Some of the more powerful kingdoms like that of Buganda in Uganda and the Emirates in Northern Nigeria did manage to establish the nucleus of a civil service but like the British Civil Service in pre-Trevelyan and Northcote days, nepotism and corruption were the order of the day.

Modern bureaucracies in Africa could be said to have begun with colonialism. The colonial powers established central civil services in the various African countries which came under their control. They also established local administrations. These were, it is true, the caricature of central and local administrations in the metropolitan countries. Nevertheless they were the beginnings of modern bureaucracies in Africa. The first of the three phases in the development of modern bureaucracies in Africa was the establishment of the major departments, the field administration and the local administration. The well-known system of indirect rule under which the colonial powers governed through the chiefs and traditional rulers as well as the basic administrative infrastructure was established during this phase which lasted from the beginning of colonial rule to the 1940s in West Africa and the 1960s in East Africa.

The second phase was the period of Africanization or localization which began in earnest in the forties in West Africa. Indeed, this period can be described, as far as West Africa is concerned, as one of re-Africanization. For the Africanization process has in itself passed through three phases. In the first, from about 1830 to 1898, Africans and men of African descent were frequently employed in responsible positions. In 1865, a Select Committee of the British Parliament had recommended that the object of British colonial policy "should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the Governments with a view of our

ultimate withdrawal from all".[1] This policy was implemented through the appointment as senior government officials of Africans and/or West Indians of African descent. For example, a Trinidadian, John Carr, became the Chief Justice of Sierra Leone in 1841 and subsequently acted as Governor. Henry Carr of Nigeria became Inspector of Schools in 1892 and later the Resident of the Colony of Lagos.

However, from 1898 onwards, there was a sharp change of policy. Africans increasingly seldom held senior posts. These posts were placed in European hands. Henceforth, no matter how qualified, experienced and competent an African was, he came under the most junior and not-so-well qualified European. This policy continued until the 1940s when a policy of progressive Africanization was introduced.

From the beginning of modern bureaucracy to the 1940s, the civil services in Africa were primarily concerned with the maintenance of law and order and good government. Although social and economic development did take place, this was merely secondary. Government was primarily concerned with law and order and the collection of tax revenue. The third phase which began just before independence in West Africa and immediately after independence in East, Central and Southern Africa was one of development administration. Government began to play an increasing and more pervasive role in the development process. During this period, various Ministries were established and the Departments were integrated with them not only to ensure that responsible and responsive ministerial government consistent with constitutional development did evolve but also to facilitate the emergence of development administration.

During the first phase, the recruitment of the administrators who manned the civil services was hardly based on a merit system nor on the possession of any specialised qualification and/or skill. The colonial administrators who came to Africa were amateurs, pure and simple. In the case of the British officers, they were appointed by the patronage of the Secretary of State for the Colonies rather than by competitive written examinations. They were not necessarily well-educated. If they were, they would certainly have preferred to go to India rather than to Africa. Thus the administrators in British colonial Africa were mostly men of mediocre ability who were generalists and were accordingly quite favourably disposed to "muddling through". As Chamberlain himself confessed when he was the Colonial Secretary, "we take inferior men for West Africa and they are not good enough for other Colonies".[2] And in 1903, Casely Hayford, contrasting the quality of the British officers in West Africa unfavourably with those who entered the Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.) by competition, wrote "Patronage ruled the day in Downing Street".[3]

1. Parliamentary Papers, Vol. V, 1865; p. 412.
2. Colonial Office 885/7, Misc. 123; 28 August, 1899.
3. Casely Hayford, *Gold Coast Native Institutions*, London, 1903, p. 218.

As the countries entered the second and third phases of the development of their civil services, recruitment was increasingly based on merit culminating, in Ghana and Nigeria, in competitive examinations for entry into the administrative class. However, the approach is still generalist in nature. The qualifications required of recruits are simply a good honours university degree in any discipline. In fact, a high proportion of senior administrators in African countries do not even have any university education. This lack of basic professional qualifications for administrators has had serious consequences for the quality of the performance of the officers. In most cases they have continued with the British tradition of "muddling through".

Another colonial legacy inherited by African civil services is the excessive dependence on seniority rather than on merit for promotion. Whatever may be the latent professional qualities of the administrators the fact that seniority has precedence over meritocracy is enough to nip it in the bud. As I once wrote elsewhere, the practice of basing promotion on seniority "has had a devastating effect on morale and efficiency. It has placed a premium on mediocrity and conformity rather than on intellectual brilliance, initiative and resourcefulness. Once an officer has been confirmed in his appointment, no one even bothers to find out how knowledgeable he is . . . before promoting him from one grade to another".[4] Because of lack of professionalism there is nothing in our civil service system which makes it imperative for a higher civil servant to keep abreast of intellectual and professional development in his field.

Another legacy of colonialism is the class structure of the civil services, particularly in Commonwealth Africa with the pre-eminence of the generalist administrators. Such a structure prevents the best deployment and use of individual talent and reduces considerably the ability of the civil services to adapt to new tasks. The hierarchical nature of the civil services also tends to inhibit the development of professionalism by reducing administration to a routine process where papers are passed from the subordinate officers to their superiors who are in turn content to pass orders thereon or forward them to their own superiors. There is thus a dearth of programme and policy initiative at top level.

Unfortunately, the African governments have, during the first decade of independence, been so preoccupied with the challenge posed by Africanization in the face of rapid expansion of the civil services that they have not been able to give much attention to the issue of professionalizing public administration in their respective countries. Yet if their administrations are to be able to deliver the goods in terms of their ability to cope with the developmental task, such professionalization is not

4. Adebayo Adedeji, *Nigerian Administration a Decade after Independence: Problems, Progress and Prospects;* "The Federal and State Civil Services", *Quarterly Journal of Administration,* Vol. V, No. 1; p. 20.

only essential but becomes daily increasingly urgent. Before arguing specifically the case for professionalizing public administration in Africa, let us first ask ourselves what we understand by professionalization and the main characteristics of a profession. And, secondly, let us discuss very briefly the question whether or not public administration is a profession.

II. The Main Features of a Profession

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a profession is defined as "a vocation in which a professed knowledge of some departments of learning or science is used in its application to the affairs of others, or in the practice of an art founded upon it". The Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines it as an "occupation, especially one requiring advanced education and special training (e.g. the law, architecture, medicine, the Church". Both of these definitions accordingly combine four major attributes of a profession. These are vocation, specialized knowledge, application or "art", and advanced education or special training.

In their article, "The Higher Civil Service as a Profession",[5] R. N. Spann and G. R. Curnow identified seven main features of a profession. These are specificity of expertise, higher qualification, self-education, ethical self-sustenance, fiduciary relation, colleague control and recognition.

The first characteristic of a profession is that it has a *specific expertise*, including a specialized body of knowledge over which it claims exclusive jurisdiction. A professional is therefore one who possesses fundamental knowledge of and deep familiarity with the specific expertise that enables him to move with ease among its concepts.

The second characteristic of a profession is *higher qualification*. A lawyer, after graduating in law, goes to the Law School for professional education. An accountant-to-be is articled with a firm of accountants for some years for his apprenticeship. A doctor in training goes through his housemanship. In other words, a profession requires a long period of training to enable the would-be entrant to master the specialized body of knowledge over which it claims exclusive jurisdiction. Thus, entry into professions tends nowadays to be preceded by university or equivalent study, invariably supplemented by a period of apprenticeship or journeyman experience.

The third characteristic, *self-education*, is closely related to the second. This has been defined as "a corporate concern on the part of its members for advancing both the relevant body of knowledge and the techniques of its application".[6] The status

5. Published in the *Quarterly Journal of Administration*, Vol. IV, No. 3; April 1970; pp. 183-191.
6. L. F. Crisp, "Public Administration as a Profession: Some Australian Reflections on Fulton", *Public Administration* (Sydney) XXVIII, 2/3, June-September 1969.

of a profession depends to a large extent on the effectiveness of this process of self-education. There must be "a close link between practitioners and those involved in the more theoretical or research aspects of the discipline . . . a feedback between action and contemplation, between existing practice and new thought, between new practice and old thought . . . . The true professional must continually update his knowledge and re-educate himself by reading professional journals, by attendance at conferences and refresher courses, and by intellectual contact with his colleagues".[7]

Fourthly, a profession must be *normatively or ethically self-sustaining.* "Its members have tended to establish, and try to maintain and develop norms or ethical codes applicable to professional practice. These are taught to new entrants, and hopefully internalized by the latter, so as to become a matter of habit and self-discipline, with external sanctions rarely needed to enforce them."[8]

The fifth characteristic of a profession is a *fiduciary relation,* i.e. a relation of trust with one's client. The client must have complete confidence in the professional as to his professional integrity and his ability to keep secrets and personal confidences. Thus a patient must trust his doctor not only that he will not betray his confidence but also that the medicine he prescribes will cure his ailment.

A high degree of self-government or *colleague control* is the sixth characteristic of a profession. Every profession sets its entry standards, disciplinary rules and code of behaviour which it enforces. A doctor's name is, after due investigation, struck off the medical practitioners' register if he behaves unprofessionally. Admission to the profession is strictly controlled to ensure that only those who qualify are admitted.

Finally, a profession must be so *recognised* by all and one. First, its members must recognise themselves as belonging to a profession. Second, its identity must be recognised by others. Self recognition and public recognition are two pre-requisites of a profession.

These then are the major characteristics of a profession. Any vocation or occupation which does not possess them cannot rightly be called a profession. In other words, a profession pre-supposes the existence of a professional community, a body of knowledge, an ethos, values and standards, an ethical code of conduct and the ability and willingness to uphold standards and discipline recalcitrant or erring members.

III. Public Administration and Professionalism

Given these features is public administration a profession? It is not here intended to enter into the long drawn debate among the academics as to whether or not

7. Spann and Curnow, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

public administration is a discipline. In a volume published in 1968,[9] both Dwight Walso[10] and F. W. Riggs[11] waded into this debate.

There is no doubt that because of its historical development, it has not been easy for public administration to emerge as a universally recognised academic discipline. It was too closely tied to the apron strings of political science and law for this to happen. Even now there are not many academic departments of public administration in universities.

The concept of public administration as an academic non-juridical discipline originated in the universities of the United States during the Twenties and the Thirties. It was hived off from the mother discipline of political science. By the beginning of World War II public administration had emerged as a respectable academic discipline and, indeed, rather precociously, from childhood to adulthood. However, by the end of the War, doubts had begun to set in. There was what Dwight Waldo has described as a crisis of identity and the threat of possible collapse and disintegration. Critics held the view that the claim of public administration to science "was, with respect to substance, premature, and with respect to method, immature or erroneous; that the 'principles' which were the issue of the science were at best summary statements of commonsense; that economy and efficiency as goals or criteria were either too narrowly conceived or were misconceived; that the separation between politics and administration is arbitrary or false and must be abandoned or thought through on new terms".[12]

The effect of this critical attack was to create a crisis of identity for public administration. Both the nature and boundaries of the subject matter and the methods of studying and teaching it became problematical. Although it is now over two decades since the attack was made, the crisis of identity is still not completely resolved. However, it has now been recognised that rather than being a discipline, public administration is a multi-disciplinary study. As Lewis A. Gunn has recently put it, public administration is better pictured as a "roughly defined inner circle where the tips of several disciplinary vectors converge. One vector is the study of Law, narrowing through Constitutional Law to Administrative Law. Another is Government, through Political Institutions to Administrative Institutions. The study of Politics leads to the Policy Process and to Administrators in the Policy Process. Sociology includes the study of Bureaucracy as a system of authority and contributes to modern Organisation Theory as do certain aspects of Social Psychology. Macro-economics contributes Public Finance and studies of Government in the

9. James C. Charlesworth (ed.), *Theory and Practice of Public Administration: Scope, Objectives and Methods* (Philadelphia 1968).
10. "Scope of the Theory of Public Administration".
11. "Professionalism, Political Science and the Scope of Public Administration".
12. Dwight Walso, *ibid.*

Economy; while Micro-economics includes Managerial Economics and much of Decision Theory. In a rather different sense one might add other vectors such as Medicine, Education and Physical Planning, since many of the professions are showing greater interest in their own administration and relation to government, and a few university departments concerned with professional education are beginning to develop specialised courses in these areas."[13] Thus a curriculum in public administration is primarily a curriculum in applied social sciences and a synthesis of the various approaches.

There is no doubt that the debate as to whether or not public administration is an academic discipline will continue for some time to come even though the approach of many universities which provide education and training in this field is multi-disciplinary. In the meantime, a great deal of professionalization of public administration has taken place, particularly in the United States. What then are the merits of professionalization with particular reference to Africa? Are there any demerits or danger signs?

IV. The Case For and Against Professionalization of Public Administration in Africa

To answer these two questions adequately we have to begin by reiterating two sets of characteristics of the African nations which are particularly relevant to our analysis. The economies of African countries are underdeveloped. *Per capita* incomes are very low both in absolute terms and relative to the *per capita* incomes of the more developed countries of North America and Europe; the resources—natural and human—are relatively underdeveloped; the rates of growth of the GNP are not particularly impressive, especially when account is taken of the comparatively high rate of population growth. Yet there is a revolution of rising expectations in these countries with the resultant political and social unrests. The need for rapid economic and social development at a rate at least as high if not higher than the expectations of the people cannot therefore be overemphasised.

The second set of characteristics which is relevant to our analysis relates to the political fragmentation of Africa imposed by the imperial powers during the nineteenth century. One of the consequences of the balkanisation of the continent is that the present national boundaries are artificial. Many pre-colonial warring ethnic groups have been forcibly grouped together in one country.

The sizes of the countries in terms of areas and population vary considerably. The average population of the African countries is 6.0 million while the average area is 271,000 square miles. The corresponding figures for South American and Asian countries are 11.0 million and 528,000 square miles and 43.0 million and 448,000 square miles respectively. Africa is therefore faced with the acute problems

13. Lewis A. Gunn, "Public Administration Teaching in British Universities", *PAC Bulletin*, No. 6, May 1969; pp. 29-43.

of small size, multi-culturalism and multi-lingualism. All these tend to heighten and reinforce the centrifugal forces.

What are the implications of these two sets of characteristics to the issue of professionalizing public administration in Africa? Because of the first set of characteristics there is a growing desire on the part of governments to play an all-pervasive role in the development process—to be the prime movers and the catalytic agents for bringing about rapid social and economic modernisation and transformation. Through their development plans, the annual budgets, and fiscal and monetary policies, many African governments have assumed responsibility for stepping up the rate of capital formation and the magnitude, direction and control of both public and private investments. They participate openly and actively in the directly productive activities.

All these responsibilities of course devolve on the civil servants, particularly on the administrators who advise on policies as well as see to their implementation. The African administrators of today do not merely have to ensure that law and order and good government are maintained. They have to assume full and rapidly growing responsibility for socio-economic development. This calls for new skills, new approaches and new attitudes. In other words, there is need for professionalism in public administration in Africa if these attempts by governments are not to be frustrated. The generalist administrator must give way to the highly specialized and skilled administrator. The administrators who know a little of everything and can only muddle through most public policies will have to be replaced by those who know a great deal of one aspect of administration and management. Breadth must be replaced by depth. The generalist has to give way to the functional specialist.

Yet within the context of the new nation-states of Africa with the centrifugal tendencies—our second set of characteristics—there is danger in the functional expert taking over from the generalist. The danger arises from the fact that the functional expert in the civil services can seriously weaken the integrative function of the generalist. Specialists are by their very nature insular, narrow in their vision as well as their desires. This in turn tends to promote internal strife within the bureaucracy. This insularity and concern with limited interests can blur the administrator's vision of the broader national problems and issues and thereby reduce his capacity to fulfil his vital role as policy adviser. One of the major points in favour of the generalist is his strong intellectual orientation which gives him a breadth of vision and thereby enables him to play a creative and stabilizing role in the socio-economic development of his country. Thus "when a society is rent by all sorts of social and political forces pulling in conflicting disintegrative directions, the administrative generalist may be a vital cement, holding the system together".[14]

14. Joseph La Palombra (ed.), *Bureaucracy and Political Development* (Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 21.

Professionals are problem oriented rather than broad policy oriented and insofar as professionalism requires many years of training and experience in specialised subjects it has an inhibiting effect upon mobility from one occupation to another.

We are therefore faced with a dilemma. Professionalism in public administration is required if African governments are to be able to cope with the problems of rapid socio-economic transformation. This calls for specialisation, for depth rather than breadth whch in turn can lead to narrowness of outlook and professional parochialism which can exacerbate the socio-political disintegrative tendencies. But our dilemma, given a long-term time perspective, is more apparent than real. In the short run the generalist administrator may successfully be a stabilising factor but he is over time likely to become an impediment to progress through his lack of appropriate skills for his job and the conservatism and caution which inevitably creep in with the result that he may in fact through his actions and/or inactions destroy the very nation he is trying to preserve. For unless the governments are able to satisfy the expectations of the people, there will be social disorders and constant revolutions.

Moreover, it is not true that all professions breed insularity and narrowness of mind. There are quite a number which have very strong intellectual education as a base on which they are built. In any case, once a professional administrator becomes a top level executive (e.g. Permanent/Principal Secretary) he will cease to be merely a specialist and become instead a policy maker pure and simple. There is nothing peculiar or unique about this. A doctor who assumes administrative or managerial responsibility ceases to practise his medicine.

Moreover, there is no conclusive empirical evidence to show that African generalist administrators are above the disintegrative tendencies which abound in most African countries. Although there are many individual exceptions, they appear just as ethnic-centred as most other groups. In fact, in a number of cases, they have been known to have exploited the centrifugal forces for their personal aggrandizement. On the other hand, professionalism by encouraging specialization, rationality and objectivity, by being project and problem oriented and by setting professional behaviour can, among other things, strengthen in no small way the centripetal forces which make for national cohesion. But there are at least three basic prerequisites which must be satisfied if the professionalization of public administration is to be achieved in Africa. We shall now discuss these.

V. Prerequisites for the Professionalization of Public Administration in Africa

In my view, the three basic prerequisites for the effective professionalization of public administration in Africa are (i) the institution of administrative reform; (ii) the provision of professional education and training in administration (including a

period of internship and apprenticeship) for all administrators; and, (iii) the legislation of a code of conduct for professional administrators.

The institution of administrative reform is most vital. We had earlier noted some of the major weaknesses in the administrative systems inherited at independence by the African governments. The challenge of independence and the problems it has brought in its trail made it virtually impossible for any administrative reform to be instituted during the sixties. The implementation of the Africanization policy absorbed the energy of many an African government during this period which was also one of rapid expansion of the public services of these countries. Some of the governments have now begun to initiate action for administrative reform. The fear that administration may grind to a halt and the growing feeling in some of the countries that a mood for routine performance and a loss of sense of direction may be gaining ground has forced some governments to begin to think of instituting major administrative reform. And in one or two countries, reforms have actually been instituted. However, such reform measures as have been introduced have not grappled adequately with the major problems confronting African nations in terms of setting up a dynamic, development- and achievement-oriented bureaucracy. This implies that the administrative system, structure and practices must be completely revamped. Entry to the civil services, particularly to administrative positions, must be based on the possession of specific skills and advancement in the services must be on achievement and merit rather than on seniority and mediocrity. Practices which tend to inhibit initiative, rationality, and objectivity in the decision-making process must be done away with. Responsibility must be firmly fixed and the tendency to pass the buck should be discouraged. It is within the framework of such a reformed administrative system that professionalism can be meaningful, take root and indeed prosper.

Given the administrative system that we have outlined above, the next stage is to provide professional education and training in administration that will develop the kind of people that can man the system effectively and efficiently. The designing of a proper professional education and training programme for administrators poses perhaps the greatest challenge facing professionalism in administration. Such a programme must avoid the one-shot-in-the-arm approach that has dominated administrative training in Africa since the sixties. Professional education is a continuous process. In this connection, the first question which comes to mind is what sort of undergraduate educational programme a would-be professional administrator should have? Should it continue to be in any discipline or should there be some attempt at identifying the relevant ones?

My own strong view on this is that only rarely should one who is not a graduate in one of the disciplines in the social sciences be admitted to the profession. Just as

a would-be lawyer should ordinarily have a degree in law as a prerequisite for professional education, so should a would-be administrator have a proper grounding in the social sciences. Given such a broad-based undergraduate educational programme, the danger of the professional administrator becoming insular in outlook will be considerably minimised.

Given this basic educational background, the professionalization of an administrator should take between four and five years. Immediately after completing his undergraduate studies, he should be given a two-year intensive postgraduate professional education and training. This should be followed by a period of internship or apprenticeship lasting one or two years. Thereafter, he should go for another intensive course lasting from one calendar year to fifteen months, specialising in one aspect of administration or the other. This brings the period of his post-graduate professional training to between four and five years.

The content of the syllabuses for both courses is another critical issue. On the assumption that all would-be professional administrators will be graduates in a broad-based social sciences degree or in one of its disciplines or the other (i.e. Economics, Political Science or Sociology) curriculum development will be relatively easy. The pre-service two-year professional postgraduate programme should build on the undergraduate work. It should consist primarily of in-depth education in various areas of public administration and management. It should be a combination of both theory and practice. Indeed a proper marriage between theory and practice is a *sine qua non* of professional education. It is most essential if a fruitful tension is to be created which will elevate the practical and chasten the theoretical mind.

The first course (i.e. the two postgraduate course) should be followed by a period of internship which should last at least eighteen months and preferably two years. The internee should spend the first half of his attachment in a government ministry or department and the second half in a private firm or parastatal body. It is most essential that he should be exposed to at least two of the three sectors—governments, parastatal bodies and private firms.

This should be followed by an advanced and specialised professional education which, as already suggested, should last for at least one calendar year. During this period each trainee will specialise in one or the other of the areas of public administration and management—e.g. personnel management, planning, financial management and budgeting, etc.

On the successful completion of this course, a degree of Master of Public Administration (M.P.A.) should be awarded. The individual should also be registered as a professional administrator/manager by a legally recognised National Society for Public Administration (NSPA) which should make him a Fellow of the

Society (FNSPA). His M.P.A. degree and his fellowship will be his passport to professionalism.

Those of you who may have read the paper[15] which I presented at the *International Conference on Trends in University Teaching and Research in Public Administration in Africa* sponsored by and held at my Institute in February 1970 will observe one significant difference between the model I have just presented and the one which I put forward then. The difference lies in the length of time it would take before a trainee becomes a fully-fledged professional. In my earlier model, it is between six and eight years whereas in this one it is between four to five years. The difference arises principally from the duration of the internship. I had earlier suggested that the trainee should put in three to five years' service after his two-year postgraduate course before the one-year specialised course. In the light of the criticism that it will take a man too long a time before he becomes a professional—much longer than it takes in the other professions, I am suggesting a reduction in the internship period provided that the internship will be as intensive as possible.

Given the type of professional education that I have just described, public administration will satisfy the first two of the characteristics of a profession discussed earlier in this Paper—the possession of specific expertise and higher qualification. There is no doubt that the third characteristic—self-education—will in the circumstances be easily acquired by the members and given the administrative reform that we have advocated, the administrative system will also compel members of the profession to ensure their continuing education. It will also be the responsibility of the respective NSPA to ensure the continued and continuing education of their Fellows.

It is with the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh characteristics that I now wish to deal. I have suggested that upon the successful completion of his course the administrator should be awarded his M.P.A. degree by his university and that he should also be enrolled as a fellow (FNSPA) by his country's National Society for Public Administration. These qualifications must be recognised by the laws of the country. So also must be the Society which, like other professional organisations, should be given the power to register its members and to discipline them. The law should lay down a code of conduct which will be the responsibility of the Society to maintain and develop. It will further be its responsibility to ensure that these norms are taught to new entrants and internalised by them so as to become a matter of habit and self-discipline, with external sanctions rarely needed to enforce them.

In the maiden issue[16] of the *Quarterly Journal of Administration* (formerly *Administration)* published by my Institute, we suggested the attached Code of

15. "The Rationale and Scope of Graduate Programmes in Public Administration in Africa".
16. Vol. 1, No. 1, October 1966.

Ethics for the alumni of the Institute and other public servants. In an editorial comment recommending the Code we argued *inter alia* that "it has long been a mark of the true professional that he dedicates himself to uphold a high standard of ethics. The lawyer, the doctor and other professionals subscribe to a code of ethics in their respective professions. Their public expects they will choose to observe without coercion or legal imposition a code of behaviour that puts the need of their fellow man paramount. It is our firm belief that the professional public administrator must accept standards which are no less stringent than those of other respectable professions—impartiality, dedication to service, and probity. A code of ethics for administrators, voluntarily accepted and adhered to, is therefore most essential".[17]

VI. Conclusion

We have argued for the professionalization of public administration in Africa. We have also identified what needs to be done before this objective can be achieved. It will be wrong and misleading to suggest or give the impression that this can happen easily, painlessly and quickly.

The road to professionalism is paved with all sorts of difficulties. There are many vested interests whose short-term interest it is to maintain the *status quo*. The older generation of civil servants, a great number of whom are poorly educated, belong to this group. They resist and resent any suggestion for fundamental changes in the administrative system which is likely to threaten their leadership position or expose their professional weaknesses. And yet this group of people are holding some of the highest offices in the public service of their countries.

There is also the problem of inertia. Many senior civil servants whom one would have expected to support the professionalization of public administration are unwilling to be disturbed by what to them are no more than new fangled ideas. Through a mixture of conservatism and cynicism, they have turned deaf ears to any suggestion for change. This is where professional associations in public administration have initially a most important promotional role to play in educating the upper echelons of the civil services in Africa about the need to professionalize. The proposed African Association for Public Administration and Management (AAPAM) has a unique even if herculean task to perform. Most African countries do not have national associations for public administration and/or management. Where they do exist they are hardly more than paper organisations. It is to be hoped that AAPAM will give this task its first and most immediate attention.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

CODE OF ETHICS

I hereby solemnly and voluntarily undertake to uphold the following code of ethics:

In the service of my government or my corporation I will:

Put loyalty to the highest moral principles above loyalty to persons, party or government department.

Give a full day's labour for a full day's pay, giving to the performance of my duties my most earnest effort and best thought.

Ever seek to find and employ more efficient and economical ways of getting tasks accomplished.

Never discriminate by the dispensing of special favours or privileges to anyone, whether for remuneration or not, and never accept, for myself or my family, favours or benefits under circumstances which might be construed by reasonable persons as influencing the performance of my official duties.

Make no private promises of any kind binding upon duties of office, since an employee or official of the government or its agencies has no private word which can be binding on public duty.

Engage in no business with the government, either directly or indirectly, which is prohibited by law or which is inconsistent with the conscientious performance of my official duties.

Never use for private gain, or disclose to unauthorized persons any information coming to me confidentially in the performance of my official duties.

Expose corruption wherever discovered.

Uphold these principles, ever conscious that a public office is a public trust, service to my fellow man is a profession of the highest order and therefore I must render it impartially to all.

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THE CASE FOR PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION*

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* A word of explanation is due on the presentation adopted in this paper. The interpretation of the topic by the writer is probably somewhat different from what may have been intended by the organisers of the Seminar. The writer came to the conclusion that an attempt to argue for professionalization of public administration would have been superfluous since public administration is, and has always been, a professionalized activity. Consequently, he has preferred to present his paper in the form of raising issues intended to provoke discussion of the traditional concept of professionalization as applied to the public service, in the context of changing circumstances, with a view to showing the need for re-thinking and working out new concepts or interpretations of the various aspects of professionalization of public administration.

THE CASE FOR PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

This paper is written in the context of contemporary independent African countries which have inherited a public service structured in the Western European tradition and involving, among other things, the separation of public from business administration, and the general insulation of the greater part of the public service from political life. These countries now find themselves in a process in which inherited western traditions and practices are being increasingly called into question, but in connexion with which there has been very little thinking or rethinking of the inherited concepts and manner of operation of the public service. In fact, there has been very little time and energy for anything beyond taking over and operating the public service on an ongoing basis.

Consequently, the issue of professionalization of the public service is but one of the aspects and problems facing African public administration—although a very important one. It is very important because of the wide-ranging issues which it raises.

I. Traditional Concept of Professionalization in Public Administration

The term "professionalization" applied to public administration conjures up a series of connotations among which the following are outstanding:

(a) a service structure established in the best traditions of analysis and systematic study of objectives and functions, and devising of the machinery that should accomplish the desired objectives and functions;

(b) service based on special training and competence which are harnessed through highly selective methods;

(c) development and adherence to an "administrative ethic" commonly referred to as "political neutrality" which enjoins the public servant to give even-handed treatment to all client-Governments over time, and is enshrined or elaborated in a public service code regulating behaviour, contacts with the public, etc.[1]

(d) a highly developed sense of mission in "serving the state through the Government of the day" and thus implying, as well as resulting in, unquestioned loyalty to the "operation" of the administrative and executive machinery and its various forms of action and procedures—what may,

1. Associated with the tradition of political neutrality is that of non-intervention in economic life owing to the rigid separation of public from private (business) sector. The State thus fulfils a purely regulatory role.

not improperly, be called the "six hundred mentality" made famous in Tennyson's poem about the British involvement in the Crimean War, "The Charge of the Light Brigade;"[2]

(e) existence of opportunities for normal advancement through the ranks of the public service.

These connotations are not new to public administration, certainly not even in African countries. What may be new is that they are only now beginning to be examined seriously in many African countries, which had generally taken them for granted without much previous thought about their implications and requirements, especially as the problems that come with change increase.

A thorough-going analysis would reveal that the further implications and requirements would include the following:

(f) specific organizational arrangements for career development and advancement;

(g) determination of specific pay scales, conditions of increment and promotion, and establishment of special machinery for negotiation of pay and terms of service;

(h) establishment of professional (occupational) associations of public administrators;

(i) establishment of a research arm of study and analysis of organisation, operations and problems of public administration with a view to proposing solutions; and as a result

(j) preparation and issue of manuals about organisation and operation of the public administration as a whole, its ministries, departments, boards and parastatals.

What emerges out of all this is the basic conception of the public administration as something set apart in a class of its own, not necessarily in the sense of a social class (although this, very often becomes a natural extension of the idea) but in the sense of a specialized group of workers based on the principle of division of labour as in the case of doctors, firemen, policemen, engineers, accountants, to name a few.

The question then which arises is whether, in the light of the various problems which beset African public administrations today, the public administration should continue to be treated as a professional activity. There does not seem to be much argument about this. Many governments would agree that the public adminis-

2. This poem celebrates bureaucratic obedience in its purest form, and it does not matter that the case in question is one of warfare since the army and the public (civil) service are generally organised and run on the same lines.

tration is a professional organization and should be allowed to remain so. The questions which are often raised concern how many of the traditional attributes of professionalism should be retained in the varying circumstances in which the public administration is called to perform. These are the questions on which this paper will now focus the reader's attention. The aim in each will be to examine how well the case for professionalization holds up under each changing circumstance.

II. Division between Private and Public Spheres

One of the first traditional attributes to be challenged in recent times in some African countries[3] is the separation between private and public in the economic sphere with the result that in the sphere of administration a similar challenge has arisen. The elimination of the demarcation between public and private in these countries through the extension of the development activities of government, has resulted in a broadening of the concept of public administration to cover what was formerly public as well as what was private. In such circumstances it becomes possible for staff to move between the formerly public and private sectors. In ideal conditions this should enrich both sectors through interchange of experiences and staff and the comparison of methods of operation. It should also promote efforts towards a unified science of administration comprising what were formerly public and private sectors.

From the viewpoint of administrative theory and practice the extension of the public sector to include the formerly private sector thus has two outstanding advantages. Firstly, it confirms that the "tradition" of regulation of the economy is contingent on whether or not the State accepts the responsibility of economic development; it is, therefore, not an "independent" truth. Secondly, it provides an opportunity for the growth of administrative science and practice.

It is quite another matter whether the State can adequately shoulder the full responsibilities of pace-making and overall development of the economy. That it may not be able to do so is an argument against overextension and straining of the administrative capabilities of the State, rather than a negation of the advantages to administrative theory and practice of the merging of formerly private and public sectors.

Where the sectors remain separate it is, admittedly, difficult to practice an interchange of staff because the responsibility of the individual is different in the different sectors. Obligations relating to secrecy and confidentiality enforced by the weight of the authority of the State are much stricter in the public sector than in the private sector where sanctions have less weight. This factor, however, should

3. E.g., U.A.R., Guinea, Tanzania.

not prevent an effort being made to assimilate administrative theory and practice in the two sectors.

It is only in recent years that the development of a unified theory of administration has been seriously undertaken in academic circles. It is slowly getting around to civil service training centres and institutes of administration in Africa. Even more important are the implications for professional training and recruitment of administrators, a point which will be taken up later. One thing is clear, however; the growth of State activities in the economic sphere has increased the need for professionalization of public administration rather than reduced it.

III. Political Neutrality versus Loyalty

The tradition of loyalty to the organization (public administration) and political neutrality *vis-à-vis* the government of the day has, until now, been regarded almost as a cardinal principle or truth of administrative theory and practice. The novel conditions in which governments in Africa, and the developing world in general, find themselves today have tended to underline the relative nature of this tradition as well as raised questions about its validity. It is all a function of the degree of change. In this respect there are two dangers which beset the civil servant, and most certainly the higher civil servant, in his career: (a) under-reacting to significant change and (b) the assault on the tradition of political neutrality to which he may have been accustomed. The first danger, under-reacting to change, is the normal consequence of "occupational inertia", that is, a negative reaction or resistance to "perceptible" change.[4] This is true of all bureaucratic organizations (i.e. organizations structured according to hierarchy and established rules, regulations and procedures) not just the public administration alone. Indeed, it is a fundamental fact of bureaucratic life that any organization tends to seek its own internal (as well as external or environmental) equilibrium: when the dust has settled—once, that is, the initial momentum has been given in the form of policy measures clearly spelled out, and routine has been adjusted to the new policy measures, the organization, through its functionnaires tends to run on its own and adjusts easily to small imperceptible changes. This is desirable for continuity as well as internal stability—nothing inherently bad about this. Difficulties arise, however, when the change intended cannot be localized but must affect the entire bureaucratic machinery at all levels from the top downwards.

Such perceptible change was experienced when, for example, the Labour Party acceded to power in Great Britain in 1945. Its policy of socialization represented

4. "Perceptible" change may be defined here as change which does not spend itself until every part of the entire bureaucratic machinery of a Ministry has been affected by it; as distinct from "imperceptible" change which is limited to minor adjustments in the machinery which spend themselves after affecting only a few parts in the machinery, leaving the greater part of it unaffected.

such a drastic departure from previous policies, and notably those of its Conservative predecessors, that it required a shakeup of the entire civil service. Quite inevitably, built-in resistances automatically appeared, which became the signal for changes in the high-level personnel of the permanent civil service.

The problem here is how to accommodate large changes within the framework of political neutrality when bureaucracy tends to resist change through "occupational inertia". The civil servant then runs the danger of being accused of "taking sides" with the policies of the previous administration and sabotaging the policies of the new. He is regarded as violating the canon of political neutrality.

The second danger facing the civil servant is of the opposite kind: the assault on organizational loyalty in an attempt by the Government of the day to convert it into party loyalty. This danger is apt to arise when change is imperceptible, and is often the case when political parties or alternatives do not differ significantly from each other. Pressures then build up for converting the State into a one-party state, effectively or formally, and to require that civil servants show open loyalty to, and identification with, the ruling party.

This phenomenon by which loyalty to the administrative machinery becomes transformed into party loyalty can be observed in several contemporary African States and is one that needs close study. It is closely related to another phenomenon which is treated in the next section.

IV. Politicizing of Organizations—Organizational Arteriosclerosis

From demanding or expecting an open show of loyalty by the public servant it is but a short step to actively politicizing administrative posts—not the posts which are normally regarded as highly politically sensitive, and therefore accepted as political appointments, but the technical posts which are normally regarded as beyond politics and requiring expertise and competence.

This is an entirely modern phenomenon[5] the explanation for which is somewhat complex. It is to some extent, but not entirely, compounded of (a) pressures in developing countries for employment opportunities which cannot be provided in the economic sector and, therefore, have to be provided by expansion of government employment chiefly in the civil service, the armed forces and police, and in politics; (b) the emergence of international technical assistance as a permanent rather than, as originally intended, temporary phenomenon and source of supply of technical expertise.

What tends to happen is that:

(i) technical posts are filled with non-technical political appointees;

5. The phenomenon is not limited to national civil administrations but is found also in international civil services.

(ii) these appointees are then supported by technical consultants who do the work that belongs to the technical posts, so that

(iii) two people are employed instead of one, to do a given job which, therefore, costs twice as much to perform, one of the job holders fulfilling the function of merely keeping the political bosses happy.

There thus emerge in reality two parallel organizations: the primary organization which has become arteriosclerotic through politics and cannot function in the technical sense originally intended; the secondary corps of short-term technical consultants and workers who soon assume a permanent role but with changing personnel.

What this means, in fact, is that the level of political posts is increasingly extending from the top jobs, to which it has traditionally been confined, and reaching down into lower levels of the organization. This is the process referred to here as organizational arteriosclerosis.

The class of problems treated in this and the preceding section are cited because they give new meaning and urgency to the case for a professional approach to public administration and to administration in general. They are problems which are confined to administrative bodies—or organizations—in general and, therefore, deserve systematic observation and study. A stronger case could hardly be made for the establishment and financing of research into such organizational problems within the framework of modern organization theory. They are problems which cannot be handled by classical organization theory or within the framework of inherited administrative theory and practice.

V. The (non) Political and (non) Business Activities of Public Servants

In the western concept of public administration the public servant (or administrator) is an animal that eschews direct involvement in politics—he is faceless and anonymous, and cannot engage in political campaigns or stand for election. This is another element of theory which has not stood up well under assault by the new conditions and problems faced by African countries.

It is often pointed out that in such countries, the best talents are limited and found only in the public service; hence other sectors would be deprived of their services unless the rules were changed to permit public servants to engage in business or in political activity. For a long time this argument has been resisted—until recently.

In some countries, even before political independence, the rule that public servants should not engage in business was winked at in the face of devices whereby the public servant could do so by putting the business in the name of wife,

children or other relatives. This was certainly the case in anglophone West African countries, but particularly in Nigeria, the largest and most booming of all. Consequently there were many wealthy civil servants whose wealth could not otherwise be explained by their civil service salaries.

During the first flush of the independence era the traditional rules that Ministers of Government also should not engage in business activities were openly flouted and it was generally the case that Ministers of Finance and of Commerce and Industry, in particular, openly used their positions to amass wealth and more wealth.

As already indicated, the non-political bias of public servants has also been openly flouted through pressures from ruling parties, especially so in one-party States. But this has always stopped short of encouraging civil servants to stand for national (as opposed to local) elections without resigning. Thus top civil servants would not lightly resign their jobs to contest national elections unless they were assured in advance of ruling party support. There are indications that all this is now about to change. Recently in mainland Tanzania, the Central Committee of the ruling Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) has resolved to dispense with the law which forbids civil servants to contest national elections without first resigning their civil service posts. The resolution seeks to allow civil servants to contest parliamentary elections while holding on to their posts.[6]

The East African Community at the meeting of the Finance Council held at the beginning of the year 1971 at Mombasa, Kenya, has now adopted the practice of voluntary retirement of its civil servants at age 45, in order to allow those so inclined to offer their talents in the business world while there is still much life and energy to their credit. This was regarded, among other things, as a special measure of assistance to the business world and particularly to African enterprise.

Thus, in the field of business and politics the traditional canons are changing and new rules are being established. These new developments deserve close study and attention and are bound to influence the future development of administrative theory and practice in Africa.

VI. Administrator and Clientele—Public Relations

The traditional code of behaviour of the civil servant specifies certain ground rules to be observed in his contact with the public—e.g. fair and firm dealing with members of the public, integrity, loyalty and support of the government's

6. *The Standard*, Tanzania, Saturday June 5, 1971, p. 5: "Nuta (National Union of Tanganyika Workers) hails Tanu ruling on civil servants." However, although it is the case that most civil servants are members of Tanu, the President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, has in the same month made it clear that membership of the ruling party should not be regarded as a condition for Government employment.

policy, etc. Thus the public relations aspect of his contact with the public is paramount—it is an antiseptic relationship in which he projects the view of his client, the Government as represented by the Ministers. Since the role of the civil servant is always to present the best face on every government matter or policy, regardless of its content, his faceless anonymity becomes an asset here.

This is all according to tradition. The political nature of government dictates a given pattern of roles. Government, like politics, is the art of the possible, or the art of compromise. The possible is invariably arrived at through compromise—the compromise or reconciliation of many variables. In this task the statesman leads the government and his people. The politician keeps his ear to the ground and follows the people, trying to harmonize what the people want with what the statesman leader, through the government, wants. The politician is thus the political broker.

The civil servant, principally the administrative, technical and scientific personnel are allocated the role of advising the Ministers on policy—stating the clear, objective facts, and leaving the decision to the political head of his ministry who will have to reconcile the various aspects and claims. The decision will then be sold to the people through their political representatives and in turn be carried out and defended by the civil servant.

This client relationship between civil servant and government may actually be changing in countries where the role of the party and the party executive is increasingly coming to be concerned, not merely with broad issues of policy, but in actually defining policy details. The civil servant may then be losing his role to the Party Executive (which, in such cases, is fast becoming an integral part of the government) and fulfilling increasingly the role of justifying, presenting, executing and defending the policy already determined by Party Executive and Government.

Here arises a curious situation: in terms of decision-making the civil servant becomes increasingly ineffective or passive, but increasingly actively involved in justifying and presenting—he is coming more and more to behave like a politician. This is not surprising in view of the other related developments mentioned above, chiefly the inclination towards permitting civil servants to keep their jobs while contesting parliamentary elections. Nevertheless, it is a new development deserving careful study and analysis.

VII. The Structure of Civil Service Rewards

In the inherited tradition the civil administrator is the mover of the entire machinery and thus has a highly respected place. The technical and scientific personnel are parts of the machinery, although very special parts whose remuneration is equal, sometimes superior, to that of the administrators. The parliament, or law-making body, does not rate as high as the senior civil servants in remuneration

and the topmost class of civil servants occasionally enjoys a remuneration far superior to that of their political heads or Ministers. This, at least, is the British tradition.

In anglophone Africa, this tradition was not adopted entirely, at least so far as technical skills went. Scientists and technicians have been consistently downgraded in pay everywhere in African civil services *vis-à-vis* the administrators, a factor which carries adverse consequences for the development efforts being mounted. Indeed, it may not be an exaggeration to say that this factor may be at the bottom of the slow development of the African continent. Science and technology are at a discount.

Nor is this all. Almost everywhere in Africa, the political heads, the Ministers, are the highest paid in the governmental structure—exception being made in the case of outside contractual services which are not rendered within the regular civil service structure. This also is a new phenomenon in Africa which constitutes a departure from the known tradition.

VIII. The Case for Professionalization

The objective of the discussion in the preceding sections is not so much to argue the case for professionalization, pure and simple,[7] but to show that the very content of the concept of professionalization is changing in the newly independent countries of Africa and should be re-examined. It is necessary, therefore, in the first place to make a serious continent-wide effort to establish professional organization(s) devoted to scientific examination of developments in African administration (including public administration) as these are bound to affect, eventually, the theory and practice of administration in Africa.

Existing African bodies concerned with administration are, regrettably, preoccupied with perpetuating the old traditional concepts of administration rather than examining closely, and interpreting, what is actually happening in civil services and other types of administration in Africa. This is particularly true of training in administration to which attention will now be given as well as to a few other matters.

(a) *Training*

In the light of the various issues which have been raised in the body of this paper it seems desirable that training programmes in administration should be reviewed,

7. It seems to the writer superfluous to plead for professionalization in view of the existing facts, and particularly because professionalization is an inevitable concomitant of specialization or division of labour.

in order to give candidates the type of preparation which will fit them professionally for their jobs as well as reflect the realities around them.

Training handbooks and manuals describing the tasks of public administration, including the objectives and functions of each ministry or department are sadly lacking in the existing training programmes. Consequently, less is achieved than would be desirable from the probationary period of officers. They are usually left to fend for themselves with little guidance and specific orientation from senior officers.

As to the substantive parts of administration, more attention ought to be given to organization theory and practice, especially to such topics as: the nature of organizations, their goals, structure and operations; the intended and unintended consequences of organizations; internal and external equilibrium of organizations; the role of the administrator and of the technical and scientific expert; the process and technology of decision-making; the system of rewards within the organization; the role of formal and informal groups, etc.

This short list of contents of a desirable administrative training course is not intended to be exhaustive but indicative. Even so, it is a far cry from what normally passes for administrative training at the present time in civil service training colleges, or institutes of administration in African countries. The emphasis in most such courses turns on legal and constitutional matters which, for all practical purposes, are irrelevant to the type and functioning of organizations as distinct from the legal sources of their origin, functions and powers.

(b) *Research and Experimentation in Organization Planning*

Given a modern orientation to the content of training as indicated in the preceding sub-section on training, it should become possible for useful research and experimentation to be conducted into the structure and establishment of organizations or administrative bodies within the public service.

It is a generally known fact that in most countries, African and other, institutions within the public service are blue-printed by constitutional lawyers and legal officers of the attorney-general's office and established accordingly. Lawyers are, by their training, less suited to the tasks of organization planning and building since nothing in their training gives them any insight into the nature, functioning and consequences of institutional organisms. Consequently, it is usually very hard to predict how any given organism established by the lawyers would turn out, unless one has had some training in modern organization theory and practice.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the history of institution building in the public domain, in most African countries, has been fraught with disastrous con-

sequences. An excellent example is the prescription for, and establishment of, ministries and departments in African countries at independence. The pattern of allocation of functions among ministries, not infrequently, is self-frustrating and in some cases inhibits effective action. This is because the constitutional lawyers ignored, or were unaware of, the organic relationships within and between organizations, since by training they are only concerned with purely legalistic relationships.

It should be a part of the functions of administrative training institutes to provide for, and carry out, research and experimentation into organization building and provide advice to government on the setting up of institutions such as marketing boards, construction firms and other parastatal organizations. This work should not be left to the law officers. Such research could be a useful sequel to the training of cadets as well as a part of the in-service training of more senior officers.

(c) *Seminars and Symposia*

There is a clear need for some of the problems and issues arising from changing conditions—problems such as those that have been raised in this paper—to be discussed at seminars and symposia organized at various levels: for Ministers, senior officials and for middle level and junior officials. The value of such seminars consists in clarifying issues and problems, as an aid to devising suitable measures to deal with them.

Whether such seminars and symposia should be organized by administrative training and research institutes or by more general professional bodies of civil servants or by the universities is a matter of detail which need not detain us here. The important thing is that it should be possible to discuss such difficult issues as the role of the civil servant in regard to political parties and political campaigns, business and commercial interests and activities of civil servants, the role of the Party in the decision-making process of government, etc. Certainly such issues, as events have shown, are far from being settled, as might have been thought, and outside opinions and expertise (i.e. of people not in the civil service) should be sought in organizing and conducting the seminars and symposia.

(d) *Streamlining of Civil Service Structure, Recruitment Policies and Systems of Remuneration*

At the present time, in most countries, a permanent civil service commission exists for the purposes of recruitment into and advancement within, the service with a view to preserving the best traditions of competitiveness, impartiality and isolation of political influences in the recruitment process. The question of pay, however, is often tackled on an *ad hoc* basis by appointment of commissions from time to time, with mixed results more often than not. Very few, if any, countries in Africa

have got to the point of examining, much less restructuring, their civil services and revising, in consequence, their general orders and instructions.

It hardly needs to be stressed that a professional approach to such matters requires that they be kept under continuous review. It should be the function of the Personnel Department of the public service to formulate and implement the guidelines relating to the structure of salaries between types of employment within the service, and to continually review and relate these to the structure of salaries in the rest of the economy. This is as important a task as that of supervising career development and promotion of officers. In fact, both types of tasks go together. The *ad hoc* approach is hardly satisfactory, achieving little more than stirring up periodic controversies within the service and much dissatisfaction over the relationships between different pay scales.

Similarly, a permanent body should be set up to keep under review the organization and structure of the civil service and parastatal organs. Such a body should serve in a consultative capacity on questions such as the justification and need for new organisms to carry out new or existing functions or, alternatively, for new functions to be allocated to existing organs. It should also be a part of its function to advise whether or not some existing organs should be continued or discontinued, and their functions terminated or distributed among other existing organs. Implicity this same body would advise on the co-ordination of government activities.

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In bringing this brief paper to a close its basic purpose should be recalled. This has been not so much to state the case for professionalization of public administration (this has been assumed for the reasons given) as to show the need for (a) a re-examination of the traditional concept of professionalization, as applied to public administration, by raising issues which challenge that concept, and (b) resolving the issue of professionalization along fresh lines in the light of new developments.

PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

by

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PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Introduction

Experience has taught many right thinking people that, in an approach to a specially difficult problem, the simple and logical method often pays richer dividends in the end than the complicated. It is most essential to stress the logical approach as opposed to the emotional approach.

In developing countries, the tendency among civil servants is to cling to the familiar methods even though they may be absolutely outmoded, because of the traditional suspicion of ideas and methods that have not been tried and which are unfamiliar. Though this attitude of mind may be understandable, yet, one would venture to suggest that it is not always desirable. Rather, it is an indisputable fact that what the developing countries need most of all at this time is accelerated development along sound and scientific lines. To achieve this, it would seem to be of primary importance to take stock of the past by means of careful analysis of successes and failures, and then devise methods which will make it easier to attain the desired goal.

For a start, it is necessary to review the entire function of Government, especially as this enquiry will eventually determine the concept of the work of the Civil Service in so far as it affects these functions.

In a democratic setting, provision is made for various constitutions, and, the will of the people is determined in various ways by free elections. This implies that each political party will present its intended programme of good Government in the interest of the population, and thereafter the people will be given the choice of deciding, by means of the ballot box, by what programme they wish to be governed. Whichever party is returned to power is therefore obliged, by means of its policies, and in fulfilment of its election pledges, to take cognisance of the wishes of the people. Unforeseen circumstances and situations may arise in which the governing body will have to make sudden decisions in the context where the wishes of the people are not always practicable in application. In this respect it is the duty of Government to shoulder the responsibility of explaining to its electorate the impracticability of the implementation of their wishes by the judicious use of such media at their disposal. Once a decision has been taken, the Civil Service, which is an important executive arm of Government is responsible for the faithful implementation of Government policy. At this stage we have a situation succintly summarised by one of the great English Poets—"to live by law, acting the law we live by without fear".

The Civil Service

In essence, therefore, the role of Government is a role of management in its widest concept. While it remains the function of Government to make laws and to see that they are enforced, to determine the priorities in the interest of the nation and constantly to review their policies where changing situations suggest this to be practicable, it is the indisputable role of the Civil Service to implement such policies as may be determined. The Civil Service of any country must be prepared to offer constructive advice prior to the implementation stage; but once the Government has arrived at its decision then the wheels of the Civil Service machinery must be geared to action.

Professionalization of the Public Administration

Before proceeding further, it seems that both *Professionalization* and *Public Administration* should be roughly defined in the interest of clarity. If we allow ourselves to be guided by one of the various definitions of the word 'Professional' as it appears in the Concise Oxford Dictionary, it is defined as 'mark or qualities of a profession' and the verb 'to profess' is defined as 'representing oneself to be an expert on a subject'. In this sense Professionalization clearly indicates a situation in which an officer trains himself or herself to be an expert in a business or occupation and is so considered.

Public Administration

Public Administration would seem to be less difficult in concept and in definition. In other words, Public Administration, in so far as it relates to the fulfilment of the decrees of Government, requires Professionalization or in other words an expert knowledge of the business to be considered.

It is impossible to improve on Lord Fulton's concept of British Public Administration and Professionalism and so below is culled extracts from his Report which clearly indicate some of the tasks which a modern Civil Service is called upon to perform:—

"Operating policies embodied in existing legislation and implementing policy decisions take up most of the time of most civil servants. There are taxes to be collected, employment and social security offices to be run. There is a mass of individual casework both in local offices and in the central departments of state. New policy may require the creation of a new administrative framework. There are major programmes to be managed and controlled, such as the planning and engineering of motorways from their initial location and design to the finished construction; the design of Polaris installations and other military works; the management of international programmes like Concorde; the vast range of scientific

research and development and of government procurement; the central responsibility for the nationalised industries and for the state of the economy.

Some of the work involves the Civil Service in complex relationship with other bodies which are partners in the execution of government policy or are directly affected by it. They include local authorities and nationalised industries in the first category and a multitude of organised interests in the second. This work calls for practical judgement and negotiating skill. It also calls for a thorough knowledge of the subject under negotiation and of the problems and interests of the bodies concerned. In the economic field, for example, many civil servants need a knowledge of industry and an understanding of market forces.

Technical progress has a major impact on both the making and the implementation of policy, whether the tasks are traditional or new to government. Computers are a good example of this; they offer prospects of sophisticated administration hitherto impossible by permitting much more comprehensive approaches to problems and the use of more, and vastly more complex, data. This trend greatly enhances the importance of numeracy. Skill in the use of numbers is needed in addition to the qualities of judgement and foresight.

Even this brief and impressionistic description is perhaps enough to make it clear that, as a body, civil servants today have to be equipped to tackle the political, scientific, social, economic and technical problems of our time. They have to be aware of interests and opinions throughout the country and of many developments abroad. They have to keep up with the rapid growth of new knowledge and acquire new techniques to apply it. In short the Civil Service is no place for the amateur. It must be staffed by men and women who are truly professional."

Lord Fulton goes on to state that his Commission's use of the word 'Professional' is dictated by two factors — the first referring to skills, and the other a fundamental knowledge or deep familiarity with the subject that enables a man or woman in the service to move with ease among its concepts. In his view, these attributes derive from a constant striving after higher standards which Governments demand from each one of their civil servants. If this is written with the utmost conviction of the Civil Service of a developed nation the concept is all the more applicable to developing countries who got off to a much later start in the study and practice of Public Administration.

Administration—an Art or a Science

It is not always easy to distinguish between what is regarded as an art or what is considered as a science. Perhaps it might be simpler to define an art as the work of man in which skill and practice are needed as well as knowledge. In other words, it is not impossible for an operation to be performed, and performed passingly

well without the essential knowledge which arises from a scientific insight into the necessity for the performance of such an operation or assignment. The routine performance of Civil Service Business can only lead to mental stagnation and boredom as far as the gifted are concerned; and the civil servants of developing countries need to select with care the gifted for the intelligent implementation of their policies. Engineers, Scientists, Doctors, Teachers, Anthropologists are specialists in their respective fields as a result of scientific training and diligent application resulting from established fundamental truths. We believe this to be equally true of administrators. Perhaps, instead of the word Administrators, the word, Managers would be even more appropriate and a considerable amount of research and study has already gone into this field. Already, there is an impressive array of literature dealing with effective management as an indication of how *scientific* management has become. It is necessary to refer to some of the modern techniques. In determining the type of person appropriate for a given position, the process demands:—

(i) Placing each position in its appropriate class bearing in mind the accepted function of the group or department as a whole.

(ii) The maintenance of a plan noting at various stages the pace of occupational changes.

(iii) The identification of the needs for new classes, new standards and new techniques to keep pace with occupational dynamics.

All three imply obtaining facts before various techniques vital to proper classification can be determined, the critical examination of job content facts including a close scrutiny of duties and responsibilities in the hierarchy and finally, evaluating the facts. Quite obviously, different criteria will be necessary in the application of this material to white collar job classification as distinct from jobs of a mechanical, technical or engineering nature. There are several other scientific considerations such as Incentive Awards, Pay Administration, Security Programmes, Selective Entrance Examination, Performance Evaluation, Executive Assignments, Organisation and Methods, Disciplinary Actions and Appeals, Promotion Systems, Management-Employee Relations, Career Development, each of which is a specialised study in itself. One must also mention that especially in developing countries many of the norms and practices employed in the developed countries will require intelligent modification even though the basic principles may be fundamentally sound. One of the noticeable defects in newly independent African countries is the difficulty experienced in promoting a rational dialogue between the administrator and the purely specialist professional officer, and this invariably is one of the main sources of friction. Incidentally, there is a common tendency, with a certain amount of justification, for the specialist officer to regard his administrative colleagues with scarcely concealed contempt and disdain simply because they very often do not seem to be

speaking the same language. What is most important for the smooth function of the Civil Service is the presence of mutual intellectual respect between an administrator and his specialist colleague, and if the administrator cannot reason with clarity, scientific knowledge and ease, he will earn the contempt he deserves. In recognition of its fact, Lord Fulton has even gone to the extent of recommending that the administrator will be more greatly respected if his university or other discipline was of the same basic nature as that of his professional colleague. This would not imply that the administrator would add to his functions the performance of the duties of the specialist but at least he would be better able to see quite clearly the other person's point of view — 'a little knowledge is a dangerous thing'. One would go further to suggest that such comments as have been made in this context should not be regarded as diatribes against the administrative class; rather, it is hoped that they will lead to a logical and unemotional analysis of the present situation. Some African countries who are fortunate to have had more time to prepare themselves for the onerous responsibilities of independence took early steps to train their young men at a very high level. The fact must be recognised and admitted however, that in other countries many senior officers were obliged to accept over night responsibilities for which they were ill-prepared. In correcting this situation, the first step must be in recognising the present defects and then making an immediate start to ensuring that corrective measures are speedily introduced. It is hoped that the case for scientific administration has at least been made.

Role of the Professional/Development Administrator

Enough has been said earlier on in this paper to buttress the conviction of the need for a more scientifically trained professional administrator. At this stage, it might be appropriate to direct one's attention to development management. Shakespeare's Gonzalo prescribed a very simple and idyllic recipe for the happy administration of a State; probably because of the apparent complexities of life even in the sixteenth century. With respect to the Bard of Avon, that philosophy does not hold good in the twentieth century when man by his technological knowledge has been able to walk on the Moon. We in Africa are far away in terms of time from such an achievement. Our countries by comparison with the United States of America and Russia are quite truthfully regarded as underdeveloped. It is therefore apparent that the process of development must quicken its pace and we must choose our priorities with great care, the proper execution of which will lead to the great leap forward. These priorities are easily identifiable—the growing of more food for the people of our continent, the improvement of their health and welfare including better homes, better schools, realistic curriculum content, expansion of communication, expansion of trade, health education, power, and the one hundred and one other things including a knowledge of the basic scientific laws of applied research.

It is a question for speculation as to how many of us, as individuals, know our own country well enough to identify its needs. It is only by a scientific approach to our problems and a deep conviction of the importance of the role we play that we can qualify for proper management all along the line. Thus it would be fair to conclude that one of the scientific disciplines needed by administrators is a general knowledge of economics and improved specialist knowledge of one or other of its specialist fields.

It is interesting to note that one of the world's most respected Economists is Sir W. Arthur Lewis, a universally acknowledged authority on the economics of developing countries.

Recruitment and Training of Development Administrators

The Civil Service of any Government must be considered as a composite unit, and in its attempt to achieve the respective objectives of its several parts its members ought never to lose sight of their ultimate roles. In considering the broad subject of Recruitment into the Civil Service, one of the prerequisites must be a broad understanding of the several related functions of the service which Fulton groups into two broad categories of administration, namely, the Economic and Financial and the Social. In further amplifying the concept behind these groupings it is possible to discern that under Economic and Financial would fall such departments or branches as Development, Economic Planning, Financial Control and Auditing. On the Social side, consideration must be given to Community Development and Welfare, Education and Health, Co-operatives, Agriculture including Fisheries and Animal Husbandry, etc.

Without attempting to upset the structure, it is considered of special relevance to recognise the importance of technical education, and of engineering in general. All these activities require scientifically trained and development-orientated specialist administrators. When all these factors have been taken into consideration it would seem to be illogical to describe a generalist administrator as a Permanent Secretary, in conditions which, for one reason or another, require periodic transfers of such officers from one department or ministry to a totally unrelated department or ministry. An effort has been made earlier in this paper to stress the need for increased professionalization and if this view is accepted, then transfers of the nature just described are totally illogical and in the prevailing circumstances, one is inclined to question the legitimacy of the term 'Permanent' as it often appears before 'Secretary'. One would expect the Permanent Secretary to be permanent because his training, his experience and his expertise would logically require him to be permanently posted to a particular department or ministry or alternatively to be transferred at reasonable intervals to other departments or ministries where his knowledge and experience can be properly utilised. It has been necessary to

make these points before expressing any views on recruitment and training. In short, recruitment into the Civil Service for a specific job is worthy of the deepest consideration, and skills and aptitude for different types of jobs require far more examination than appears to be given to them at the present time. Even here, we must employ a scientific yardstick, based on psychological and other factors. Each piece of the jig-saw puzzle must fall into place, and the selection machinery must first examine the applicant's past educational training and interest before deciding on the prospective candidate's suitability for a specialised operation in the Civil Service in the fulfilment of the policies of the Government of the day, always bearing in mind that for the present and in the foreseeable future the key note for developing countries must be development.

Having attempted to establish this need as a broad hypothesis for recruitment, consideration must be given to pre-recruitment preparation closely combined with pre-entry training and orientation as well as the future in-service training, theoretical and by training through doing. Many African countries have in the past been plagued with the attitude of certain senior officers who deliberately withhold the fruits of their past experience from newly recruited and junior officers in the fear that armed with this experience, the new entrant by means of a more intelligent approach to his job will eventually overtake and supersede the senior officer. It cannot be too strongly expressed here that this attitude and its practice amount to sabotaging the work of Government; for the sooner it is realised that some men are more equal than others, and that the more gifted and talented will naturally progress more rapidly, the better it will be for development as a whole. It is impossible to dilate at length on training since this would require a scientific treatise. In general concept, however, training must be seen as a continuous process subject to variations in its several parts according to changes in circumstances. Though the Establishment Secretary of each Civil Service bears the final responsibility for successful recruitment and training, he must lean very heavily on his Secretary, Training and Recruitment for their efficient conduct. It cannot be overemphasised that in the final analysis the efficient discharge of the functions of the Civil Service must depend upon well and scientifically conceived methods of training and recruitment.

The Future of the Generalist Administrator

In the past, both the British Civil Service and the Indian Civil Service earned for themselves a considerable reputation even though they relied upon generalists. Most of the senior administrators in the case of the British Civil Service were recruits with an Eton/Harrow and Oxford/Cambridge background who had graduated with high honours in Latin or Greek. Looked at in modern times, one may be excused for speculating on the thinking behind this attitude. Firstly,

it may be true to detect middle class snob value. Secondly, there may have been some connection with the terms and conditions of the endowments in those schools and universities, laid down by the past donors. Thirdly, some say that a background knowledge of Latin was an essential asset in the writing of minutes. Fourthly, the idea appeared to be current that intellectual excellence in one or other of these disciplines could easily be transferred to the general running of Government business. One suspects that most, if not all, of these arguments have been jettisoned. However, science and technology have at last been recognised as important disciplines in the day to day operation of a country in the modern world. A knowledge of Latin and Greek however desirable for erudition could not by itself have landed man on the Moon. That man has been able to walk on the Moon is a result of a study and application of the laws of nature, and though one hears polite murmurs which question the justification for spending such huge sums of money on space projects, undoubtedly applied research in this sphere must eventually revolutionise the comfort of mankind in the form of the use of computers, more reliable vehicles, more precise knowledge to improve the health of man and a host of other considerations. The logical conclusion is that the general administrator played an appreciable role during a precise period of time. For the future there would seem to be a need to retrain those who are trainable for such contribution as they are capable of making to the Civil Service. It would be wrong to leave behind in people's minds the fact that they are useless and they should be discarded; the answer would seem to lie in retraining them for modern service.

Politics and Administration—Relationship between Ministers and top Civil Servants

It would be unrealistic in dealing with this topic to adopt a close comparison between the situation in a developed country and that in a developing country. For example, in Britain Public Administration has reached the stage where communication between the civil servant and his minister is based on one of mutual sympathy and mutual respect. This may be due to the fact that many ministers and civil servants attended the same schools and colleges and normally meet in the same society. In developing countries the situation is slightly different. Many civil servants have benefited from higher education, either by means of national scholarships or bursaries or because their parents have been fortunate enough to be able to meet the cost. This is not always the case with politicians. All the same, the loyalty of the civil servant to his minister must remain unquestionable. During the pre-independence days each national of an African country was emotionally involved in the achievement of independence for his country, and so civil servants were often consulted for advice which they readily gave. They must now recognise that with the coming of independence, though advice may be sought and given the faithful implementation of the policies of the politicians is categorically imperative. A civil servant is not expected to, and should never allow himself to be drawn into

the fatal error of backing one political party as opposed to another, for though political parties may rise to power and decline, the executive arm of Government which is the Civil Service should be the country's most stabilising organisation. It will suffice to examine the political history of France prior to the De Gaulle era to observe that though the duration of French Governments varied from one year to one week, France continues to tick because of the excellence, efficiency and neutrality of its civil servants. A civil servant's advice on matters of a political flavour should always be objective and non-partisan. Politicians in developing countries are of necessity sensitive and this sensitiveness will continue for some time. It certainly cannot be effaced by a direct confrontation by the Civil Service; but devotion to duty, honesty and integrity and a practical demonstration of the willingness to save one's minister from embarrassment will go a long way to remove doubt and suspicion and to build up mutual confidence and respect.

It has been impossible to dwell at length on many of the issues raised in this paper. If it has succeeded in stimulating thought, it will have achieved its purpose.

MANAGEMENT BY OBJECTIVES

by

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MANAGEMENT BY OBJECTIVES: EVALUATION BY RESULTS

The title suggested for this fourth seminar paper was "Management by Objectives in Government". As you can see, this was changed and expanded to that above. This was a deliberate alteration, reflecting two considerations: (i) Management by Objectives (MBO) has for its purpose setting and achieving corporate (i.e. organizational) goals and targets through better work management, which holds true for organizations in both the public and private sectors, and (ii) the desired end result of MBO is just that—better results, higher productivity through more effective development and utilization of human resources. Hence the more descriptive title above; one that reflects the broad application of MBO as a results-oriented approach to man management.

Before going further, however, we should define our terms. What is Management by Objectives? The title itself is credited, as with so many others today in the management field, to Peter Drucker, who in the mid-fifties distinguished the newer "management by objectives" from the traditional "management by controls". Essentially, MBO is an approach to the total process of management, based on the premise that an organization's most critical resource is its management, that the quality of its management will determine its success, and that the performance and quality of management will be greatest where its objectives both broad and specific, are established, understood and accepted by all the managers. A working definition might be that MBO is a managerial method whereby the superior and subordinate managers in an organization identify major areas of responsibility in which the man will work, set standards for good (as well as bad) performance, and measure performance results against those standards. Clearly, this relates to several key problems in managing any organization, as:

(i) What is expected—in terms of objectives.

(ii) Obtaining teamwork—by identifying common goals.

(iii) Programming work—by setting completion dates for tasks.

(iv) Recognizing progress—by mutually agreeing on goals and accomplishments against them.

MBO as we know it now is a fairly recent innovation in the management scene. It came into its own only in the 1950s, and really developed into a major approach to better management in the 1960s. Hence, it is still new and growing, and more importantly it is adapting to meet a variety of organizational and operational climates. Since it is essentially an inter-personal working technique (although

having effects on a wide variety of managerial programmes), it can be installed and used in almost as many situations as there are managers. Thus it is used in both public and private organizations in various parts of the world. As with most modern management methods, its use is more common in North America, Western Europe and Japan. But, MBO is now beginning to spread throughout Africa. For example, in Kenya MBO is used in the Maize and Produce Board, is being adopted by the Central Bank, and in several private firms, as Barclays DCO. Moreover, the recent Ndegwa Report on the structure and remuneration of Kenya's public services recommended the introduction of MBO.[1] In short, this is a "here and now" technique, not a projection into the future.

But, why this trend? Why is MBO gaining such world-wide acceptance? Primarily the answer is that MBO is a way of managing aimed at meeting new requirements. That is, it helps an organization adapt to new situations calling for change and growth. Throughout the world change is the theme of today. Be it technological, sociological, political or even ecological, change is forcing all major organizations to reassess the ways and means by which they accomplish this work, and even the objectives of the organizations themselves. Especially here in Africa, as throughout the less developed areas of the world, the almost daily challenges of change must be accepted and mastered if these nations are to develop. If a public administration is to meet its responsibilities as a prime agent for fostering and directing change—and this I believe should be its first priority in the African nations—then it must move into more effective and timely ways of setting and achieving its objectives. MBO has proven itself as an approach that can do this.

MBO centres around the working relationships between the manager and his supervisor. It assumes that managerial behaviour is more important than managerial personality, and that this behaviour should be defined in terms of results measured against established goals, rather than in terms of common goals for all managers, or common methods of managing. That is, each manager and his supervisor together should set his particular objectives in light of the overall objectives of his organization. These objectives can fall into the following four classes: (i) routine or regular (ongoing tasks of the assignment that need periodic review and improvement), (ii) problem solving (trying to correct the difference between what exists now in the organization and the desired condition), (iii) innovative goals (creating new methods and introducing changes for the better into the organization), and (iv) personal goals (the individual manager's intention to develop himself as a more competent manager). Whatever the category of goal,

1. See Chapter X, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry (Public Service Structure and Remuneration Commission) 1970–71*, Chairman: D. N. Ndegwa, C.B.S., May 1971, Government Printer, Nairobi.

however, they are best set mutually by both the manager and his supervisor to ensure understanding, acceptance and commitment.

Another crucial aspect of MBO is its time element. Not only are objectives set and plans made to meet these objectives, but time targets are agreed upon as well. This means going beyond knowing what to do and how to do it, to actually doing it, getting the job done correctly and on time. The revolution of rising expectations that all African Governments face from their people can be met only by results, not talk. Things must be seen to be done—bridges built, schools opened, wells dug, produce bought and stored, disease controlled, and all the other tangible criteria of a developing community. MBO is an effective way of deploying your human resources to achieve this imperative of timely and effective action.

Yet another aspect of MBO is evaluation, feedback and redirection of efforts to meet objectives. That is, continual appraisal of how the manager is meeting his projected targets, feedback of this data to his supervisor to ensure full understanding and support, and corrective action, if need be, to get back on course. Alternatively, experience may show that the objectives themselves, or their timing, as originally set were unrealistic, or that subsequent events have made them become unrealistic. In either event, the built-in advantage of MBO is that management is made aware of these problems in time so they can be solved. Without such an early warning system, organizations can blunder on down dead-end streets, wasting time and resources on trying to achieve the unachievable.

Perhaps the most important aspect of MBO is its facilitation role in utilizing the human resources of the organization in achieving corporate goals, and in so doing, planning the careers of its managers. This assessing and deploying managerial talent towards setting and meeting the objectives of the organization helps solve the greatest crisis facing the less-developed nations of the world. That is, the skill to manage the all too few resources available to them to meet, as far as possible, the all too many demands made upon them. In such circumstances it is imperative that the managerial talents available must be concentrated on meeting the goals of nation building, not dissipated by lack of direction and commitment.[2] In identifying and relating the goals of the organization and the individual, MBO can achieve this training of talent upon targets.

All of this may sound rather like a panacea; management's answer to all its

2. To illustrate the impact of this management gap upon economic development: "The undisbursed portion of loans held by the Bank was $3,905 million at the end of the fiscal year, compared with $3,007 million at the end of fiscal 1969. Disbursements in fiscal 1970 continued to rise at a slower rate than commitments. This is partly attributable to the normal procedures, . . But the pace of disbursement on loans is also affected by problems of project programming and management, leading to delays in the placing of orders and in the implementation of projects." *World Bank Annual Report,* Copenhagen, September 1970.

problems. Of course, this is not so. In fact, MBO is not a management "programme", *per se*, designed to meet a particular set of problems. It is not designed as, say, a job evaluation method, or a pension plan, or a health insurance scheme, or a training programme to meet a specific need recognized by management as requiring a solution. Rather, it is an approach to management, an attitude to work whereby the manager and his supervisor work together to identify work priorities in relation to organizational objectives and then to meet them on time. As such, it is flexible, pragmatic and individualized to meet varying situations and organizations. Before going into a few clarifications and examples of how MBO works, it is well to bear this concept in mind. MBO is a methodology for more effective, mutually supportive working relationships; the objectives, forms, procedures, evaluations, and the like are only worthwhile in that they support and strengthen this managerial relationship.

That having been said, however, there are ways and means whereby MBO can be made a more effective tool of management. These do include, as always, some paperwork. But in the main they are designed to channel and make more consistent and useful the kinds of information any good manager should have available. The main weapons in the MBO arsenal are: corporate goals, functional statements, annual objectives, sub-objectives, management guides or work programmes, job improvement plans, and feedback schedules. Together they constitute an interlinkage of information that can make individual managers more effective within a managerial team that is itself more responsive to meeting the priority requirements of the organization.

Corporate goals are really the objectives towards which the organization is moving, its reason for existence. These goals to be meaningful must be realistic, current, simply stated, mutually consistent and, in most cases today, innovative. More, wherever possible they should be quantified. They should answer the what? why? when? where? to what extent? of the organization. They form the broad base upon which specific and meaningful plans can be mounted. Further, an effective MBO approach can only begin when the objectives of the individual managers are developed in such a way that they are specifically tied to the objectives and plans of those sections of the total organization of which they are a part. For example, a Government issues a manifesto of its goals for the nation and its people; what it wants to achieve, say, universal free education, health facilities, jobs for all willing to work, roads and communications, etc. Within this wide parameter, periodic plans (usually for 3 to 5 years) are prepared and issued showing how these broad goals are to be accomplished over that period of time. Then, a Ministry, if run on the MBO approach, will set its own objectives, as well as the individual sub-objectives of its senior managers, to ensure that its talents and efforts are directed to meet its goals within the plan.

In so doing, the Ministry must review its functional statements to ensure that they relate to the goals of the plan. Further, it should set annual objectives, both for the total organization as well as its discrete functional areas, to specify what it plans to achieve this year to meet plan targets. This moves the organization from the stage of what it is to do (the functional statement) to what it actually will do in the coming year (the annual objective). Sub-objectives must then be set to meet these objectives, considering alternate approaches and their comparative costs and benefits in relation to achieving the objective. These then make up the specific steps each organization must take to contribute its proper share in meeting the broad goals of Government. They lead naturally into the individual objectives of the managers and how and when they propose to meet them; that is, into MBO.

These individual objectives are usually the foundation of what is termed a management guide or a work plan, prepared for each manager. This often consists of:

(i) *Key Result Areas*—those work areas most significant to job success (e.g., planning, budgeting, organizing, staff training), there being normally about 4 to 8 key result areas in each job;

(ii) *Key Tasks*—special actions needed to achieve success within each key result area (e.g., within staff training, to assess specific future staff needs in programme X or meet skills shortage in Department Y by mounting a course in 1971/72);

(iii) *Performance Standards*—conditions which exist when each key task is well done; to be written opposite each key task (e.g., within financial management, final budget to be presented not later than 15th March, or complete financial statement available not later than the 5th working day of the following month); and

(iv) *Performance Evaluation*—how the manager's performance is to be assessed against each key task performance standard; how you will measure results (e.g., a control document, personal judgement, comparison to fellow managers, public complaints or compliments).

All of this is blended into a single document for each manager, reviewed and revised at least annually (along with the goals and objectives of his organization), and timed and evaluated to keep the efforts of the manager and his supervisor relevant to the priorities of their organization. In short, this is a way whereby each manager knows what he is expected to do over the coming year, is given an opportunity to perform, knows how he is getting on, receives guidance and

assistance where needed, and is rewarded according to his contribution to meeting the objectives of his organization.[3]

An important corollary of the Management Guide is the Job Improvement Plan (J.I.P.). As with the former, the latter is developed and agreed upon by both the manager and his supervisor, and both are reviewed and revised together. The J.I.P. is the way by which the manager ensures that he develops and improves in his work performance, as related to meeting his work objectives. The J.I.P. is based on the key tasks and the performance evaluation of the Management Guide; it often consists of:

(i) *Improvement Objectives*—the work areas in which the manager and his supervisor have selected for special attention during the period, and the results planned to be achieved (this should be about 6 areas, and should relate to priority needs where performance improvement is most urgent to meet objectives);

(ii) *Specific Actions* to be taken to achieve the improvement objective—opposite each target are listed the successive steps by which the desired results are to be achieved (what kinds of training or self-development is planned to meet each result desired for each work area);

(iii) *Dates* by which each target is to be achieved and by whom—this requires careful scheduling to assure that the improvement efforts are timed and spaced in gear with work requirements (these efforts must be realistic so that the manager can both achieve his objectives as well as his own improvement plan); and

(iv) *Notes* on progress and results—feedback on achievement of J.I.P. targets, as measured against the performance standards.

It is this improvement plan, then, that links the individual and his aspirations to the organization and its objectives. It is management's answer to the individual manager's question, "What's in it for me?" In so doing, it can be a major step forward in developing and applying the prime resource of any organization, its people.

For all its benefits, however, MBO in common with any other management tool or technique has problem areas. These should be recognized and accommodated for in installing this approach to management improvement. These problems include:

3. Of particular significance to MBO and African public administration is the fact that all this goal-setting, relating managerial objectives to best achieve these goals, and deploying managerial resources against these goals and objectives is done within existing resources constraints. That is, this approach accepts the existing situation of men, money and materials and tries to use them to best effect. Thus without an increase in investment, you can expect an increase in return; a valuable concept for organizations short in resources, but long on requirements.

(i) Failure to establish comprehensive, realistic and meaningful objectives that are written, understood and accepted, and to ensure their timely achievement;

(ii) Failure to define jobs by current, accurate and complete descriptions and specifications;

(iii) Failure to concentrate attention in the manager's performance evaluation and job improvement plan on what he produces (his results), as opposed to what he puts into the job (his efforts), since MBO is directed to the former, not the latter;

(iv) Organizational and functional constraints, where the level of the position or the nature of the work, often due to technology, simply does not allow much room for setting objectives, job improvement plans or timing of achievements;

(v) Going too fast so that the necessary understanding and acceptance is not gained and MBO becomes just another exercise in attempting paperwork controls (it was estimated in one major concern that it takes 4 to 5 years to install MBO with such full understanding and acceptance); and—most important of all—

(vi) Lack of top management support and commitment, due to insecurity and inability to face existing problems and correct them.

This last obstacle illustrates the necessity for looking beyond (and within) the formal requirements, methodologies and procedures of MBO, if you really desire success. That is, you must appraise the health of the organization into which you propose introducing MBO; into the working environment or organizational culture you would be using this management method. By itself, MBO cannot perform management miracles. It is only as effective a tool as its users will allow it to be. It must operate within a system that accepts the need to change and grow, that recognizes problem areas, acknowledges shortcomings and tries to correct these to build a more effective organization. In short, for MBO to succeed it must function in a climate conducive to re-evaluation and correction, with personal confidence in problem solving and achievement.

Paradoxically then, MBO, while an approach to develop managerial motivation, itself depends on a working environment that fosters such motivation. This means a working environment where, for example, participative goal-setting and mutual evaluation of progress are made for the purpose of supporting and assisting each individual manager to improve. It means further a working environment characterized by trust, recognized interdependence and collaboration to meet common

goals.[4] That is, an atmosphere of team work is one in which MBO can give the quickest, greatest and most enduring results. For, returning to the opening sections of this paper, MBO is an approach to creating a more effective management team by open, consultative communications, letting each manager know where he stands with his boss and fellow managers in setting and meeting work objectives.

This climate is perhaps even more crucial for performance evaluation than objectives setting in this management approach. Evaluating a manager's performance by results measured against standards requires open and free communications between the man and his boss. It calls for mutual trust and confidence, realizing the value the evaluation should have to both men. As such, it calls for skills in appraisal interviewing, a broad view of the manager's work over the entire period under review by key results areas, and giving equal attention to his strengths (upon which he can build for better performance) as well as his weaknesses (around which support and assistance should be given to help him improve his performance). Moreover, this sort of appraisal session does not stop at completing the form; it looks ahead to plan new objectives and targets, as well as improvement plans for the manager. It is not merely an audit of the past, but a springboard into the future, identifying and relating the manager's needs to the organization's objectives. It is a force for performance improvement and staff development, not a weapon to correct or punish. In short, it is a completely different management action than the typical "confidential annual report" that plagues so many public administrations here in Africa. And for it to work, regardless of its format or timing, it requires a mature interdependence, characterized by competent and confident officers, who have been trained in this difficult but rewarding aspect of interpersonal working relations.

This is not to say that one can only use MBO in such a working situation. Hardly, since organizations having these sterling qualities are very few and far between, MBO would never have reached its present state of development and acceptance. In fact, MBO is one vehicle whereby an organization can travel in the direction of achievement due to more effective use of its human resources—if, that is, the top management recognizes the need for improvement and wants to see it done. Given such support, the continuing process of the manager and his supervisor in planning, setting objectives, time targets, job improvement plans and feedback evaluations will enhance the spirit of collaboration and team work that characterizes a healthy organization. What is important to remember is that MBO will be an effective management tool only in the hands of an effective management. But that can be the case in any number of organizational situations where

4. These concepts are based in large part on the "Theory X—Theory Y" proposals of the late Douglas M. McGregor of M.I.T. See his classic work, *The Human Side of Enterprise*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960.

a small group of managers, or even a strategically placed individual manager decides to take "the MBO approach".

And this leads us to our conclusion. MBO can be an effective way to professionalize the public administration of any country, those of Africa especially included. Preferably, it should receive top management blessing, supported by competent consultants to ensure a sound building on a firm base. This has been proven to be the situation most conducive to best results. But less preferably, since MBO is an approach not a programme, it can begin anywhere where there is a manager with the will and the determination to improve his operations. This need not include all the steps listed above, as setting corporate goals, or devising a management guide or a job improvement plan. All these are helpful, especially in a larger organization, but they are not essential. What is essential, however, is a manager who wants to improve his organization's performance as well as his own, and who will work with his subordinate managers to achieve this objective.

So, as there are many roads to Rome, there are many ways to use MBO to help professionalize public administration. A profession, typically, is considered to be a calling based on a foundation of knowledge directed toward a clientele and with an ethical posture toward its clientele and members of the profession. An occupation does not mature into a profession by rhetoric, or pretence, or legislative fiat. Rather, true professionalization comes through achieving better, more consistent results; in doing the job more quickly, more effectively, more completely to the benefit of those receiving the service. This was true with medicine, with engineering, with science, and no doubt it will be true with public administration. But all this came about through the efforts of people working together to build their profession, viz., doctors, engineers, scientists, and, hopefully, in time public administrators. Thus if MBO seems a reasonable route to us, we must begin now, as and when we can, to achieve this objective of excellence. This is the professional approach to professionalization.

THE BUDGET AS AN INSTRUMENT OF MANAGEMENT

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THE BUDGET AS AN INSTRUMENT OF MANAGEMENT

Introduction

Budgeting is as old as the story of Man and its use is as varied as the purposes of men. Since this Paper is one of a series in the discussion of the main theme of the Conference on the "Professionalization of Public Administration", the purview of the paper will be limited to the financial management of public affairs while deriving benefit from the methods and techniques used in the private sector in solving management problems. Illustrations and examples highlighted in the paper will be drawn from the Nigerian experience of the writer but they would be seen to be applicable *mutatis mutandis* to other African countries. A critical appraisal of the relevance of modern budgetary and management techniques is of vital concern to developing countries for a host of reasons. In most developing economies, especially of Africa, issues relating to the time dimension and the rising expectations of the people stare the Governments in the face every day. The scale and costliness of goods and services now provided by these Governments in response to the demands of their peoples against the background of a gradual but persistent erosion of the avenues for additional domestic finance throw Government leadership into a series of dilemmas. The inequality in the terms of international trade between consuming and producing countries and the diminution in foreign aid as a result of the internal financial problems of traditionally-recognised donor countries jointly pose a further threat to the size of resources available to governments of developing countries for economic development. Consequently, the need for a critical evaluation of the allocative methods as well as the price levels of the various cost elements of government's goods and services becomes highlighted.

Terms and Trends

It is commonly recognised that the main objective of the management of any organisation or society is the judicious administration of its men, money and materials. This management by objectives involves planning, organization and execution or direction. Execution or direction may further involve three other elements, namely, command, co-ordination and control. The burden of this paper is to discuss how the Budget can play an effective role within the context of management by objectives, especially in Government affairs. A budget may be defined as a comprehensive plan, expressed in financial terms, by which an operating programme is effective for a given period of time for the purpose of attaining a given objective. Public budgeting is a reflection of what the Government is doing or intends to do and since it is difficult to conceive of any public policy that can

be carried out without money, most of the early literature on budgeting treated the budget basically as a financial plan and emphasised its mechanisms of expenditure control. Subsequent writing recognized the economic implications of the budget and emphasized its role as an instrument of economic planning, an occasion for assessing probable developments in the national economy and for regulating the volume of governmental taxation and expenditure to offset threats of inflation or economic recession. Most recently, however, there has been a wave of interest in the budget as a work programme with emphasis on relating costs to performance. The gradual progress in budgetary thought and techniques culminating in the tripartite mix of the objectives of economy, efficiency and effectiveness may be broadly summarized (see table below).

Period	*Type of Budgeting*	*Emphasis*
1. Pre 1940 —	Traditional	Cost
2. 1940s	Programme	Cost—Objective
3. 1950s	Performance	Cost—Benefit
4. 1960s	PPBS (Planning-Programming-Budgeting System)	Cost—Benefit—Effectiveness

The landmarks seem to underscore the changing emphasis of consideration of the budget as a socio-political document or financial plan to a work plan or programme for the management of the national economy. Whichever way it is viewed, the budget represents the evaluation of the intentions of the management and usually it reveals a cycle of events:

1. the formulation of a policy
2. the preparation of a plan based on that policy
3. the control of the execution of the plan
4. the measurement of the results of the plan
5. necessary modifications to the plan in the light of experience, new developments, changed or alternative policies, etc.

The Budget for Management of the Economy

(i) *The Budget and Fiscal Policy*

In aggregative terms, the production, utilization and output of men, money and materials represent the economy of any nation and since the main objective of management is to influence these factors of increased output, it follows that the

Budget should be so fashioned as to become a tool for the management of a nation's economy. The modern trend of thought regarding the role of the Budget is focused on this aspect. In the words of the 1969 Annual Report of the U.S. Joint Financial Management Improvement Programme, "the Budget represents the proposed allocation of available resources to national goals and objectives, and the distribution of the Nation's output. It reflects a considered fiscal policy and is an instrument of economic and program planning".[1]

The Budget can be used to influence the economy, either to stimulate or to control it, in two broad ways:

(i) as a tool of fiscal policy and

(ii) as a mechanism for Development Plan implementation.

Fiscal policy concerns itself with the aggregative effects of government expenditure and taxation on income, production, and employment. In its relation to economic development, fiscal policy has come to mean the utilisation by Government of co-ordinated revenue, expenditure and debt programmes to stimulate or control that development. The Budget should help to make fluctuations in total demand less severe, and thus aid in stabilising employment and prices. When total demand exceeds total supply and inflationary conditions prevail, the effect of budgetary policy should be to restrain demand. When total demand is low, when unemployment is high and prices falling, the effect of taxation and expenditure should be to stimulate demand.

Most countries of the developing world are faced with the problems of inflation and unemployment. It is hardly appreciated how important a role the Budget could play in ameliorating these problems. Taxes affect the level of private income, the distribution of that income, and the volume of private expenditures. Government's taxation policies as enunciated through the Budget should be co-ordinated with the other facets of the economy because a disorganised package of policies could have disastrous effects. Unnecessary tax burdens could impair the basic incentives of individuals to work and their willingness and capacity to save and invest, they may prevent new enterprises from being formed on an adequate scale, they may make impossible the expansion of existing enterprises and they may cause some independent businesses to be sold out or merged with larger companies. Taxation could therefore be used as an instrument to affect the level of prices, as well as selectively to affect relative prices and the kinds and varieties of economic activity.

Budgetary policy should also serve to restrain unnecessary government expenditure and stimulate efficiency in Government. Traditionally, public expenditure is

1. Page 14 of *Report of the Joint Financial Management Improvement Program for fiscal year 1969*, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1970.

seen as a subtraction from and a substitute for private expenditures. Government outlay is considered desirable only in those circumstances where the private sector could not conduct the activity. It is now generally agreed that the character and volume of government expenditure will affect levels of private income and its distribution and the prices and allocation of resources. Budgetary policy can be an effective force for economy if Government harnesses the legitimate and specific interest in lower taxes to the general interest in economy. Every proposal that would expand government's functions should pass the test of society's willingness to pay for it in taxes.

Budgetary policy should provide for the reduction of the public debt under conditions of reasonably high employment and production. The conversion of private assets from money to bonds, etc. in the selling of debt obligations by a government may, in some circumstances, alter the volume of private expenditure. Since the main concern of public borrowing is to minimise the inflationary effect of government expenditure and to discourage private expenditure on goods and services in short supply, it is not considered appropriate in a situation of high employment and production suggestive of an economic boom. In this tailoring of public finance to economic purposes, budgetary policy becomes one of the principal agents for influencing a nation's general level of economic activity.

By way of example, the budgets of the Federal Government of Nigeria during 1966–1970, the period of the country's civil war, could be seen as an epitome of the role which the Budget can play in the management of an economy. By a deliberate and conscious use of budgetary measures, taxes on personal and corporate income, on imports and exports were increased while at the same time introducing expenditure rationalisation measures restricting non-military expenditures, reducing financial assistance to non-profit yielding corporations, standardising earnings so as to restrain expenditure on administration. Voluntary and compulsory savings schemes were also introduced to mop up floating liquid assets and to assist in the financing of the war. The measure of success achieved in financing the war under the country's own steam is an evidence of the need to appreciate the role of the budget as an instrument of economic stimulation and control.

(ii) *Budgeting for Development*

No matter what system is adopted, a budget cannot be constructed in a vacuum. It is generally said that it is both backward-living and forward-looking in the sense that a budget is one of a series of budgets which in a comprehensive and co-ordinated manner make up what are commonly referred to as Development Plans. It must be appreciated that the intention here is not to say that a Development Plan is a series of budgets put together but on the contrary that a budget should

be seen as part and parcel of a Plan. The question of how long is long is more a matter of taste than of prescription. Generally speaking, anything going beyond one fiscal year is long-range and from that point one may wish to follow Peter Drucker's statement that "anything beyond 20 years equals infinity".[2] The first role of the budget for the purpose of economic development planning is that it should be established as an annual phase of the Development Plan. There are, however, real problems of integrating one with the other. These essentially methodological problems may include:

(i) forecasting
(ii) time span and spill-overs
(iii) classificatory dichotomy
(iv) funding and cash management.

Since a Development Plan is long-range in view, there is bound to be a gap between plan formulation and plan implementation for which the Budget is expected to serve as a channel. All the basic assumptions underlying a Plan are subject to changes when more data and better knowledge of the economy become available. A Development Plan forecast of revenue cannot, with any degree of certainty, take into account factors such as adverse weather conditions and other "acts of God" which may affect revenue prospects in an agricultural economy, anti-tax agitations which may affect the personal tax contribution effort and tax yield and the occurrence of smuggling and other social evils which may affect proceeds from customs. Basic differences in attitude and outlook towards forecasting techniques and scope may cause a wide gap between plan implementation as seen by the dreamland optimism of planners and the over-cautious realism of estimators. Similar difficulties in forecasting may also occur in respect of expenditure policies as enunciated in the Development Plan in the case where the planners are expansionary in outlook as opposed to the Budget officers who may be conservative and contractionary in approach to financial matters. An inherent conflict may exist between the application of fiscal and monetary tools aimed at solving balance of payments and foreign exchange problems and budget expectations of a large revenue yield from customs. The need to narrow down these areas of conflicts is one of the compelling reasons for urging the adoption of a comprehensive approach to budgeting which will embrace the techniques of planning, programming and budgeting in one package deal.

The next problem in relating the Budget to the Development Plan is the question of the time span and consequential spill-overs. A Plan may be envisaged to last four years whereas some of its component projects may last six years. There is

2. Peter F. Drucker, *The Practice of Management* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1954).

always the problem of estimating the amount of work actually done on the project so as to be able to assess how much to be voted in the succeeding Plan and annual estimate for the spill-over since a number of projects are not susceptible to *pro rata* estimation. Apart from inflationary changes in prices, a situation such as that may be further bedevilled by overlapping of projects similar in scope and objectives which may be introduced at the beginning of the new Plan period.

Another serious obstacle to a good relationship between a Development Plan and an Annual Budget is the usual lack of integration in the classificatory systems adopted in the two processes. It is not unusual as in the case in Nigeria, to find the Development Plan with an economic/functional classification whereas the annual budgets are structured on organisational lines.

Very often because of this classificatory dichotomy, it is difficult to use the budget to obtain the kind of information on annual government transactions which would be required for determining aggregates of national income and expenditure and for tracing the inter-relationships between major sectors of the economy. This leads to further difficulty in relating the government sector of national accounts to government's annual accounts.

One other major cause of divergencies between the Plan and the annual budget, especially in developing economies, is the difficulty of matching the actual funding and cash flow management with the projections of the funding of capital formation envisaged in the Plan. With the unsophisticated money markets of the developing world, the financing of development projects is strictly on a cash basis and very rarely is recourse made to the use of development bonds, tax anticipation notes and other monetary tools. The cost of money in a dynamic economy keeps changing and it is not unusual to find that the inputs required for development projects are often costed on a factor-price basis in the Development Plan instead of market prices which is the level at which the annual budgets will have to operate. In serious inflationary situations, not uncommon in developing economies, such differences in costing techniques may lead to apparently serious budgetary indiscipline owing to wide budget variances.

The Budget in the Management of the 3 Ms

It is generally accepted that the main concern of economic policy is the production, allocation and utilization of resources but since money is the common denominator, the consequential measurements of these resources are expressed in financial terms. To the extent that the budget serves as an expression of economic policy, it is also to be regarded as a tool of financial management. In what ways can the budget be used to affect the interaction of men, money and materials to improve the productive capacity of the economy?

Broadly speaking, the three stages in the budgetary process, namely, formulation, execution and review, should have an impact on two levels of people—the "governing" and the "governed". Given the truism that whatever the "governing" is doing is for the common good of both the "governing" and the "governed", there should ideally be no credibility gap between the intentions of both sides. In other words, the first prerequisite of a budget is that it should form an information medium between the two groups. If the government is to collect taxes from the people for their common good, the budget through which the intention is to be announced should be explicit and unambiguous as to the effect of the revenue measures on the people's fortunes. Conversely, the people should also be told in clear terms what the revenue collected is going to be spent on and what difference it will make to their lives and living. The central question here is "Who pays what and who gains what?" Since the needs and purposes of people are as diverse as their numbers, the major task of budgetary policy is to be able as much as possible to reconcile the conflicts of interests through realistic applications of various allocative principles including marginalism and social cost and benefit analysis. As Aaron Wildavsky puts it, "Budgeting deals with the purposes of men. How can they be moved to co-operate? How can their conflicts be resolved? How can they find ways of dealing effectively with recalcitrant problems?"[3]

If the budget is to inform, the question of what information and how much of it should be made available to the people is never a settled one. Should the government inform the people through the legislative consideration of the budget of the underlying substantive legislations of the budget or should it suffice to discuss just the financial implications? Must the people know the salaries, allowances and other perquisites of office, which the government pays to its servants and must they be told the detailed cost of each item and object of expenditure? In traditional budgets, the emphasis has been on details of inputs for the purpose of control but the experiences of modern governments with their paraphernalia of complex structures and functions have shown that it is more meaningful and useful to emphasise the aggregates of activities to be performed. In this age, when the work and accomplishments of public agencies are viewed from the point of view of benefits, the task of budgeting has to be redefined as the effective marshalling of fiscal and organisational resources for the attainment of benefits. The emphasis should therefore shift from consideration of inputs to the end-product of output. It is not how much is paid to a typist that matters but how much value government can get out of that typist's emolument, that is, how much typing work he can accomplish in a day. A ton of cement, no matter the cost, is more importantly to be seen as potentially a section of a road after it has been used in combination

3. Aaron Wildavsky, *The Politics of the Budgetary Process*, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, p. v. (preface).

with other materials, some equipment and the physical activity of men. In serving the purposes of men, the budget should be used to inform and benefit men and consequently motivate them for further productive activity.

Forecasting Financial Needs and Resources

In an earlier part of this Paper, some attention has been given to problems that may often arise between long-range forecasting of needs and resources as practised in the drawing up of Development Plans and short-term forecasting epitomised by annual budgets. The emphasis here is to make an over-view of the problem of forecasting needs and resources. There is always some academic argument as to whether you should start with your needs and later consider your resources to meet those needs or vice versa. Whichever way the issue is viewed, two facts are incontrovertible:

(i) needs are always in excess of resources, and

(ii) taxations resist an upward change and expenditures abhor a downward movement.

From these facts, it seems clear that resource allocation is the key problem. In this connection, even for one of the most affluent of nations, Edward A. Lehan has this to say—

"Clearly the rise in real wealth in the United States has increased rather than abated the pain on choice."[4]

Given a good tone and style of government, the tax tolerance of the people will be high enough to enable further productive activity to be generated which will reduce the constraints against an equitable sharing of the "national cake". The most rational approach to the problem of forecasting needs and resources would be a technique that weighs performance with objectives. If a country, for example Nigeria,[5] states that its national objectives are to establish

(i) a united, strong and self-reliant nation;

(ii) a great and dynamic economy;

(iii) a just and egalitarian society;

(iv) a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens; and

(v) a free and democratic society;

then it becomes obligatory on the part of the executors of the country's Plan to

4. Edward A. Lehan; *Public Budgeting*, Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut, p. 6.
5. Federal Republic of Nigeria; *Second National Development Plan, 1970-74*, Federal Min. of Information Printing Div., Lagos, p. 32.

ensure that the forecasting of the people's needs and resources are made on the basis of such objectives. Such a country will have to ensure, among other things, that it establishes an equitable and progressive system of taxation that does not rob Peter to pay Paul, that each citizen is given an opportunity to use and improve his productive capacity through rational educational and employment policies. In its allocative principles, an effort should be made to work out a rational relationship between the level of expenditure on consumption, investment and transfers, on social overheads as against expenditure on directly productive activities, on expensive as against inexpensive development projects and on dispersed rather than concentrated development.

Harmonising Development and Recurrent Budgets

Partly due to the historical development of budgeting in most developing countries of Africa, where the execution of development projects depended on the whims and caprices of colonial governments, it is not unusual to find recurrent budgets treated in isolation of capital development projects. It is hardly understood that the success of a government, in an economic sense, is not to be measured by the number of persons it can offer employment in its service and the amount of salaries and allowances it can pay to them but by its ability to muster and marshall the resources available in all sectors of the economy for increased productivity. Since the attainment of Independence most developing countries of Africa have come to realise that they have to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps and consequently they have become keenly aware of the need for harmonisation of the recurrent budget policies with the aims and aspirations of Development Plans. The attainment and transfer of surpluses from recurrent accounts to funds for capital development are not only seen now as prerequisites but are often prescribed. For similar reasons revenues and expenditures are also assessed as ratios of Gross Domestic Product.

In order to harmonise the recurrent budgets with development budgets a number of steps would have to be taken which will involve the following:

(i) structure

(ii) classification

(iii) financing methods

(iv) consistency with development objectives.

To achieve the desirable change in the structure of budgets would require an appreciation of the need for a change by all concerned. The inherent possibility of the comprehensive planning/programming/budgeting system to liberate policy and procedure from existing political and bureaucratic perspectives is most certainly

the main source of its appeal and equally so of its criticism. All expenditures whether for personal services or commodity expenses can be seen in the light of their relationship to a programme of work to be accomplished. In the case of common and unassignable expenses, the usual cost accounting principle of proration might be adopted.

The important point about classification is that it must be consistent with the purpose of the classificatory method adopted and be readily adaptable for reclassification for other purposes.

There are many classificatory systems that could be adopted in budgeting depending on the purpose it is intended to serve but there are four main methods of classification generally adopted:

(i) economic classification
(ii) functional classification
(iii) classification by organizational units
(iv) classification by objects of expenditure.

The first two methods are adopted in programme formats which will be discussed later and the last two which, though obsolete, are still fashionable can be broadly termed a Commodity format since the stress is on objects of expenditure incurred by organizational units. A combination of the last two methods in the list above is still being used in Nigeria. For the purpose of harmonisation, it should be possible to use the device of cross-classification. The budget of a Building Inspection Agency should be capable of being cross-classified as in Exhibits 1 and 2 below:

Exhibit 1 (Commodity Format)

Personal Services	£60,000
Contractual services	7,800
Supplies	1,300
Outlay	400
	£69,500

Exhibit 2 (Programme format)

General Administration	£15,000
Plan Examination	12,300
Inspection	40,800
Innovation	600
	£69,500

The financing method of the recurrent expenditure and capital expenditure could be a veritable means of harmonising the two segments of government expenditure. In an attempt to provide evidence of development effort, some Governments are known to have set up different funds for the financing of recurrent expenditure as distinct from capital expenditure. Such is the case with Nigeria. The futility of the practice is proved by the treatment usually given to the servicing obligations in respect of the public debt or transfer payments such as pensions and gratuities

which are made a charge to the revenue funds. Very often the financing of enterprise activities in which many governments are increasingly engaged raises serious financial management problems. Questions which immediately arise include

(a) are such enterprises to be self-balancing?

(b) are their financial transactions to be recorded on a cash or accrual basis?

(c) are their costs to be recorded on a gross or net basis?

(d) how do you determine their net costs?

These problems arising from an attempt at the functionalization of enterprise activity can only be resolved through a system of programme budgeting which gives an opportunity for the evaluation of the revenue possibilities of each programme.

The level of consistency which exists between a Development Plan and the annual budget could be a useful measure of the harmonisation between the two. If, for example, a Development Plan declares that one of the objectives for the Health Programme is emphasis on preventive medicine as a matter of priority, but it is found that in the next annual budget 80 per cent of the personal emoluments bill of the Health Department is paid in respect of officers dealing with curative services, then such a recurrent budget is inconsistent with the spirit of the Development Plan. The Development Plan could also serve as a yardstick for the measurement of the level of the productivity of the Civil Service as a whole. The growth rates in absolute numbers and in cost of the staff where personal emoluments are paid from the recurrent budget could be related to the growth rate in the level of capital development expenditure so as to determine whether productivity in general has been rising or declining. For example, if in a previous Development Plan period, an average establishment strength of 12,000 was able to execute capital projects of approximately £15 million per annum on the average as against staff numbering 20,000 strong with higher rates of pay during a latter plan period being able to execute only £10 million worth of development projects, then there is an obvious cause for alarm with regard to the level of productivity in the latter years. To achieve harmonisation, the programmes and their financing as enunciated in the Development plan have to be phased out annually through the budget. If there is need, as often is the case, to revise a Plan as it progresses, then the budgetary control mechanisms have to be used not only to ensure compliance with Plan objectives and targets but also to inculcate a rational approach to any variations.

The Disadvantages of Annual Budgeting

The trend of thought so far in this Paper has been to show the weaknesses of budgeting in isolation, that is, without reference to or relationship with a Develop-

ment plan. Yet most countries of the western world have practised such a budgetary system for centuries. It will be shown in the discussion of the development and application of PPBS (Planning-Programming-Budgeting-System) which countries are currently championing, that the shift towards the system is nothing more than a rationalisation of the shortcomings of the past.

The first issue to resolve in considering the success or failure of the budgeting system adopted is the question of the time span of the budget as well as the timing of the financial year. Should budgets be presented each year such that they cover only one fiscal year? Although a number of local and state governments in the United States of America have biennial budgets (e.g. Hartford City Council, State of Connecticut or State of Wisconsin), it is generally agreed by most writers on Budgeting that an annual base is ideal for budgeting. Jesse Burkhead[6] made "annuality" one of the prerequisites of a budget. However, modern thinking on the subject stresses the fact that annual budgeting would be ideal in situations where a Development Plan exists, otherwise there would be something to be said in favour of biennial budgets.

No matter what academic position is taken in this matter, the vexed question still remains, whether one is to discard the annual budget system or to de-emphasise the role of the Development Plan and re-emphasise the possibilities offered by budgets of longer duration, especially biennial budgets. It is my view that in cases where no co-ordinated system of formal planning exists such as in most states of U.S.A. where biennial budgets are in vogue, there may be a strong argument in favour of biennial budgets. Also where planning exists but its range is not long enough e.g. less than 10 years, the argument in favour of biennial budgeting becomes weakened by the fact of the shortness of the Plan period. However, the comprehensive system of the PPBS offers a good compromise scheme whereby planning/budgeting is viewed as a continuing process with the first identifiable landmark of the continuum staying in the range of 12-20 years. In such a situation the budget (annual or preferably biennial) is prepared as a continuous Budget, like those used on a monthly basis by most commercial organisations, such that a twelve-month forecast is always available by adding another year immediately one year is dropped. One should not lose sight of practical problems that exist. One should readily admit that long-range planning such as is envisaged here requires a great measure of sophistication of the tools of forecasting which are often not within financial and manpower capabilities of developing countries. It should also be appreciated that the fluctuating fortunes of agrarian economies with their great dependence on weather and world market conditions are not conducive to realistic and reliable forecasting.

6. Jesse Burkhead; *Government Budgeting*, John Wiley & Sons. Inc. N.Y., p. 107.

With regard to the issue of timing of the financial year, there also seems to be no consensus of opinion. The operative determinants should be the circumstances of history, geography and the prime movers of the economy. It seems, however, that without rhyme or reason, other than the accident of history, most Anglophone countries (formerly British colonies) have adopted and stuck to the financial year lasting from 1st April to 31st March. Even for the British from whom the tradition has been handed down, it is a matter of expediency.

As shown by Lord Bridges, the last full Permanent Secretary to the British Treasury, in his book *The Treasury*,[7] the dates for the financial year changed more than half a dozen times between 1752 and 1833 when the matter was finally settled by law.

In a country like Nigeria for example, where most festivals are based on calendar years, where climatic conditions dictate an almost uniform time for the planting season, where the school period is reckoned from January to December, there seems to be no valid reason for the retention of 1st April to 31st March as the financial year. The writer's experience of the situation in the Western State of Nigeria shows that the arrangement causes hardship to a number of Government agencies. The Ministry of Agriculture which provides agricultural extension services and credit supervision for farmers is never happy with the timing; the Ministry of Education which provides grants-in-aid for primary and Secondary education also complains, whilst the Ministry of Works does not see the rationale behind a system that makes money available only during the rainy season when the smallest number of civil and highway engineering works could be carried out. It is necessary before embarking on any budgetary reforms to ensure that these fundamental issues are resolved in a way that will not impede the success of the reforms.

PPBS—a Management Tool

The traditional system of budgeting has been criticised on the grounds that it is short-range in view and that, because of its structural design, it emphasises the principle of control which is related to only one of the three objectives of management, namely economy. Traditional budgeting offers little help in establishing the remaining two objectives of efficiency and effectiveness. It encourages strong central control over departmental expenditures and since the objects of outlay have to be specified in detail, the administrative discretion of departmental heads is greatly reduced. The amount of detail contained in a traditional budget is neither useful nor meaningful either to legislators or to the citizenry at large. Of what use are the several pages of an Estimates Book containing details of personal emoluments and commodity expenses if it is not easy to relate or identify these expenses

7. Lord Bridges; *The Treasury*, George Allen and Unwin Limited (London), p. 189.

with a productive activity? Over 75 per cent of the paper space totalling 478 pages which the 1971/72 recurrent Estimates of the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria covers contains details of Personal Emoluments. This is also true of the Estimates of the State Governments of the country.

Over-attention to detail inherent in the object classification in traditional budgets causes inattention to larger issues which ought to be presented in the budget but which are buried in the object details. These criticisms point to the fact that, for a modern government that is daily grappling with the painful duty of satisfying needs competing for insufficient resources, for a government which serves a citizenry, that wants to be adequately informed, the traditional system of budgeting is an anachronism. Management has often been defined as an art of marshalling resources for productive activity or the science of converting information into action. I regard these two points of view as the ends of a continuum, with the real definition lying somewhere between. It is this real definition of management that PPBS (Planning-Programming-Budgeting-System) is designed to serve—a tool to assist in the decision-making process. A planning-programming-budgeting system can be defined as a mechanism for systematically gathering and analysing relevant information and presenting choices to the decision makers. The system must include the basic processes of planning, budgeting and evaluation in an integrated fashion.

Relevance of PPBS to Developing Countries

Ironical as it may sound, there is nothing basically new in the concept of PPBS for a developing country. Most developing countries, starting with India's earliest experience with Development Planning have accepted Development Planning as a *sine qua non*, almost as an article of faith. Yet one of the cornerstones of PPBS is long-range planning. The complexities associated with the concept, language and gadgets of PPBS as championed first in U.S.A. and later in the United Kingdom, stem from the fact that both countries only came to realise the need for comprehensive planning when they found that affluence without planning could lead to poverty in the quality of life. Unfortunately, these apparent complexities scare developing countries away from the idea of introducing PPBS without realising that its very foundation has already been laid. In fact, it did not take much effort for the Federal Government of Nigeria to convert its 1971/72 Capital Budget into a programme-type budget based on the classification adopted in the Second National Development Plan, 1970/74. The Programme structure of that Budget is patterned as follows:

Code	*Programme*
621	Primary Production
622	Trade and Industry
623	Electricity

Code	*Programme*
624	Land Transport System
625	Water Transport System
626	Air Transport System
627	Communications
629	Education
639	Health
631	Town Planning
633	Labour and Social Welfare
634	Information
636	Police
637	General Administration
638	Defence
639	Financial Obligations
640	Loans On-Lent and External Grants
	Grand Total

Even though the above programme pattern deserves further refinement, it is to be seen as a step in the right direction.

Background to PPBS

Shortly after the Second World War, the need for overhauling the system of allocation of resources became a pre-eminent issue in the United States. With the background of the profit-oriented practices in industry and business which have made significant achievements, it was not considered difficult to evolve budgetary processes in public financial management where expenditures are planned on a programme basis considering priority, revenue available, available ways of providing services and other factors. It was with this background that the Hoover Commission set up in 1945 produced reports in two stages recommending the adoption of performance budgeting. The first practical success of PPBS was that made of it by Mr. Robert McNamara as Secretary of Defence from 1961-64. This success story led President Johnson in August 1965 to adopt PPBS as a Federal Government budget policy and to direct that all Federal agencies should adopt the system.

What is involved in PPBS

The underlying principles of PPBS are readily understood by answering the following fundamental issues about any activity:

(i) What?
(ii) For whom?
(iii) How?
(iv) How well?

Answers to these questions also provide the background to the three distinct stages of PPBS which may be adopted in a phased approach to the introduction of PPBS. By the time answers have been found for the questions "What" and "For Whom" a programme would have been established and where programme budgeting ends, performance budgeting takes over by asking the question "how" which has the undertone of querying the efficiency and cost. A more specific "how well" raises the issue of effectiveness which intuitively suggests the need to consider alternatives (how else?). The matrix of the system is as follows:

Question	System	Emphasis
What For whom	Programme	Benefit
How	Performance	Efficiency (Cost)
How well	PPBS	Effectiveness (Impact)

PPBS is a system which aims at helping an organisation make better decisions on the allocation of resources among alternative ways to attain government objectives. Its essence is the development and presentation of relevant information as to the full implications — the costs and benefits of the major alternative courses of action. It also aims at minimising the amount of piecemeal, fragmented, and last-minute, programme evaluation which tends to occur under present planning and budgeting practices. The main distinctive characteristics of the system are:

(i) it focuses on identifying the fundamental objectives of the government and the relating of all activities, regardless of organisational placement, to these;

(ii) future year implications are explicitly considered;

(iii) all pertinent costs are considered — including capital costs as well as non-capital costs and associated support costs (e.g. employee benefits) as well as direct costs; and,

(iv) systematic analysis of alternatives is undertaken.

This characteristic is the crux of PPBS. It involves:

(a) identification of the governmental objectives;

(b) explicit, systematic identification of alternative ways of carrying out the objectives;

(c) estimation of the total cost implications of each alternative;

(d) estimation of the expected results of each alternative; and

(e) presentation of the resulting major cost and benefit trade-offs among the alternatives along with the identification of major assumptions and uncertainties.

The major components of a PPBS are the following:

(i) an across the board governmental programme structure

One of the first steps performed in instituting PPBS is the identification of fundamental governmental objectives. Based upon these, the government's activities are grouped into categories, which aim at grouping together activities (regardless of organizational placement) which contribute towards the same objectives. As experience is gained in the System and as programme emphasis changes, it should be expected that the programme structure will also undergo some changes periodically.

(ii) a multi-year programme and financial plan

At any given point in time there should exist an approved multi-year plan which uses the programme structure categories discussed above. This approved plan will be based upon decisions previously made. Major charge proposals would be presented in a similar format. The plan is in two major parts. The first part is the "financial plan" which displays the pertinent costs, both capital and non-capital. Major associated external revenue should be identified where appropriate and the expected net cost to the jurisdiction indicated. The programme, or output part of the plan, should contain the major measures which indicate to the users of the plan the scope and magnitude of the approved programmes. Five years in addition to the current fiscal year has typically been selected for presentation in these multi-year plans.

(iii) Programme Analyses

The systematic identification and analysis of alternative ways to achieve government objectives is the cornerstone of PPBS. The analysis of a programme issue should result in the identification and documentation of:-

(a) the fundamental governmental objectives involved;

(b) a description of the criteria for showing success including the fundamental objectives i.e. indications of "effectiveness" not merely of output.

(c) the major feasible alternative;

(d) for each alternative the best available estimates of the total programme costs for each year considered;

(e) for each alternative the best available estimates of the benefits (and/or "penalities") relevant to the objectives for each year considered;

(f) the major assumptions and uncertainties associated with the alternatives, and

(g) the impact of proposed programmes on other programmes, other agencies, levels of government, and on private organization.

(iv) Programme Updating Procedure

PPBS requires explicit provision for the revision and updating of resource decisions. The system must be responsive to changing needs and changing information.

The Requirements and the Process in PPBS

Since PPBS is a marriage of planning and budgeting, the system must essentially combine the methods and tools of the two systems coupled with realistic ways and means of measuring output and performance. As an attempt to furnish useful and the most meaningful information to decision-makers, PPBS should be able to build a structure couched in clear, easily understandable and test-oriented language which will provide the necessary information not only for internal administration but also for the legislature, the press and the general public in order to understand the budget and the services provided. One of the basic questions in a political economy which a budget is expected to attempt to answer is "Who gets what and how much?" In order to be able to satisfy all these multifarious requirements, it has been established that PPBS necessitates the use of an inter-disciplinary cross-breeding in the tools which it has to use to meet these objectives. PPBS draws heavily on the knowledge of the inter-relationship between the Keynesian aggregatives of consumption, investment and income as well as the micro-economic principles of costs and prices. The role of the profit motive in a free market interplay, the validity or otherwise of theories based on equimarginalism in determining the criteria for the allocation of scarce government resources and for measuring the impact of government investment policies, the finesse of costing principles used in Cost Accounting, must all be regarded as useful tools for reaching the goals of PPBS. In other words, PPBS must lean heavily on the disciplines of economics, accounting, mathematical and physical sciences (for the systems analysis element) statistics, operational research, simulation and computers, sociology and the behavioural sciences. The PPBS analyst should be acquainted with the major characteristics of these tools but need not, of course, be expert in all of them. Above all, it has to be realised that there is a lot between the lip and the cup and that "budgets", in the words of Professor Aaron Wildavsky,[8] "are political

8. Aaron Wildavsky; *The Politics of the Budgetary Process.*

documents, and budgetary decisions are answers to central political questions—who gets what and how". The analyst process should not ignore the political and legislative constraints that are pertinent. The system should therefore seek to optimise resource allocation within these constraints. However, analysis should also indicate the potential penalties arising from them. This will provide information to government decision-making, suggesting how worthwhile it might be to try to overcome these constraints. Although emphasis has to be placed on quantitative information, when this information is not available qualitative materials should be included to place the issues in proper perspective. In other words, it is not the quantity of the data that matters but the quality.

Change-Over: Procedure and Techniques

For any innovating system to succeed, its introduction has to be based on a philosophy of "adapt" and not "adopt". What this connotes is that the system will have to be introduced within the context of prevailing political, economic, social and other relevant circumstances of the country concerned. As a first step, a country desirous of introducing PPBS as a management tool will need to set up a Task Force to examine the relevant circumstances under which the system will operate, its practicability and the stages by which it ought to be introduced. Such a Task Force would have to advise on the type and scope of training required for staff who will be directly concerned, on the gaps in informational data required to be filled and on the timing of the introduction of the system. It should be possible for the Task Force to draw up concrete proposals regarding methodology in respect of the following essential steps required to be taken prior to the introduction of PPBS:

(i) *Establishment of a Programme Structure*

This will depend on the constitutional functions allocated to the component parts of the country. In a Federal set-up like Nigeria, the programme structure at Federal, State and Local Government levels must essentially be different. The important point, however, is for each item of expenditure to be seen clearly as a programme that is capable of answering the questions "what?" and "for whom?" It will be desirable to settle the inter-relationship in the role to be played between the central budget office (say Ministry of Finance) and the departments or ministries. Should the programme structure be worked out by the ministries/departments or by the central office. For the purpose of involvement and co-operation, it is advisable to design the structure from below, that is to involve the departments in the decision-making process.

(ii) *Development of Performance Evaluation Criteria*

Right from the stage of designing programme structure, it is necessary for clear indications to be given as to the yardsticks to be used at a later stage for the measurement of the performance of each programme. These performance indicators will be useful when performance budgeting procedures are subsequently introduced. Every programme, including those least quantifiable, would be seen to be capable of being measured no matter how less objective the method of evaluation.

(iii) *Injection of Planning Methods*

The entire decision-making process has to be backed by considerable planning effort including long-range financial plans. Here the statistical gadgets have to be modernised.

(iv) *Examination of Alternatives*

Before a final decision is taken on any programme, it is essential for opportunity to have been given to the decision-maker to be aware of other alternatives which can be weighed and judged along with one another.

Problems and Limitations

Much of the current literature in the United States on the subject of PPBS is replete with criticism of PPBS, high lighting its problems, limitations and, surprisingly enough, dangers. On the one hand, it is argued by some writers that it might lead to over-concentration of the powers of Congress or that it might confer too much power on the technocrats of the system who as bureaucrats are despised if not entirely hated in the American society. Others suggest that it might present an opportunity for Congress on the basis of an analysis of alternatives, to put the President "on the carpet" with regard to his pet programmes, thus drawing him away from autocratic tendencies. Some feel that since welfare programmes are the least quantifiable, programmes with hard-goods elements might prosper at the expense of programmes like health, education and social welfare which are considered to be in the best interest of the public. This is also seen as an opportunity for bureaucrats to favour vested interests in the society—interests closely associated with the production of hard goods. Programme analysis is not easy. There are many quantitative tools from such fields as economics, operations research, mathematics, the computer sciences and so forth, that can and should be brought to bear on problems. The terms "cost-benefit analysis" and "cost-effectiveness analysis" are frequently used to describe these studies, particularly those which utilise the more sophisticated quantitative procedures. However, it is still true that programme analysis (or whatever it may be called) is still as much an art

as a science. Probably the most important limitation on the undertaking of meaningful analyses are:

(i) Problems in defining the real objective;

(ii) the presence of multiple, incommensurable benefits;

(iii) inadequacies of data relevant to the analysis; including information as to what effect each alternative course of action will have on the objectives as well as information, describing where we are today;

(iv) difficulties in considering a time stream of costs and benefits and not simply the evaluation of costs and benefits for a single point in time.

Despite these real difficulties, competent and thoughtful programme analysis should be able to provide considerably improved information on the important issues facing government decision-makers. Much of the relevant analytical work done thus far in government PPBS systems in U.S.A. has not resulted directly from very sophisticated, technical analyses, but from penetrating questioning, and the improved perspective obtained from attempts to identify the true costs and benefits of alternatives that are relevant to the fundamental objectives. Ideally, there should be continuing analyses of all major programme problems and issues facing the jurisdiction. In practice, and certainly during the initial institution of a PPBS System, a jurisdiction will need to be quite selective in its choice of issues for analyses. The greatest appeal of PPBS is that it removes the budgetary process from the arena of *laissez faire* and that it aims at evolving a common language between professionals and administrators. It is therefore a step in the direction of professionalism to which public administration should move in the Seventies if it is to adequately serve governments in this space age.

Conclusion

The effectiveness of any management depends on the information it is given, and any information system is only as good as its ability to motivate management to take the right actions. A dynamic economy, to which all developing countries are aspiring, demands dynamic management—management founded on optimism and capable of making decisions necessary not merely to keep pace with competition but to keep ahead of it. Such an economy is obviously one of change. The will to change is the catalyst to progress.

PROGRAMME BUDGETING

by

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PROGRAMME BUDGETING

The Role of the Budget

Key resources such as money and manpower are usually scarce in relation to an organization's ambitions. The allocation of resources through the budget is a critical decision-making process during which priorities are determined, programmes of action formulated and conflicting interests reconciled. It is no accident that the annual budget session of a National Assembly or a tennis club is the major occasion for reviewing overall policies. It is essential that the budgetary process is conducive to effective management and provides a framework for rational and informed decisions.

The Management Process

Ideally management should follow a rational sequence of decision making:

(a) *The identification of a problem and decision area:*

Managers do not usually sit down and think up problems; external events thrust them upon their attention. The search for a solution depends upon analysing causes and identifying the true nature of the problem. Shanties on the edge of African cities are an obvious problem. Are they the result of poverty—inability to pay economic rents for adequate houses—or of shortage of capital? If the answer is poverty, is it due to low wages or to unemployment? One's analysis of root causes obviously determines choice from a wide range of possible solutions.

(b) *The setting of objectives:*

What is the organization trying to do? Several things at once is a common answer, but programmes can often fail because their compatibility with individual objectives has not been clearly examined. The Ntoma River settlement scheme in Uganda was intended to improve agricultural productivity, relieve land pressure in Kigezi and provide a barrier against re-infestation of land reclaimed from the tsetse-fly. It failed because its location was suitable only to the third objective; the area was infertile and uncongenial to the Bakiga.

(c) *The identification, evaluation and selection of alternative means of attaining objectives:*

There are usually several alternative policies or programmes. Some would be more effective, others less costly. One could attempt to relieve congestion

on the Uhuru Highway in Nairobi by constructing flyovers, staggering office hours or improving public transport. Flyovers would probably be the most effective but also the most costly; improving the bus services would be cheaper but unlikely to achieve a radical reduction in the traffic flow. A comparative analysis of costs and effectiveness will help selection of those policies and programmes which are most suited to both the means and ends of the organization.

(d) Implementation of programmes:

This requires creating an administrative organization, allocating resources to it and establishing human motivations by propaganda and incentives.

(e) Establishing controls, evaluating performance and reviewing the programme:

Sections and individuals within an organization have their own interests and goals. These are not necessarily consistent with the overall goals of the organization: it is said that one of the causes of the downfall of Rolls-Royce has been the preoccupation of the design engineers with achieving professional perfection regardless of cost. Control can be maintained by setting output targets so that departments and individuals know what is expected of them and that management can judge their performance. Secondly no decisions are made within conditions of absolute certainty. Data about the present and assumptions about the future are used which may or may not prove to be correct. It is necessary to review performance periodically to see how far the objectives are being achieved. The degree of achievement and the reasons for any failure can only be ascertained if the original data, assumptions and targets underlying the programme have been clearly set out.

(f) Periodic appraisal and modification:

If an objective is not being attained to the degree anticipated, corrective measures must be taken depending on where the weakness lies. For example the objective may be to make a country self-sufficient in livestock production. The programme may be one of upgrading the local stock by introduction of exotic strains. It may fail purely because of institutional weaknesses: perhaps there is poor distribution of chemicals for dipping cattle. Adjustment of the internal organization would be all that is necessary. Perhaps experience had shown that the original assumptions that exotic cattle would thrive in the country were mistaken; the climate and soils may be unsuitable. This requires a modification of the programme turning attention to indigenous breeds. Or perhaps it would show that the amount and quality of pasture in the country simply will not carry the quantity of livestock essential to national consumption. In such case the original

objective will have been proved unattainable and will require drastic modification. At this stage the cycle of decision making is completed with the establishment of new or modified objectives and programmes.

This ideal pattern of decision making may not correspond with reality; organizations are not perfectly rational or systematic and management by crisis, compromise or intuition may be more common, particularly to the public sector. Nevertheless the chances of rational choice and planning are greatly enhanced if the formal procedures are geared to them.

Defects of Traditional Budgeting

Several weaknesses inhibit the utility of the traditional budgetary procedures of governments and local authorities established in the British pattern, to rational management. They are:

(a) The budget does not set out the objectives of the authority.

(b) The budget does not show adequately how much is allocated to any particular objective or programme, firstly because recurrent expenditure is normally expressed in terms of inputs rather than outputs, and secondly because the pursuit of objectives and implementation of programmes may cross the boundaries of the agencies which form the budgetary sub-divisions. For example the expenditure on the Police may be categorised by salaries, stores and equipment, travelling and accommodation rather than by the prevention of crime, control of traffic or supervision of immigration. Similarly Ministries of Education, Local Government and Community Development may all be devoting resources to public education. Information is not presented in a way which would enable a rational choice of priorities between objectives and programmes.

(c) There is no indication (except sometimes in Development Estimates), of what output is to be achieved, how many miles of road will be maintained or children be educated. The decision maker—Member of Parliament, councillor, director—cannot measure the performance of the public servant nor hold him accountable for it. When a department seeks an extra allocation of resources, there is no means of telling whether this is in proportion to the extra work to be performed or to the output of other departments performing similar activities.

(d) The public servant does not know what output is expected of him. He is likely to be judged more by how little he has used than by how much he has achieved. Overspending a vote is more apparent than falling short of a target. There is a premium on inactivity.

(e) Attention is largely focused on demands for extra resources, particularly money or staff. The continuing utility of existing allocations goes largely unchallenged.

(f) Since budgets normally only cover a single year, the full implications of a proposed activity are not shown. Only the overall capital and current costs of the proposal over a number of years of development can indicate whether the expenditure is tolerable and compares favourably with alternative allocations. An authority can become committed to an expensive programme of dubious priority by modest first year costs.

(g) Proposals are examined "on their merits" rather than competitively. Most schemes for public expenditure can be shown to be of some benefit. This weights the scales in favour of their acceptance. Everything desirable is included at the preliminary stage, and then balance achieved by arbitrary all-round cuts or political horsetrading. It is only when the relative costs and benefits of programmes are analysed comparatively, that rational choice becomes possible.

Programme Budgeting

Programme budgeting is an attempt to expand and convert the traditional budget into a comprehensive and critical framework for evaluation and decision making. Its main ingredients are:

(a) A definition of the major objectives pursued by the authority and an identification of those existing or proposed activities which contribute to achieving each objective. Categorisation is by a hierarchy of objectives, programmes, sub-programmes and activities regardless of the agency by which they are performed.

(b) Programme analysis, setting out alternative programmes with long-term estimates of their costs and outputs. Using cost effectiveness analysis where appropriate, this enables a measured rather than intuitive selection of the most effective programmes.

(c) A multi-year plan and financial programme relating the hierarchy of objectives, programmes and activities to agencies, inputs (including long-term costing) and output targets. The programme may include a chart showing the inter-action of programmes which impinge upon each other.

(d) The use of work/output measurements enabling a continuous review of the effectiveness of the programmes and the performance of the agencies concerned, leading to modification of the programme structure and targets where necessary.

The aims of the system are to improve decision making and control by:

(a) Clarifying the objectives of each activity.

(b) Enabling overall priorities to be assessed.

(c) Projecting the entire costs of the proposals.

(d) Systematic and competitive evaluation of alternatives and presentation of the data and assumptions underlying the choice.

(e) Relating demands for extra resources to anticipated increases in output.

(f) Giving both decision makers and operatives a standard target and measure of performance.

The individual components will now be examined separately.

Objectives, Programmes and Activities

The emphasis of budgetary classification is upon the purpose rather than the nature of the activity, for example "the prevention of diseases in exotic strains as part of the programme of upgrading livestock 'rather than' the provision of cattle dips by the animal husbandry division of the Veterinary Department". Basic questions in arriving at this classification are: how can the activity be described? what is intended to be the end product? who is to benefit?

Public medical and health services can be used as an example of this hierarchical classification. "The promotion of communal health" can be taken as the *objective.* Three *programmes* can be identified: the cure of illness, the prevention of illness, and the care of the incurable. The prevention of illness programme can be divided into six *sub-programmes:* immunization, sanitation, nutrition, improvement of housing, and pure water supplies. Using the Uganda Government as an example, the water supplies sub-programme could be further divided into five *activities:* the provision of dams, piped-water supplies, protected springs, rain-water tanks, and boreholes. Each activity in fact is performed by a separate department: the Ministry of Works, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Culture and Community Development, and the Geological Survey and Water Development Departments of the Ministry of Mineral and Water Resources. It will be seen that at this bottom level of "activities", there are five approaches pursued by five separate agencies which are to some extent alternative and competitive. It would require detailed analysis to determine which of these five methods of providing water was the best in any particular set of circumstances.

The Programme Analysis

There are three elements: the estimation of cost, the measurement of utility, and the programme selection.

(a) Cost estimation is necessary both to facilitate the choice of priorities and alternatives and to provide the components of the long-term financial plan. It must reflect the overall long-term costs of an activity, including capital, operational and maintenance elements. The time span of this estimate as presented in the financial plan will, of course, be geared to the duration of the plan itself, but for the purpose of evaluating alternatives it should be that most appropriate to the activity itself. Cost evaluation of different methods of bridge construction would clearly take a much longer period into consideration than a choice between vehicles. For evaluation rather than budgetary purposes, costs may be both direct and secondary i.e. the costs of the activity itself and the consequential rises in the costs of other activities. A housing programme for example has secondary costs in the fields of transportation, education and water supplies. Internal and external costs are relevant: how much does a one-way traffic system add to a motorist's fuel bill?

A difficulty arises from the assignment of costs of multipurpose activities. Street lighting for example serves both public security and traffic safety, even beautification in some cases. Various answers are possible. Costs can be wholly assigned to the major activity pursued, or divided between activities on some arbitrary basis such as the percentage of time spent on each. In some cases it can be argued that a fixed proportion of cost is an essential liability of one programme and only the incremental balance attributable to another. For example the basic cost of keeping grass short on the edge of a residential area may be attributable to anti-malarial clearance but the extra costs of mowing the putting greens when it is used as a golf course can be assigned to leisure pursuits. A further possibility is to show the cost under each of the activities supported so that each gives a full picture of resources used and services provided, but excluding them from the totals carried forward from the programme analysis to the overall budget.

A further question surrounds overhead costs. Programme budgeting uses the already developed techniques for charging internal and intermediate services such as vehicle and building maintenance or central stores purchasing to the consumer activities. It does not on the whole attempt to carry this much further. Virtually all the actual or hypothetical systems have separate programmes and elements within programmes for general support activities such as administration and financial management. It is however suggested that any portion of the cost which varies specifically with the size of a particular programme or activity should be assigned to it. This might apply for example to the expansion of an architect's

department specifically to cope with a new housing or school building programme.

In evaluating programmes and policies a public authority cannot concentrate solely on monetary costs. There are other equally important costs to the community including manpower, time, safety and health, amenity and political disaffection. These are largely intangible and difficult to reduce to an arithmetical cost/benefit equation. Attempts are frequently made to quantify these costs. For example, economists have attempted to place a monetary value on saving a life, saving the time of commuters, the public amenity of an historical monument or the public nuisance of noise. Such measures are rarely satisfactory, and tend to conceal highly controversial value judgements within an apparently objective mathematical calculation. These costs must be reckoned but it is probably better to express them in verbal rather than quantified terms.

A public authority needs to identify one further element of cost: who pays? The cost may not be spread evenly over the community. The monetary cost of a programme may fall upon one tax paying group, the cost in health upon one age group, or the cost in amenity upon people of one particular area. Public decisions are political decisions and it is vital to know who gains, who loses.

(b) Equal care is needed in the measurement of utility or benefits. Here the criteria are the relevance of the benefits to the objectives of the programme, the simplicity with which they can be identified and understood and the availability of data. Ideally the benefits should be measured in terms of output and end product. If this cannot be measured realistically, a widely accepted input measure can be substituted such as pupil/teacher ratios or population/hospital bed ratios where a correlation with benefits can be safely assumed.

There are four types of output measurement of a public service: indicators of volume, coverage, quality and impact. In evaluating an educational programme, volume could be measured by the number of pupils enrolled in schools, coverage by the percentage of the school-age population enrolled, quality by the percentage of enrolled pupils who obtain certificates of education, and impact by changes in the national level of illiteracy or the availability of skilled manpower. The relevance of these indicators clearly increases in the order given; so unfortunately does the difficulty of obtaining statistics. A drawback to measuring the utility of a public service is that it can rarely be comprehensive: the percentage of school children who obtain a qualification does not indicate the value of the education given to the children who fail. As with the estimation of cost, it is also necessary to ask: who gains? Which section of the community is going to benefit by a particular programme?

(c) Ideally cost utility analysis should result in mathematical ratios for each

alternative programme which automatically indicate the best. This rarely happens in practice because the best predictions are hedged with uncertainty, many significant costs and benefits are not readily quantifiable, and decision makers are never wholly rational nor wholly altruistic. But a more rational choice would probably be made if the implications of alternative policies and programmes were clearly tabulated and a balance sheet of costs and benefits drawn up.

The Multi-Year Financial Plan

Once the choice of programmes, sub-programmes and activities has been completed, these are assembled together with the statement of objectives in a multi-year financial plan. Estimates of the inputs required for each activity and the agency responsible are then added. The inputs will normally be expressed in terms of money and manpower although a commercial organization might include raw materials and equipment. The plan is a rolling programme i.e. the estimates of inputs for the forthcoming year represent a firm budgetary allocation while those for succeeding years are only forecasts subject to later amendment.

By use of computers the programme budget can be reproduced according to a number of alternative classifications. Code numbers can be given to objectives, programmes, sub-programmes, activities, operating agencies, objects of expenditure (e.g. salaries, purchase of stores, travelling and transport), and to locations. The information can then be reshuffled by the computer to produce not only a programme budget but a standard departmental budget, manpower budgets, stores budgets and regional budgets. In many cases a programme budget will include expenditure that is not met directly by the authority itself, in order to give a comprehensive picture of the resources allocated to a particular objective. For example the Uganda Government intends to include statements of expenditure by parastatal bodies. The British Government public expenditure surveys include the spending of local authorities and other public bodies, after deducting grants and other internal transfers.

Performance Measurement and Evaluation

A final feature of programme budgets is the detailing of workload volumes, output targets, unit costs and other measures of performance. Three types of measurement can be used:

(a) A standard: for example the minimum percentage purity of a water supply.

(b) An estimated unit costing: for example £20 per annum per pupil in primary school.

(c) A target: for example a national income of £50 per capital, production of

one million bales of cotton per annum, provision of two hospital beds per thousand population.

The incorporation of these measurements in a budget has a number of advantages:

(a) It helps to make staff accountable; they can see what is expected of them.

(b) It simplifies control. Detailed supervision can be focused upon those parts of the organization which are failing to meet output targets or keep within standard costing.

(c) It permits comparison between the operating efficiency of different units.

(d) It provides a basis for relating requests for extra resources to changes in work-loads or output.

(e) It provides a reminder of the basis of previous decisions.

These measurements must however be used with caution. There are environmental differences which impinge upon the efficiency of different sub-units, such as higher costs due to geographical remoteness or lower costs due to economies of scale. External factors affect the achievement of targets. Statistics are notoriously susceptible to diverse interpretation. A fall in the traffic accident rate may be due to a change in legislation introducing breathalyser tests, rather than to the effectiveness of the police and road engineers. Alternatively a rise in the accident rate may be due to an increase in traffic densities and not reflect upon the performance of the police. Figures are rarely conclusive; their value is in calling attention to factors requiring close examination.

The Limitations of Programme Budgeting

The foregoing paragraphs have included words of caution. Other and more radical criticisms have been levied.

The first objection is that public authorities never have the opportunity to make a comprehensive review of the size and direction of public spending. Governments are bound by past commitments and limited by the small margin of resources available for innovation in any budgetary period. As a British Treasury official said "the public sector . . . is not a tabula rasa on which Ministers can write whatever story they wish. The public sector is something that exists. It is the end-product of a long process of development and the changes that can be made are subject to very severe restraints and limitation". On the other hand the opportunities for changes of direction and the size of marginal resources are far greater if one plans over, say, a five-year period rather than in annual budgets.

The second criticism is that comprehensive planning is impossible on this scale,

because the variables, uncertainties and interactions are just too great and complex for human judgement to comprehend, predict and calculate. Serious attempts have been made to defend the practice of "muddling through"—which means adjusting policies and expanding or retracting activities in response to the felt impact of outside pressures—because it means operating within the only tolerable limits of certainty.

A further argument is that public decisions are results of compromise between conflicting interests and that politicians will consent to programmes without agreeing on their objectives. People who regard imprisonment as a punishment and those who regard it as an opportunity for reforming the criminal will both agree on building a prison but not its purpose. It may be both difficult and dangerous to insist on identifying objectives. Similarly the programme analyses require a public exposure of the rationale for policy decisions which may not always be welcome to Government. This is not just a question of obsession with security or of reluctance to reveal the extent to which "they" really know what they are doing, significant as these influences may be. There is, for example, the question of how far stating that you expect things to happen which you don't want to happen, will make it more likely that they do happen. To provide publicly, for rises in salary levels is to encourage demands for them. Economic realities may severely limit the extent to which governments can hope to solve severe problems such as unemployment and regional or sectional disparities of incomes within a particular plan period. How explicity can Government be required to admit this?

Conclusion

Decision making will always involve tension between the rational and emotional, the objective and the partisan. Budgetary procedures and management techniques will not overcome this, but they can weight the scales. The degree to which intuition, prejudice, myopia and self interest prevail will depend to a considerable extent upon the way in which choices and underlying data and assumptions are presented. Programme budgeting can give the member, servant and public a clear idea of what a public authority is doing, why it is doing it, how it is doing it and who is doing it. It provides also an opportunity and a stimulus for questioning whether it should be doing it at all, or whether it could be doing it better. It provides departments with means of seeing how far their activities interrelate and interact. And it projects decisions over time spans long enough to assess their implications more fully and to leave a wider margin for innovation and change in emphasis. Its techniques may not replace the need for human judgement and intuition but they subject these to disciplined scrutiny. The budget becomes an instrument of management as well as control.

ELECTRONIC DATA PROCESSING SYSTEMS: THEIR POTENTIAL FOR MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN AFRICA

by

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* The views and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations.

AUTOMATIC DATA PROCESSING (ADP) AND COMPUTER-BASED INFORMATION SYSTEM

While the electronic digital computer has already made its entry into some sectors of the public administration of several African countries, the capacity of utilizing effectively the computer, or simply the "computer capability", has yet to be developed. Underlying this detectable pattern of imbalance, as will be taken up further, is the fundamental fact that it actually takes longer, much longer to develop that capability than it takes to produce and install the facility. The record of experience to date holds some meaningful lessons for African Governments contemplating new computer installations, or concerned about improving the utilization of already installed capacity. This paper will attempt to underline some such lessons of experience.

Pre-Computer Systems

The traditional system of administration prevailing in most African departments and agencies was historically designed around the capabilities of a clerical work force supervised by a hierarchy of generalists. It was structured for an army of clerks, recording transactions, performing manual office operations and operating with an eye on rules rather than oriented to measurable performance results. The system was paced to these clerical and general administrative skills with their attendant limitations. At that pace, the system was more geared to minimize procedural errors than maximize 'results' to be delivered. Errors were detected by clerks inspecting and auditing the paper work of other clerks, by the most labour-intensive methods of checking and overchecking. Information was handled sequentially, with all inputs recorded before any processing was initiated. The system was wholly dedicated to after-the-fact recording of historical information.

Increasingly, however, the traditional system is becoming inadequate to the new tasks to be performed, the new problems to be solved and the new targets to be achieved. Its survival in its present shape may be a manifestation of goal-displacement, of the capacity of bureaucratic organization to perpetuate themselves well after they become obsolete, and of a system whose survival is only tangentially contingent upon its demonstrated performance. In many situations, the rising 'cost of government' has been associated with unmistakable signs of deteriorating performance and growing ineffectiveness. Only a few policy-makers and senior administrators now fail to recognize the problem of the traditional system in these terms. Fewer still are those unaware of its having become a brake on, instead of a generator of development. Yet the problem of effecting the required change in the system remains more baffling than ever.

One certain, or almost certain, lesson of experience to date is that the conventional reform measures of the last decade or so have made little impact on the capability of the system to cope with complex problems and with the growing demands for better results. Such measures dwell exclusively on small changes in work methods, organization structure, and so on. Either these reform inputs were too small or the throughput was fraught with too many impediments to make for any marked improvements in performance results. Indeed, the promise of these conventional reform or management improvement techniques, even when expertly applied, has proved rather limited, and at times dubious. And they have been overshadowed by the promise of the computer, and the new computer-based management technology.

Computer-Based Systems: Some Cost-Benefit Analysis

The electronic digital computer, being basically a high-speed adding machine, finds its most practical applications in situations calling for massive memory, repetitive calculations, and quick feedback of information. The major initial application seems to be the mechanization of information systems particularly accounting information in large complex organizations. In principle, the use of machines in office work is no different from the use of machines in a factory. The objects are to reduce the man-power required and the time taken for a given process and to reduce the possibility of error; in other words to increase efficiency. Several modern corporations have subjected the introduction of an EDP system to the same rate of return criterion as governs their over-all operations.

In Government, the decision to computerize the information system should flow from an adequate analysis of attendant costs and benefits. Unlike the situation of the modern corporation operating in a developed economy, there is often little pressure from the point of view of wage costs for computerizing accounting operations and information systems. The low level of wage costs compared with capital costs or foreign exchange costs, in conjunction with the pressures for employment-creation or the institutional limitations on staff reduction, often permits or induces the utilization of an apparently unlimited supply of clerical manpower to cope with larger masses of accounting data or information requirements. Cases have occurred of government departments and departmental enterprises having to maintain an inflated clerical work-force part of which would have been made redundant by the mechanization of their information systems. Thus, there is often little benefit to be expected from the installation of an EDP system on the dimension of wage cost savings.

However, wage costs are not the only consideration; nor the most important one in the situations of developing countries. At some point, even an army of clerks

cannot cope with the volume of information that needs to be processed rapidly enough to satisfy administrative requirements. Processing time becomes a major benefit where rapid decisions have to be made on the strength of processed information. A delayed decision may turn out to be more costly than an erroneous one. The reaction time required for decision may be a decisive factor in a competitive situation or for administrative action to be effective. Even in those cases where processing time may not be a major consideration, and reaction time may not be that decisive, the use of an increasing amount of manual labour may result in a fractionalization of the work or may become so unwieldy that it may give rise to certain cost diseconomies.

Some examples may clarify this point. A state economic enterprise engaged in the manufacture and distribution of appliances, experienced a rapid increase in sales and the number of customers paying by instalments. Initially, the number of clerks handling instalment accounts receivable was simply increased, with each clerk gradually maintaining a smaller and smaller portion of the customers' ledger. The increase in clerical staff was made at a relatively low cost. However, a point was eventually reached when the instalment accounting clerks were occupying a significant part of the floor space allotted to administration. With the mounting pressure for limited space coupled with the confusion resulting from a large number of clerks, the sagging morale of an overcrowded organization, combined with the need to break down sales and remittance devices between an increasingly greater number of office workers and the difficulties in controlling the operation, a point was reached where it was deemed imperative that some degree of mechanization be introduced. As a result the number of operators was reduced by about 75 per cent. With the low wages of the clerks versus the high purchase price of the machine, there is no certainty that there was a measurable cost saving, commensurate with the high rate of return on invested capital the enterprise was already making. The major benefit, however, was that the instalment accounting operation was finally brought under control.

The benefits of an EDP system tend to become more evident and measurable when an increase in the size of operations is accompanied by a growing complexity and with the increase in the number of operating units to be controlled from one centre. A modern branch banking system, for example, cannot operate efficiently without EDP installations. Branch banking in several developing countries has now grown to the point that may justify a shift from the archaic manual method of handling inter-branch transactions to an EDP system, and the large banks have become the largest users of EDP equipment. In the same vein, the production or operations system of an organization may require a system of production or operational control that could not be feasibly sustained by a manual arrangement. It may require paid reaction to feedback received as to changes in the production

process, many of which are expected to show up as variances in cost systems or similar control mechanisms. The design of the system of operations often presupposes that certain control mechanisms will be installed. The paper work involved could be handled by manual operations, but not possibly within the reaction time required for corrective action to be effective.

In most instances, information systems of departmental enterprises or agencies have been geared to the historical information necessary for the annual reports to superior authorities and for the satisfaction of the external control agencies. Consequently, information is often lacking that may permit operating management to know where it stands at any given moment and to determine whether or not its operational plans are being carried out as expected. Nor is this information available soon enough so that a performance shortfall may be anticipated and so that management can take corrective steps to counteract unfavourable performance outcomes as soon as they appear. In one way or another the information system is designed to satisfy hierarchic and external demands rather than meet management needs. An adequate awareness on the part of the operating management of the need for more information that it could use to control organizational performance and for new information different from that which it is now getting is the key to rethinking the present information system. More often than not, this is likely to be contingent upon certain systemic changes.

Nowhere does the need for information make itself felt more than in the domain of internally derived cost information for operational planning and control. Yet a lack of computerization may affect the efficiency and utility of cost accounting systems in several respects. In the first place, it is fundamental to the utility of cost accounting information, for operational control purposes, that data be timely. Relative to the demands of the particular process, the information has to be made available to operating management soon enough to take effective action to alter the process under control. To the extent that cost accounting control information arrives later than that time, it is of value only as a history of past errors. A second aspect of the utility of cost accounting information is the need for sufficient detail. Cost information has to be broken down into small enough divisions to enable responsibility to be determined, if effective corrective action is to be forthcoming. To the extent that cost accounting information is so aggregated that it merely indicates that elements of an operation are changing, without clearly suggesting the area of change, it does not provide aid to corrective action. To be useful, effective cost accounting must result in sufficient disaggregation of information. In a large complex organization such disaggregation is rarely possible without an EDP system.

There is no doubt today that computers could do for the general administration function what automation had done for the production function. The majority of

demonstrated achievements have been in this area of computer application. By substitution for and/or supplementing man's clerical and computational capacity it could markedly enhance the administrative capability of an agency in maintaining accounting records, performing routine iterative calculations, processing payroll operations, preparing checks, integrating financial and cost accounting and production controls. The direct benefits of mechanizing these administrative operations, as discussed above, may well outweigh the costs of installation and operation. But it may be rather myopic to consider the economics of computerization in reference to a narrow calculation of direct benefits and to that immediate area of computer application. Certain indirect benefits would have to be accounted for, and also certain added areas of computer application would have to be envisioned.

Most EDP installations, for one thing, are deliberately designed to include an element of excess capacity. That is the volume of repetitive transactions which can be processed with a given installation is quite elastic, and considerable expansion can be undertaken without disruption of normal routine and without more work on the part of most administrative personnel. In the meantime, the cost of computer time is going down drastically. A few years ago, one hour of computer time cost several thousand dollars. It now costs perhaps one hundred to two hundred dollars. Ten years hence it may cost as little as a dollar or two. Eventually it should cost no more than an hour of lighting that is, a penny or less. This ease of expansion on account of an enhanced administrative capability at a decreasing cost is one of the most potent selling points for EDP systems in developing countries, where for many enterprises and agencies continuous expansion is a way of life. The existence of an excess capacity at the administrative end of operations may in itself be a powerful spur toward expansion of productive operations. Where paper work is entirely dependent on manual operations, an expansion of production volume either requires a corresponding increase in office staff which may result in a top-heavy organization or awakens resistance to increasing volume of work from within the organization, if such an increase means more work for the existing staff.

The installation of an EDP system may induce movement into more sophisticated areas of computer applications. In more than one way, installation could act as a modernization mechanism; as a means of changing the thinking of the men who manage, of improving the organizational climate and effecting change in organizational and management practices. An EDP system appears to be a pervasive device, whose very existence acts to cause significant organizational change. A major reason for this effect may be the capacity of the computer to absorb large quantities of data which have not previously been analyzed. The availability of new analyses often seem to demand action. The speed of the machines in making this information available produces a dynamic organizational climate which was not produced by bookkeepers, clerks and manual systems of information. Such a

dynamic climate places certain disciplinary demands on management which would not have existed under a manual system. The scheduling of work may provide a simple illustration of the disciplinary demands generated by an EDP system. A battery of clerks can usually be kept busy, or will look so, regardless of the order in which tasks are given to them. The same does not hold for an EDP installation. Work must be fed to the EDP equipment in a predetermined sequence, which if altered will result in waste of costly machine time.

The unutilized capacity of the equipment, usually representing a substantial investment to the organization, appears to generate pressure within the organization to insure that the investment is not wasted. This pressure tends to generate a process of search for additional areas of computer applications. From the mechanization of accounting and administrative operations the computer is extended into more analytical work. The EDP system is progressively used for control and analytical tasks as performed by middle-management and various staff groups. Some of the work includes: sales forecasting, budget control, optimizing plant operations, determining the reorder quantity for inventory, scheduling routes for vehicles, evaluating acquisition possibilities, etc. Increasingly, the installation of an EDP system works to enhance the staff-management capability in helping line-management assimilate more sophisticated management concepts and tools.

Success in extending computer application, at this stage, would still reinforce the search for more creative computer applications. The next significant stage of computer use will be in the area of sharpening the senior executives' role as planners and central decision-makers. This will include such things as: appraisal of key operating conditions, competitive comparisons, correlating the organization's plans with forecasted economic conditions, etc. Eventually, the computer will act as an adjunct of top-management creativity. In all its capabilities, the computer becomes an extension of management—either enhancing its control over day-to-day transactions, keeping management adequately informed, helping to solve complicated problems, or supplementing management anticipative and imaginative qualities. So marked, indeed, is the enhancement of the control and directive capability that the usual tendency of an EDP system is to accentuate centralization which might in some ways be detrimental to organizational development. To the extent that the shift to an EDP system abets centralization and standardization there is need for continuous organizational audit to assure that installation does not function against the best interest of organizational development and that major compromises to the machines' demands are not made in terms of organizational development demands.

To recapitulate, the cost-benefit analysis of an EDP system in developing countries, tentative as it is, points to specific conclusions. It appears that the major

force impeding the introduction of EDP systems in developing countries stems from precisely the reason that often makes it attractive in developed economics: relative labour cost. It is not equally attractive as an investment in machines to replace manual labour or to save labour costs. In one developed country, for example it has been calculated that a basic minimum installation would be profitable to rent if it resulted in a net reduction in staff equivalent to more than two clerks. In a developing country it might require the net replacement of from ten to twenty-five clerks to be economically justifiable. The unfavourable economies of EDP in these terms, are made even worse by the reluctance or incapacity of employers, particularly in the public sector, to reduce the number of office workers. In low-labour-high-capital cost countries, there is usually no economic justification for EDP equipment on the basis of out-of-pocket cost savings.

Cost reduction may not therefore provide incentives to management to opt for an EDP system. Even in developed countries, it is questionable whether many of the EDP installations produce any measurable out-of-pocket cost savings after allowing for the cost of machine rental or acquisition, programmers, operators and related expenses. In the case of large highly repetitive operations, such as public utility customer billings, cost savings are probably clearly present. In the typical production operations the benefits would tend to be qualitative than quantitative. Even the equipment companies salesmen refrain from placing any great emphasis on cost savings as a selling point. This is more so in developing countries. As noted the benefits of introducing EDP equipment for handling repetitive administrative operations may be clearly present where operations are getting to be complex enough and requirements for rapid reporting cannot be met through the utilization of manual methods. The fact remains, however that the capital and foreign exchange cost of EDP equipment is so high, relative to any labour cost saved or any qualitative benefits attained, that the mere computerization of manual operations is rarely enough to justify the existence of the equipment.

The paradox, then is that an EDP system, particularly in a developing country, justifies itself by its capacity in providing management services, in enhancing management capabilities and in proving its value as a managerial tool. Otherwise, it is a misplaced investment at worse or an investment in a vacuum at best. This places a premium on extending the areas of computer applications from the start. However, it appears far easier to introduce the 'hardware' than to develop the capability associated with its effective utilization. This has often been one of the fundamental problems in attempting to modernize the traditional departmental system. In spite of the foreign exchange shortage, the high capital cost, the frequently unfavourable economies of EDP systems, the fear of labour displacement and a host of difficulties, as will be taken up further, the tangible hardware element of an EDP system takes less to install than the intangible elements of the system.

Not infrequently the intangible elements are overshadowed by the glamour of and the bias for the tangible hardware.

A Capability Imbalance

The resultant "capability imbalance" is a tendency that has been frequently observed even in developed countries. A committee commentary on a departmental enterprise in a developed country noted:

> "A strong tendency has existed throughout the growth of electronic data processing to concentrate on the development of equipment to a far greater extent than on the development of the man in the system. As a consequence, EDP machines are capable of performing many more tasks than people are requesting of them or capable of instructing them to perform. This imbalance of capability has been referred to . . . as a man-machine ratio problem, also as a technological gap. It is important to note that only recently has electronic data processing been referred to as a 'system' which includes people and their functions along with the equipment. In the case of EDP, the imbalance results in higher costs than necessary, wasteful consumption of time, undue hardship on people, and impediment in general of full realization of EDP capabilities. [The Committee went on to note:] Further evidence of the existence of this imbalance is to be found in the one-sided emphasis which has been placed on the cost of EDP equipment. Efforts to control equipment costs are absolutely essential . . . but this is only half of the job. There are indications that personnel costs now run to 50% of all EDP expenditures, and therefore they are the other half and may be expected to increase percentagewise".

There is evidence to suggest that the probability of imbalance is even higher in developing countries where equipment costs loom larger in the thinking of the user.

To reduce the probability of a capability imbalance, thinking of EDP as a system with interrelated elements is crucial. The regular feasibility study, made upon installation, would have to probe the capability profile, actual and potential of the client organization. In situations where an imbalance is highly credible, as is more likely to be the case in developing countries, probing the capability profile, as illustrated in Exhibit 1, might elicit corrective action. With the availability of a third-generation computer capability, a balance could be achieved where commensurate capabilities are developed on the dimensions of software, staff, environmental support and areas of applications. Simultaneously, techniques and management orientation would preferably have to be one-generation ahead of the hardware capability. A serious problem of imbalance is likely to obtain where management orientation, staff capability and perceived areas of application belong to a pre-computer stage of development. More important than the installation of hardware is parallel development on these related dimensions.

EXHIBIT 1

Computer Capability Profile

Element Evaluated	Stages of Development				
	Pre-Computer	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
1. Hardware				x	0
2. Software			x		0
3. Techniques		x			0
4. Staff		x			0
5. Management Orientation		x			0
6. Environmental Support of Inhibitions	x				0
7. Areas of Applications		x			0

Actual ———

Balanced - - - - - -

Certain conditions peculiar to developing countries may impede or delay this balanced development of a computer capability, rendering the process of its introduction more of a symbolic or ritualistic change than a genuine growth experience. The traditional outlooks of administrative personnel associated with and affected by the system may well get in the way of its introducing, or its developing to a higher stage of utilization. A "critical mass" of personnel of 'transitional' or 'innovative' personality types is necessary to exist within a departmental agency for the 'hyperdynamic' change to take place. Most crucial is the orientation of top management whose thinking has to be one step ahead of the hardware potentialities for a balanced computer capability to be developed. Irrespective of demonstrated or demonstrable results, an EDP system encounters certain resistances from different segments of personnel on account of the inertia of tradition, fear of being displaced, the demands the system makes for different kinds of skills and the sheer lack of familiarity with EDP equipment. With no pool of trained operating personnel available outside the boundaries of the organization, the new personnel to be

developed have to be selected from within the organization and to be trained in-service and on the job. One crucial aspect of this within-organization manpower development is the selection of the personality type that can identify with the new system and that comes equipped with the mechanisms needed to incorporate new demands upon himself that arise outside his habitual experience.

An EDP system directly enhances the control capability of central management. For a higher control capability in the face of a variety of possible situations requires the support of extensive memory facilities in the organization. In particular it requires the development of efficient memory functions for the selection storage, retrieval, recombination and use of operating data, symbols, analytic procedures, and reserve plans for action. It also enhances the control capability of central management to the extent that it renders feasible a high degree of centralized decision-making in large complex organizations. The advent of electronic computation, more than 10 million times faster than the mechanical calculator, the techniques of automating problem solution and data processing, the computer's ability to control operations on a microsecond basis, have tremendously extended top management's potential for centralized direction and control. Using these techniques, top management can predict and test a new system or system change, assessing the long-term array of consequences and outcomes, before the new system is actually constructed or the change actually implemented. The new system can be specified, designed, tested, and evaluated, by computer simulation or mathematical computation prior to its placing into operation. The effects of a newly proposed change can be checked for possible side effects in other operational areas of the total system. Furthermore, an EDP system makes possible the integration of financial, cost accounting and production control in a manner which could not be duplicated without the high-speed electronic equipment.

The quest for stronger central control, which is a frequent occurrence in many developing countries, may therefore, enhance the appeal of EDP systems. In situations where central authorities, as frequently is the case, experience a strong need for control, the introduction of the computer can be made to ride on the coat-tail of that quest for centralization. The benefits and disbenefits, however, of accentuating this trend would have to be adequately assessed. Recent research findings on the impact of computerization on the degree of centralized control seem, on the whole, to suggest a strong positive correlation between the two trends, insofar as the experience of early starters go. In some developed countries the movement to decentralize into autonomous profit centres has already taken hold in many large complex enterprises. Nevertheless, organizational change in the direction of centralization is observable in most cases. The trend, indeed, is more pronounced in functional areas of operations such as accounting, production and supply management, where so-called closed-routine tasks are performed under great time pressure. In

open-routine or executive tasks and organizational activities the trend is understandably less visible.

In situations where powerful forces are already working for centralization, the advent of the high-powered electronic computer may be decisive in tilting the balance in favour of central authorities against the autonomy of the operating manager. The benefits and disbenefits of such a trend are too mixed to yield any conclusive outcomes. On the one hand, the installation of an EDP system immediately, and possibly traumatically, exposes central management to new concepts of and approaches to organization, planning, decision-making, sequencing of operations, scheduling of activities and exercising control over performance. To the extent that central authorities could assimilate the change and cope with the demands for effective utilization of the new system, they could be in a position to overpower operating level managers. To the extent that this situation may cut down on the initiative, creativity and operating autonomy of lower-level managers, it may not conduce to long-term management development.

Some Corrective Measures

The present pattern of computer utilization can stand considerable improvement with the correction of observable imbalance, described above. Such corrective attempts are evidently forthcoming as public managers are starting to pose the question for themselves as, "what do we want the computers to do for us?" rather than "what the computers can do for us?". Certain fears of the computer taking away the manager's role or displacing his decision-making power are already giving way to a greater sense of familiarity and a more assured outlook. Enthusiasm flowing out of ignorance and charm with the computer as a symbol is increasingly turning into a more productive enthusiasm based upon realistic understanding as to what management can possibly do with the computer, and what does this really take. More feasible planning for harnessing the EDP facilities and turning them into an economic proposition are coming to be real concerns of public managers in many situations.

Most probably this changing orientation of public managers is furnishing the key to the effective dealing with the multiplicity of restraining forces that got in the way of utilizing the computer potential from the early start. A greater effort is going into accelerating the training of the new technical skills that proved critical in this respect such as operators, programmers, analysts, or specialists, training technicians, and all the rest. Related are certain adjustments in the public personnel systems that are coming to be recognized as essential in order to enhance the capability of the public service to attract, retain and adequately motivate the new breed of professionals and technicians. As a traditional bureaucracy moves into the

"computer age", it will eventually undergo certain fundamental changes in its structure, in its manpower make-up, and in its ways of operating. More so as the EDP installation gets to be assimilated, digested and "internalized" by the evolving system of administration. With the realization of the computer's potential for storing vast information and for quick retrieval of desired information when needed, one visible and immediate consequence is the change that the traditional record-keeping and filing systems will undergo. The requirements for clerical low-paid jobs will be reduced in favour of the growing requirements of technical and high-paid jobs.

The creeping transformation of the job structure, the mounting needs for retraining and redeployment, the fears of negative transitional effects on the part of older employees and organized groups, the growing power and importance of new groups of technicians, and the attendant tensions are but signs of the structural change in the public service that is getting underway in many situations. As the "old" problems of accelerating the training of the new technicians, of pushing computer technology into new uses, of going beyond the areas of proven application, of coping with the competition of the private sector of scarce skills, and the like are adequately dealt with, "new" problems will emerge calling for an even higher order of capability. And certain indications of them are already here.

One such problem, that is already causing concern, is the tendency towards centralization as a consequence of computerization, and of the economies of installing central data banks, as described above. The increased power at the top, and the possibility for the few at the top level to preempt the power of decision may run counter to the growing demands for participation. No less disturbing is the possible effect on management development, at the middle level, as the top management directly inquires into the computer-based information system. Backed up with such a system, a top-management can bypass, short-circuit and, in turn, undermine the potential development or even initiate the atrophy of the very top managers of years to come. Indeed, in many conceivable, and at times evident ways, a computerized public service can prove vulnerable to its own pathology as the traditional bureaucracy proved vulnerable to its own.

While it is recognized that there are no ready recipes for such organization ills, old and new, the latter should not detract from the strategic long-range potential of the computer, as the former should not detract from the contribution of conventional bureaucracy in its days. Indeed, many of the new management techniques, whose possibilities commanded the concern of this Seminar, are already riding on the coat-tail of the computer. Their feasibility and practicality have been largely enhanced by the computational power of the computer. Certain techniques are only usable with the harnessing of that computational power. In fact, the recent history

of inducing the introduction of these techniques in several advanced countries is closely interwoven with the history of developing the computer capability.

The promise for developing countries, albeit the inevitable difficulties and conceivable negative consequences, is all the more significant. Not only that the development of a computer capability will induce and facilitate the entry of a related cluster of techniques, a kind of a computer multiplier, but also it could directly feed into the capability of a government to tackle certain stubborn development problems. For example, as a computer capability develops in close conjunction with improvements of telecommunication network facilities, new possibilities arise in connection with reduction of imports and promoting of exports. Similarly, new possibilities arise for managing more effectively crucial programmes such as food production and supply, irrigation, power, transportation. Many of these could have never been made possible without a computer capability in the first place. Indeed, with the advent of on-line terminal facilities, a network of computers could furnish new possibilities in the management of the economy as a total system. A national information system becomes as feasible as a management information system, at the level of individual agencies and enterprises. Through model-building and simulation, as well as the evolving computer technology, policy-makers as managers of the economy can operate on real time basis, posing any number of "what if" questions. Costly errors may be avoided and better insights into the consequences of alternative courses of action gained.

Some Policy Issues

Undoubtedly, the possibilities are here and are vastly growing. The question now on the agenda of many governments of developing countries is how to formulate a "national policy" for tapping any number of meaningful opportunities in terms of the needs of the situation. In a real sense, the question is new, or rather newly posed. In a way, public policy has often lagged behind the problems posed by the rapidly evolving computer technology. As several developing countries are moving away from the stage of ad hoc procurement of computers, certain inter-related policy issues are coming to be recognized clearly enough to suggest certain lines of policy action. Most prominent among these is the need for regulating, guiding and informing the decisions on computer procurement. Related is the need for ensuring an adequate measure of compatibility between the computer facilities to be installed with a view to further their uses from a national standpoint. Related still is the need for inventing workable arrangements for sharing and joint use of installed computer facilities, analogous, in demonstrated usefulness, to the time sharing practices of advanced countries which are not directly transferable in the absence of better telecommunication systems. Such arrangements would hopefully bring under control the intertwined tendencies towards computer proliferation and underutilization.

The decision to procure and install an EDP facility by an individual organization—public or private—is often of national consequence enough to call for some policy intervention. An adequate computer capability is not likely to develop, at the national level under a kind of *laissez-faire* system whereby the decision is to be validated or invalidated in reference to the organization's own goals and interests. The cost-benefit ramifications of these micro-decisions with macro-consequences should not escape public scrutiny. The principle involved borders on the more familiar concept of public utilities. Computer services, it may be argued, could be usefully regarded in the same light as public utilities. The validity of this conceptualization of the problem, however, can be tested only when the operational workings of the concept are explicitly spelled out, and their implications in terms of some clearly stated national goals are adequately explored. In fact, several interpretations can be simultaneously placed upon the concept. Public utilities, being "national monopolies", could associate in some minds with computer services organized in the form of a "nationalized service", or a centralized computer service, under national control serving both public and private users. To what extent, then, computer services are or are not to be regarded as public utilities remain an unresolved issue.

Similarly, the relative desirability of centralizing as opposed to decentralizing computer services remains, at the present level of knowledge and experience, another debatable and unresolved issue. For one thing, the centralization-decentralization issue in this respect carries a number of operational connotations, partially related and partially unrelated. It could refer to centralization of information, or the storage functions; to centralization of management or the use of information; or the centralization of equipment in terms of physical location and control; or to any meaningful combination thereof. For another, centralization of information and equipment may not necessarily call for centralization of management. A number of remote users or departments could be provided with access to a central file through input and output devices, while leaving to the individual departments the information of unique interest to them. While such a system is technologically workable, and is actually in use, files of data stored centrally could unleash forces in the organization's dynamics that make for a centralizing tendency.

Closely related to the issue of centralization is that of integration—the handling of all related data together. The trend of centralization and integration is likely to gain momentum as it conduces to developing better information, to reducing cost of information, and to cutting down on duplication. Although certain forms of centralization may be economically desirable on a number of counts, it could so bureaucratize the endeavour as to stifle the initiative and creativity of its staff and the users' alike. It could possibly give rise to a new technocracy based upon the power of information. The use of that power may, again, raise a host of issues

related to the confidentiality and privacy of individual citizens which call for adequate mechanical and institutional safeguards.

Nowhere in the national administrations of most developing countries is the institutional machinery that is grappling with these policy issues—the almost resolved and the as-yet-to-be resolved. Nowhere the policy analysis capability called for has been developed. Yet the need for such an institutional machinery is paramount if developing countries want to make the best use of opportunities opened up by computer technologies. While no standard institutional format could ever provide an adequate answer, what is needed is a central unit with the capability of guiding policy on computer development. Such a central unit could provide the staff support for an interdepartmental policy committee empowered with certain authorization and regulatory authorities, and endowed with the resources needed to further computer applications in new and relevant fields.

Apart from providing the analytical capability for dealing with the unresolved policy issues discussed above, that central unit could provide support to the policy committee in carrying out certain immediate functions, or laying the groundwork for them to be carried out. These include:

(i) devising a regulatory system for procurement of computer equipment that would reconcile the need for national control with the desirable measure of users' autonomy;

(ii) providing back-up services geared to inject more vigour and better information into the potential users' decisions concerning the technical, economic and administrative feasibility of computer installation;

(iii) clarifying through meaningful research the criteria that could guide users as to which type of equipment would be appropriate;

(iv) setting standards that would ensure compatibility and equivalencies,

(v) fostering the acceleration of training and education of critical skills;

(vi) providing for the conduct of periodic 'systems audits' of EDP facilities with a view to help improve their utilization;

(vii) facilitating the structural adjustments, and the manpower redeployment and retraining attendant upon the growing use of EDP in the public service.

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Part Three

The Constitution and Rules of AAPAM

CONSTITUTION OF THE AFRICAN ASSOCIATION FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT (AAPAM)

PREAMBLE

Pursuant to the recommendations of the Inter-African Public Administration Seminar held in Botswana from the 3rd to the 9th of October, 1970;

And recognising the need for the development of competent administrators and managers for rapid economic and social development of the African continent;

And in order to promote the study, practice and status of the profession of Public Administration and Management and the adoption of adequate administrative and management practices;

And recognising the importance of co-operation among African states and institutions in the mobilization of resources for the achievement of these objectives;

This representative meeting of Public Administrators, Managers, Institutes of Public Administration and University Schools of Administration and Management assembled in Freetown, Sierra Leone hereby formally resolve to found The African Association for Public Administration and Management (AAPAM) and adopt this Constitution.

1. NAME

The Association shall be called "The African Association for Public Administration and Management" hereafter referred to as "The Association".

2. OBJECTIVES

The general objectives of the Association shall be:

(i) To maintain the tradition of providing senior administrators and managers with an opportunity of exchanging ideas and experience in public administration and management.

(ii) To foster the professionalization of public administration and management in Africa and particularly to develop an increasing appreciation of the value and importance of public administration and management.

(iii) To advance the study of the techniques and problems of public administration and management.

(iv) To undertake comparative studies in the field of public administration and management.

(v) To promote research in African administrative problems.

(vi) To promote the adoption of more effective and adequate administrative and management systems and practices.

(vii) To foster affiliation and maintain liaison with international bodies and organizations interested in the progress of public administration and management.

3. METHODS OF PURSUING THE OBJECTIVES

The objectives stated in Article 2 may be pursued by the following means among others, operating where appropriate through or in collaboration with institutions with similar objectives:

(i) Organization of the Inter-African Public Administration Seminars.

(ii) Establishment of standing committees for research and documentation on special problems related to administrative and management practices.

(iii) Organization of training seminars, short courses and conferences on special issues.

(iv) Publication of research and occasional papers and a journal promoting the development of administrative and management science.

(v) Distribution and exchange of documents.

(vi) Providing consultancy services to professional training centres, governments and bodies interested in the progress of African administration and management.

(vii) Promotion of an inter country scheme of exchange of public servants and managers.

4. MEMBERSHIP

(i) There shall be the following classes of membership:

Corporate Members
Individual Members.

(ii) Any Institution, Organization, Association or Group in a country whose purposes and

activities are in consonance with the objectives of the Association shall be eligible to join as a Corporate Member.

(iii) Any individual of good standing in his community whose profession and activities would serve to promote the interests of the Association shall be eligible to join as an Individual Member.

(iv) The Association may however confer honorary membership upon any individual who has made distinguished contribution to public administration in Africa.

5. OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION

The Association shall have the following officers:

(i) President

(ii) Three Vice-Presidents

(iii) Secretary-General

6. ADMINISTRATION OF THE ASSOCIATION

(i) The administration of the Association shall be entrusted to an Executive Committee consisting of the President and three Vice-Presidents. There shall be a Secretary-General who shall be an ex-officio member of the Executive Committee and head of the permanent secretariat. Other members of the Executive Committee shall be elected as under:

Five representatives of Corporate members

Five representatives of Individual members.

(ii) The President shall be Chairman of the Executive Committee.

(iii) The Executive Committee shall be responsible for:

(a) The general direction of the activities of the Association.

(b) Determining the working procedures of the various services of the Association.

(c) Preparing the budget of the Association for the approval of the General Meeting.

(d) Administering the finances of the Association in accordance with the approved budget.

(e) Determining the agenda, date and place of meeting of the Association.

(f) Taking such measures and actions deemed appropriate in the interests of the Association.

(iv) General Meeting: The General Meeting of the Association shall be constituted by the gathering of the representatives of the Corporate and Individual members convened by the President of the Association or as provided for in the Rules.

(v) The General Meeting shall formulate the policies to be implemented by the Executive Committee and give overall financial direction to it.

(vi) The General Meeting shall be held at least once every 3 years.

(vii) There may be national chapters with responsibility for promoting the objects of the Association.

7. RESOURCES

The resources of the Association shall consist of:

(i) Entrance Fees

(ii) Members' subscriptions

(iii) Payments for services rendered

(iv) Proceeds from the sale of publications

(v) Donations and legacies

(vi) Subventions from Corporate members

(vii) Grants from organizations or individuals.

8. ENTRANCE FEES AND ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS

Entrance Fees and Annual Subscriptions by members shall be determined by the General Meeting of the Association.

9. ACCOUNTS

The accounts of the Association shall be audited annually by an Auditor appointed by the Executive Committee.

10. AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

The present Constitution may be amended by the General Meeting upon the proposal of the Executive Committee or upon the request of a simple majority of members. Amendments shall be adopted by a two-thirds majority of the General Meeting. Voting by proxy shall be permitted.

11. RESIGNATION

(i) Any member may withdraw from membership of the Association by notifying the Secretary-General in writing, upon the settlement of all outstanding financial obligations.

(ii) Any member whose conduct proves incompatible with the objectives of the Association may have his or its membership suspended or revoked. Each suspension or revocation shall be decided by a vote of two-thirds majority of members present and voting in regular General Meeting.

12. DISSOLUTION

(i) The dissolution of the Association may be proclaimed by the General Meeting convened for this purpose, through a vote of three-fourths of the total number of Corporate and Individual members.

(ii) In case of dissolution the assets and liabilities of the Association shall be distributed to charitable causes in accordance with the specific wishes of the General Meeting. In the case of assets from donor agencies the wishes of the particular donor shall be respected.

(iii) Voting by proxy shall be allowed.

13. RULES

The Executive Committee shall lay down the rules for implementation of the Constitution.

RULES OF THE AFRICAN ASSOCIATION FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT

DEFINITION

1. In these Rules unless the context indicates otherwise,
   (a) 'The Association' means the African Association for Public Administration and Management.
   (b) The 'Committee' means the Executive Committee constituted under Article 5 of the Constitution.
   (c) 'The Public Service' includes the civil services and the services of Local Government and Statutory Bodies and Corporations.
   (d) 'Membership Committee' means the Committee constituted in accordance with Rule 4.

MEMBERSHIP

2. The Association shall consist of Corporate Members and Individual Members whose names stand on its register at the date of the coming into operation of these Rules and such other Members as may hereafter be admitted. Individual members shall consist of Full Members and Associate Members.

3. (a) The following shall be eligible to join as Associate Member:
      (i) Any person who is employed or was formerly employed in the Public Services;
      (ii) any person who is employed in the teaching or study of public administration or related subjects;
      (iii) any other person who in the opinion of the Membership Committee is actively interested in or concerned with the practice or study of public administration.
   (b) The following shall be eligible to join as Full members subject to the approval of the membership Committee:
      (i) Any person who has made some significant contribution (literary or practical) to the progress of administration and management;
      (ii) any person of good standing in his community whose profession and activities would serve to promote the interests of the Association.
   (c) The following shall be eligible to join as Corporate Member:
      (i) Any country that is a member of the Organization for African Unity.
      (ii) Any Institute of Public Administration in a country eligible for membership.
      (iii) Any Department of Government of a University in a country eligible for membership.
      (iv) Any organization, association or group whose objects and activities would serve to promote the interests of the Association.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

4. The Membership Committee shall consist of not less than four and not more than six members of the Executive Committee and the Secretary-General.

5. The Membership Committee shall lay down specific conditions for the admission of members, and admit applicants considered qualified in terms of those conditions.

6. The quorum of the Membership Committee shall be three and its decisions shall be by the majority vote of those attending and voting.

7. The decisions of the Membership Committee shall be reported to the Executive Committee.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

8. The quorum of the Executive Committee shall be five.

9. The President and the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the General Meeting in 1971 and thereafter in every third year.

10. Each candidate for election to the Executive Committee except the office bearers must be

nominated by at least two other members, such nominations to be received by the Secretary-General four weeks before the date of the election.

11. All elections of the Association shall be by secret ballot. No member shall be qualified to vote or to be voted for unless he is a fully paid up member.

12. Membership of the Executive Committee shall be for three years and such members shall be eligible for re-election.

13. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once a year at the Permanent Secretariat of the Association or at any other convenient place as the President may decide.

14. Decisions of the Executive Committee shall be taken by a majority of the members present and voting.

THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT

15. The General Meeting shall appoint a Secretary-General who shall be head of the Permanent Secretariat.

16. The Secretary-General shall be responsible to the Executive Committee for:
    (a) the administration of the affairs of the Secretariat;
    (b) the execution of the decisions and instructions of the Executive Committee;
    (c) the co-ordination of the activities of the Association;
    (d) preparation for the meetings of the Association;
    (e) communications and correspondence of the Association;
    (f) the preparation and submission of a detailed annual report on the activities of the Association;
    (g) submitting to the Executive Committee a draft work plan for the coming year;
    (h) maintaining the Register of the Association; and
    (i) any other matters considered by the Executive Committee or the Secretary-General to be in furtherance of the objectives of the Association.

17. The Secretary-General shall also act as Treasurer of the Association. In this capacity he shall be responsible to the Executive Committee for:
    (a) the safe custody of the funds and other assets of the Association;
    (b) submitting to the Executive Committee for its approval in advance the draft estimates for the coming financial year; and
    (c) submitting to the Executive Committee at the annual meeting a statement of the audited accounts for the past financial year.

18. (a) All moneys of the Association shall be banked with a Bank approved by the Executive Committee and withdrawals from such account or accounts shall be authorised by the Secretary-General. The signatories to the cheque shall be the Secretary-General and one other member designated by the Executive Committee.
    (b) An Auditor shall be appointed by the Annual General Meeting. He shall audit the Association's accounts, records and documents and his report shall be presented to the Annual General Meeting. The Auditor may be paid such honorarium as the General Meeting may determine.

THE GENERAL MEETING

19. A General Meeting shall be convened by the President at least once every three years.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING

20. The President shall convene a Special General Meeting at the request of a majority of the members of the Executive Committee.

21. A Special General Meeting shall also be called at any time by the President within 60 days of the receipt of a written request submitted by at least one-third of the fully paid up members.

22. At least 28 days' notice of a General Meeting or Special General Meeting shall be sent to all Members.

23. All decisions of the General Meeting or Special General Meeting shall be by a majority of the members present and voting.

QUORUM

24. The quorum of the General Meeting or Special General Meeting shall be 25 per cent of all the fully paid up members.

MEMBERSHIP FEE AND ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

25. Membership Fees shall be as follows:

Corporate Members	$ 500
Full Members	$ 15
Associate Members	$ 5

26. Annual Subscriptions shall be as follows:

Corporate Members	$ 200
Full Members	$ 10
Associate Members	$ 3

27. The subscription fees shall be payable in U.S. dollars unless the Executive Committee decides otherwise in respect of any particular member or members. All cheques shall be transmitted to the Secretary-General who shall issue an official receipt for every payment received by him.

28. The annual subscription shall be due on the 1st January of each year.

29. The Membership Committee shall take action deemed appropriate on the status of any member in respect of the Association upon failure by such member to pay the annual subscription due for three consecutive years.

AMENDMENT TO THE RULES

30. Amendment to the Rules shall be made by a two-thirds majority of members on the recommendation of the Executive Committee.

31. At least 60 days' notice shall be given to the Secretary-General of any proposed amendment of the Rules and the proposed alteration shall be sent to every member at least 28 days prior to the Meeting.

INSPECTION OF ACCOUNTS AND LIST OF MEMBERS

32. The books of account and all documents relating thereto and a list of members of the Association shall be available for inspection at the registered office of the Association by any officer or member of the Association on giving not less than seven days notice in writing to the Secretary-General.

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