# MANAGEMENT TRAINING INSTITUTIONS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:

## Proposed Criteria for Institutional Effectiveness

by

John Mudiwa waShe Makumbe   B.A.(Admin) B.Admin.(Spec.Hons)

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For Tafirenyika, my beloved  father, and
in memory of my wonderful mother Maria.

"How does this man know so much when he has never had any training?"
<div style="text-align: right">John 7:15 (<u>Good News Bible</u>)</div>

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## DECLARATION:

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and to the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no copy or paraphrase of material previously published or written by another person except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

John MW. Makumbe

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

Nation-building for development in a transitional society is manifested in the creation of new institutions, the re-structuring and re-organisation of existing ones and training public servants to spearhead the rapid changes required. By far the greatest emphasis seems to have been placed upon the need to appropriately train public servants. Management training institutions (MTIs) are therefore created and charged with the task of imparting the requisite knowledges, skills and attitudes to development administrators. The increase of MTIs in developing countries indicates the faith which transitional societies have in institutional management training for development.

An MTI is an organisation which, like any other organisation, must have certain specific characteristics which determine its capability. The thesis argues that six factors have such a significant influence upon the ultimate effectiveness of an MTI. This study proposes they constitute a set of criteria for an MTI's capability.

These criteria are the extent to which national groups participate in the creation of an MTI significantly affect the level of support, acceptance and therefore effectiveness that the MTI will have the potential to attain. Similarly, whether an MTI is located inside or outside the administrative system also has significant bearing on the MTI's potential to bring about desired improvements and changes in the administrative and developmental systems of a given country. The functional and enabling linkages that an MTI is able to establish, maintain and effectively manage determine the level and types of

resources, inputs and other supports its environment will accord it. An MTI requires adequate levels of institutional autonomy which can enable it to experiment with new ideas, methods and procedures and to introduce appropriate innovations into the administrative and developmental systems. An MTI's leadership plays an important part in determining and managing its linkages; in exercising, projecting and protecting its autonomy, doctrine, goals and objectives; and in creating a viable internal environment. An MTI therefore requires adequately qualified and experienced leadership. In the design of an MTI's internal structure and organisation, the leadership should opt for less hierarchical and less departmentalised organisational structures; flexible and integrated operational systems which encourage maximum participation and the employment of holistic, multi-disciplinary approaches in dealing with the tasks and problems of development administration.

The central thesis of this study is that the overall performance of an MTI in a post-colonial situation can largely be explained and understood by examining and analysing the nature of these factors in the context of a given MTI in a given country. Utilising the examples of two MTIs, one in Zimbabwe and one in Malaysia, these factors are shown to have explanatory potential. It is apparent that MTIs in most developing states face several internal and external environmental constraints. These constraints debilitate and stultify their efforts at improving administrative performance for meaningful development in transitional societies. Separating the critical factors affecting performance may assist some of them to become more effective.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND NOMENCLATURE

ACDA:   Asian Centre for Development Administration

ADS:   Administrative and Diplomatic Service

APDAC:   Asian and Pacific Development Administration Centre

ASEAN:   Association of Southeast Asian Nations

CAFRAD:   African Training and Research Centre in Administration for

       Development

DAU:   Development Administration Unit

ECA:   Economic Commission for Africa (United Nations)

HOD:   Head of Department

IASIA:   International Association of Schools and Institutes of

       Administration

IDS:   Institute of Development Studies

IIAS:   International Institute of Administrative Sciences (Brussels)

ILO:   International Labour Organisation

INTAN:   Instituit Tadbiran Awam Negara (National Institute of Public

       Administration), Malaysia

IPA:   Institute of Public Administration

IPM:   Institute of Personnel Management (Harare, Zimbabwe)

IRAS:   International Review of Administrative Sciences

IST:   In-service Training

ITI:   International Training Institute (Sydney, Astralia)

KIA:   Kenya Institute of Administration

LDCs:   Less Developed Countries

MA:   Master of Arts

MTI:      Management Training Institution

OECD:     Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PA:       Public Administration

PAMT:     Public Administration and Management Training

PAR:      Public Administration Review

PD:       Presidential Directive (Zimbabwe)

PET:      Pre-entry Training

Ph D:     Doctor of Philosophy

PPM:      Public Personnel Management

PPR:      Public Personnel Review

PRT:      Project-related Training

PSRC:     Public Service Review Commission (Nigeria)

PSTC:     Public Service Training Centre (Zimbabwe)

TMB:      Training and Management Bureau (Zimbabwe)

UN:       United Nations (Organisation)

USA:      United States of America

USAID:    United States Agency for International Development

UZ:       University of Zimbabwe

ZIDS:     Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies


Asian: Used in this study to refer to people originating from or living
       in Asia. With respect to the PSTC case study, the term is used to
       refer to such people - mainly Indians - living in Zimbabwe.

Blacks: refers to the African people of Zimbabwe

Coloureds: people of mixed race living in Zimbabwe

Management training: used in this study interchangeably with the term
       administrative training.

Western: Used to refer to models, ideas, practices, etc. of Western
       European and North American origin.

Whites: refers to people of European origin living in Zimbabwe.

## INTRODUCTION

Management training institutions (MTIs) have become a common feature of most developing countries. The term MTI is used in this study in a general sense to refer to those training institutions that are charged with the task of training public administrators who either currently or later occupy middle, senior and top levels in developing countries. Almost universally, developing countries encountered serious problems upon the attainment of national (political) independence. These problems covered the whole realm of national development: political instability, poverty, ignorance, and disease, to name but a few. Events immediately preceding national independence were, however, characterised by a sense of unity, heightened political consciousness and societal dynamism that not only sought a speedy and conclusive end to colonialism, but also demanded that the new regimes that would succeed the colonialists would spare no efforts to correct the injustices and inequities of the colonial era.

To be able to bring about the realisation of most of the needs, aspirations and expectations of their post-colonial societies, governments of developing countries accepted that they had little option but to increase significantly the role of national government in virtually all sectors of national development. Government intervention in national development was thus considered to be inevitable and indeed necessary. Various instruments

could be used by governments to facilitate accelerated deve-
lopment.  The most significant and most commonly employed of
these, however, is the national administrative machinery.  The
administration was seen as a vital change and development agent.

For most developing countries, the post-colonial national
administrative system was beset with numerous problems of lack
of suitably qualified personnel, lack of capital and other
resources that are essential for a modernising bureaucracy,
and a general uncertainty of the direction, strategy and goals
that national development efforts should be geared to pursue.
These and other problems of administrative under-development
were assumed by most governments to be problems which could be
solved by several methods including the training of administrators,
at home and abroad, to impart to them the relevant and appropriate
skills, knowledge and attitudes for their new roles as agents of
change and development.  The sending of civil servants abroad
for further education and training gained momentum although
it was largely  considered to be a slow and unsatisfactory
solution since only a few officers could be accepted by the host
countries at a time.

An alternative or rather complementary method was to create
MTIs within the developing countries themselves.  This was often
done with the assistance of foreign aid donors.  The purpose of
this study is to examine the various factors that affect the
capability of MTIs in developing countries and propose a set
of criteria that

can be utilised in assessing or evaluating these
institutions' effectiveness as agencies for change and
development in the sense of their ability to train civil
servants to desirable levels of competence in
administrative performance.

The study centres on the following closely related
hypotheses:

1.  Management training institutions in developing
    countries are generally believed to be essential
    agents for development because they train public
    servants.

2.  The level of institutional capability which an MTI in
    a developing country can attain as a change and
    development agency largely depends on the nature of
    its genesis, location, linkages, autonomy,
    leadership, and internal structure and organisation.

3.  As presently constituted, most MTIs in developing
    states do not lead to improved administrative
    performance and are therefore not viable and
    effective agents for change and development.

The first hypothesis will be tested in Part I of
this study. Part I provides a review of management
training needs of development administrators in relation
to the desirable attributes that administrators are
required to have. This initial section also discusses the
various development obstacles that developing countries
face and the functions that public servants are expected
to carry out in dealing with these problems. Chapter 1
identifies and discusses several political, adminis-

trative, economic and socio-cultural obstacles. The chapter
underlines the diversity of the problems that inhibit deve-
lopment in most developing countries and also shows that
these problems are closely related to each other in any
given society; so that attempting to solve one or only some
of them to the neglect of others will not effectively lead
to acceptable levels of societal change and development.

The discussion of development obstacles provides an
excellent backdrop from which to examine the role of bereau-
cracy in development. Cited authorities are largely agreed
on the assumption that in a post-colonial situation, the
civil service is an important force for change and develop-
ment. The fact that public demands for increased public
services and results-oriented development programmes and
policies rise to new heights is argued to be the major
reason why public servants emerge as linchpins of the
change and development processes.

Chapter 2 discusses the functional requirements and
desirable attributes of development administrators. The
major thrust of this chapter is that: unlike the colonial
administrator, whose role was limited to that of law-
enforcement and the collection of revenue, the development
administrator has a more specialised, complex and demanding
role to play in the management and inducement of change and
development.

The third chapter of this study views the identified
desirable attributes of development administrators as
management training needs. Three major

clusters of training needs emerge, namely: intellectual needs which can be satisfied by giving administrators substantive knowledge. in specific areas; operational capability needs which require that certain specific skills be imparted to administrators; and orientational needs, which require that administrators acquire appropriate attitudes, ethics, values and standards. Chapter 3 critically examines the assertion that these needs of development administrators can effectively be imparted through management training. Available literature, however, seems to indicate doubts about the extent to which some of these desirable attributes can be taught. Nevertheless it is argued, attempts should be made to design and implement training programmes which seek to impart these attributes. The third chapter goes further to suggest several areas of study or training which should constitute the curricula of a management training programme for development administration.

In the light of the discussions in the first three chapters, Chapter 4 reviews the whole issue of management training for development as projected in various studies of developing countries. This chapter criticises developing countries' failure to initiate realistic and far-reaching administrative reforms in their systems. It argues that in most of these countries management training was viewed incorrectly as the panacea for all the problems of administrative incapacity, ineffectiveness and under-development. The fact that other, more significant reforms of national administrations were not forthcoming,

meant that training, however effective it was, could never bring about significant improvements in the performance of development administrators. However, the efforts of MTIs are not considered fruitless, nor is management training an exercise in futility. There are many benefits from management training. However, the truism that management training is only a catalyst of the development process is accepted and it is also argued that successful development depends largely on factors external to MTIs and the training process.

Chapter 4 also discusses the role and functions of MTIs as perceived by those who create and those who operate in these institutions. Emphasis is laid on the importance of the functions of research and consultancy which, as this chapter argues, are largely neglected by most MTIs. The relationship between these neglected functions and training and their complementary nature are stressed. Thus, to the extent that research and consultancy are given low priority by most MTIs, the quality of their training function is necessarily low and less relevant to the needs of their clientele organisations and trainees.

The second hypothesis is tested in Part II of this study and proposes that the criteria for an MTI's institutional capability should centre around the following six factors: genesis; location; linkages; autonomy; leadership; and internal structure and organisation. By discussing these factors one by one Part II highlights the relationship between each factor and the

institutional capability of an MTI in a developing country. This study does not consider such other factors as dynamics of support mobilisation; level of acceptance by the environment; and strategies of needs identification as unimportant for an MTI's capability. These other factors are, however, less a determinant of institutional capability and, indeed, are largely dependent upon the degree of effectiveness derived from the six factors mentioned above.

Thus, an MTI which came about as a result of the active participation of various internal and external groups, is appropriately located in the context of its environment and role; similarly one which has successfully utilised its autonomy to chart its course and forge appropriate linkages, is very likely to pursue effective dynamics of support mobilisation, as well as employ effective techniques of needs identification. This should obviously increase its utility to the environment and thus its acceptance by the latter as a viable and effective agency for change and development.

Each of the six factors that constitute the criteria for an MTI's capability is discussed in a separate chapter. In each chapter, however, the relationships that exist among the various factors are identified. Chapter 5 is critical of the role played by such external forces as aid donor agencies in initiating and creating MTIs in developing countries with little or no participation of local groups in the recipient countries. The chapter argues that MTIs that resulted from

this kind of genesis, tend to lack acceptance by and lack support from the very environments they are created to serve. Conversely, MTIs that resulted from initiatives from within the country itself are more readily able to obtain support and acceptance from their environments. They are also better able to forge and manage effective functional linkages with institutions and groups in the environment, thereby facilitating higher levels of institutional impact upon the environment.

Chapter 6 discusses the location of an MTI without recommending any particular location as the most appropriate. The specific role of an MTI and the other conditions of a given country have to be considered when deciding its location. Location within the administrative system, with the MTI having easy access to the seat of political power, also allows severe external interference to the extent that the MTI may indeed, conform to the status quo rather than be innovative and change-oriented. On the other hand, an MTI that is outside the administrative system, while being better motivated to perform effectively and become innovative so as to attract and retain clientele, runs the risk of becoming far removed from the real needs of clientele organisations. There is also the danger of it becoming more theoretical than practical. Institutional location, nevertheless, remains a determining factor of an MTI's capability to the extent that it significantly influences the MTI's autonomy, linkages, leadership and staff as well as its internal structure and organisation.

Government controlled MTIs tend to have linkages mainly if not only with government ministries and departments. They do not forge similar linkages with related but non-governmental institutions in the environment. The linkages that an MTI is able to forge and effectively manage greatly affect the level of influence the MTI will achieve in the environment and, therefore, in the processes of change and development. Institutional linkages also determine the level of support that an MTI will be accorded by the environment as well as its ability to acquire inputs into its programmes, and sell its outputs to clientele organisations.

The extent to which an MTI is able to establish and maintain a diversity of linkages also has a bearing on its ability to exercise and defend its autonomy. Thus an MTI which has only a few linkages with its clientele and those who finance it is likely to be more restricted in its autonomy. It may not be able to deviate significantly from the established practices and procedures of its clientele, nor is it likely to be able to experiment with new ideas without seriously endangering its support and resource base. Low levels of institutional autonomy largely lead to conformity and status quo orientation rather than to change and innovation. This study emphasizes the fact that the extent to which an MTI is able to attain, exercise and defend its autonomy depends, inter alia, on the quality of its leadership.

Chapter 9 examines the various roles and functions of an MTI's leadership. The term leadership is used in

this sense to include both the national political leaders and the directors or principals of MTIs. The support and guidance of the national political leadership is essential for the effectiveness of an MTI that has the responsibility of equipping the national administrative system. It is the political leadership's role to decide, direct and articulate the nation's development goals, objectives and strategies. It is the role of an MTI's leadership to translate these into teachable and researchable programmes and activities so that the MTI and the government do not function at cross-purposes. This calls for commitment to the expressed development ideology and strategy on the part of an MTI's leadership. It also calls for a leader of high calibre; someone who will project a favourable and acceptable image of the MTI to the environment and have the respect of those outside the institutions. The leader must also be able to create an appropriate internal environment which encourages the multi-directional free-flow of information, and enhances maximum participation of the staff and trainees in the activities of the MTI.

Chapter 9 also emphasizes the importance of continuity of leadership, particularly good quality leadership, in an MTI. A high turn-over of good leadership is disruptive and detrimental to an MTI's institutional capability. While stressing that the director or principal of an MTI should be an individual of high standing in his field and in society, this study accepts that academic qualifications alone cannot be an effective criterion for

deciding on the suitability of an MTI's leadership. Experience only in the civil service is equally inadequate. Rather, a balance has to be struck and an individual with a good measure of both academic qualifications and relevant experience may be selected. Thus the head of an MTI needs to be able to command respect in both government and academic circles; one who will welcome and encourage research activities and consultation with clientele organisations.

In Chapter 10 of this study another of the roles of an MTI's leadership is identified and discussed: that of determining the MTI's internal structure and organisation. The problems associated with highly departmentalised hierarchical organisational structures include: top-down flow of orders, ideas and information; limited staff participation in decision making; a dearth of innovations resulting from minimum levels of intra- and inter-departmental activities; fragmentation of the training process rather than the adoption of multi-disciplinary and integrative approaches to administrative and development problems and issues. These problems lead to institutional ineffectiveness and status quo orientation. This study advocates the flattening of hierarchical structures; multi-directional flow of ideas and information; flexible operational strategies to allow for multi-disciplinary approaches in training, consultancy and research; and the encouragement of participation in the activities of an MTI at all levels.

These proposals will facilitate the generation of

innovations and the exchange of new ideas. They will also enable an MTI to be an example for its clientele organisations in that it will be putting into practice what it preaches, and demonstrating the benefits that emanate from such arrangements. This tenth chapter also underlines the effect that institutional location and autonomy have on an MTI's internal structure and organisation. Available evidence indicates that MTIs that are located within the administrative system tend to have internal structures and operational systems that are patterned on government bureaucratic organisations. MTIs that are located in universities also seem to display the same tendencies, being patterned along traditional academic lines which stress the sanctity of specialised fields rather than encourage multi-disciplinary approaches.

With regard to institutional autonomy, the tenth chapter points out that although the leaders of an MTI may desire to re-structure and re-organise the MTI appropriately, they may fail to do so effectively if their intended designs deviate significantly from what their superior organisations may consider to be the established and acceptable structures and strategies. Thus, the MTI may not have adequate institutional autonomy to determine its own internal structure and organisation without risking loss of support, acceptance and, indeed, even survival.

The central thrust of this study is that these six factors determine the level of institutional capability

that an MTI has the potential to achieve. They determine whether an MTI is going to have a high or low level of impact upon its environment; upon the level of performance of the administrative system; and upon the process of change and development in a given economy. Put another way, this study proposes that these six institutional characteristics constitute adequate criteria for evaluating the potential effectiveness of an MTI. Further, by studying each of these factors of a given MTI, it is possible to understand the various constraints that may be militating against the MTI's desired level of effectiveness, relevance and utility.

Due to the complex nature of evaluation in management training, this present study does not suggest any quantitatively valid instruments for evaluating MTIs. The fact that such quantitative measures would need to take into account a myriad of factors, most of which are qualitative, makes quantitative measurement well nigh impossible as well as highly controversial.

Employing these proposed criteria for institutional capability and as a means of testing and validating them, Part III of this study sets out to test the third and final hypothesis by examining case studies of two MTIs in different developing countries. The case study of Malaysia's INTAN provides several examples of the positive effects of observing some of the claims made in this study. INTAN is thus projected in this study on the basis of at least three secondary sources as an effective MTI. It serves to illustrate the value of analysing the

six factors and indicates that at least some are attainable in a developing state.

Although INTAN cannot be said to be a perfectly effective MTI, its apparent achievements go a long way to demonstrate how to ensure an MTI's effectiveness as an agency for change, development, and the improvement of administrative performance in a post-colonial situation. The case evidence on INTAN used in this study is based on literature only; it was not possible to carry out field research on this MTI because of several constraints. The validity of the case evidence on INTAN is based on the fact that three independent works were utilised to obtain the data included in this study.

The most significant positive features of INTAN can be listed as: the active participation of local (Malaysian) elements in its genesis; an appropriate and flexible internal operational strategy that allows for intra- and inter-departmental participation and interaciton; an emphasis on all the major functions - training, research and consultancy; a high level of institutional autonomy which permits INTAN to operate its own budget although it is located within the adminis- trative system; a carefully designed staff development policy that links training and self-development to career advancement; and a staffing policy that seeks to ensure greater continuity of both institutional leadership and staff.

The second case study in Chapter 11 of this study is that of the Zimbabwe Public Service Training Centre

(PSTC) which seems to be on the other extreme of the spectrum compared to INTAN. Data on the PSTC was gathered during a field research visit to Zimbabwe recently, and this author also gained inside information while working as a trainer in that country. The PSTC case study serves to illustrate the negative effects which this study argues would result if any or some of the factors of institutional capability are ignored. For example, the case study illustrates that an MTI which is located within the administrative system and is financially wholly dependent on government tends to make little effort to establish effective linkages with non-governmental institutions; nor does it strive to be innovative or question current policies, methods and procedures of management.

The PSTC case study further confirms the assertion that an MTI is likely to be internally structured and organised along the lines of its superior institutions or organisations. The fact that the PSTC has direct access to the seat of power does not seem to be an effectively utilised advantage. Thus, in spite of this vantage position, the PSTC is content to plod along like any other government department. Its staffing and staff development policies validate this study's warnings with regard to the lack of appropriate personnel practices and policies for MTI personnel. Appropriate policies and practices should include incentives, inducements for research, consultancy and self-development; they should also link further study and training to career advancement.

In the fourth and final part of this study,

Chapter 12 provides a review of the major internal and external environmental constraints that MTIs in developing countries face. This concluding chapter argues that while some of the causes of institutional ineffectiveness of MTIs can be said to be rooted in the design, structure and operations of these institutions, others are constraints that forces external to the MTIs impose upon them. As noted earlier, most governments of developing countries made only minimal administrative reforms to their post-colonial administrative systems. The continuation of inappropriate administrative systems makes training for change and development even more difficult to achieve.

MTIs located within administrative systems are rarely allowed adequate levels of institutional autonomy to enable them to experiment with alternative methods and procedures of development administration, or to deviate from established systems where necessary. Consequently such MTIs have not been able to demonstrate an innovative and pro-active role for their administrative systems. Further, such factors as excessive centralisation; inadequate resources and other supports; and lack of clearly articulated development and administrative strategies, goals and objectives have made it impossible for MTIs to participate adequately in the improvement of administrative performance for national development.

For their part, MTIs face various internal problems: (i) an inability to identify accurately their roles and their clientele's training needs; (ii) inappropriate organisational structures and rigid

strategies of operations; (iii) imbalance in commitments to the various functions of an MTI; (iv) lack of appropriate institutional leadership and adequately qualified staff; (v) a dearth of innovations; and (vi) a fear of rocking the boat by challenging existing antiquated administrative models and systems. This study argues that most of these constraints can be dealt with by the MTIs themselves. It (however) recognizes that their total elimination requires the co-operation and assistance of agents external to MTIs.

It is hoped that this study, though not exhaustive in its discussion of the issues and problems of MTI management, will be of some use to the following groups: political leaders, who have the task of steering developing societies along rational, feasible and desirable lines; development administrators, who have the momentous task of designing, creating and implementing the essential development institutions, policies and programmes; MTI leadership and staff, who may refer to it for guidance and may use it as a tool for organisational self-evaluation; and the masses in developing societies, in whose power it is to demand of their political and administrative elites, more than just token change which does not lead to improved living standards.

Academically, this study contributes: documentation of recent studies on issues of development administration and public management training; proposed criteria for studying and assessing the performance of MTIs in developing countries; and a challenge to social

scientists to carry out more studies to improve on the criteria herein proposed. The era in which academic excellence was regarded as of sufficient value for development administrators must be left behind. Study divorced from day-to-day issues is no longer acceptable.

PART I

DEVELOPMENT TRAINING NEEDS AND THE EXPECTATIONS OF

DEVELOPING STATES ON TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

## Introduction

The proliferation of public management training institutions in developing countries in the past two decades is largely considered to be due to several crucial factors or conditions prevailing in these countries. These factors can all be collectively summed up in the all-embracing phrase; viz. the need for accelerated and meaningful national development. This is obviously a phrase which can be taken to mean all things to all people, or to mean nothing at all. In the context of and for the purpose of this study however, national development will be taken to include the various programmes, projects and activities that are set in motion by national governments, non-governmental organizations and individuals in a given country for the purpose of improving upon the quality of life of the people of that country. Such activities are obviously multi-faceted and cover all the major areas of societal development; i.e. political, social and economic aspects.

The proliferation of training institutions in developing countries must, therefore, be seen as a response to the overall objective of facilitating meaningful and rapid development by ensuring that the people that are entrusted with the task of managing

national development efforts have adequate and appropriate skills, knowledge and attitudes for that purpose. Thus in other words, the creation of training institutions in these countries was an admission of the fact that problems of administrative underdevelopment existed and needed to be solved. Training institutions were therefore created for the major task of providing appropriate training to public servants of these countries as well as for other related functions as shall be shown later in this study.

The purpose of this initial part is to highlight the various development training needs of developing states and the expectations that are assumed will be fulfilled by management training institutions. The discussion in this first part will be intended to test the first hypothesis of this study, which states that management training institutions in developing countries are generally believed to be essential agents for development because they train public servants.

Chapter 1 will focus on some of the major obstacles that developing countries face in their attempts to bring about meaningful change and development. The second chapter has the purpose of examining the role played by the national civil service in the inducement and management of appropriate and desirable change and development in their societies in the post-colonial situation. The third chapter will take the discussion a step further and discuss, in some detail, the major training needs of public servants in a developing country in terms of the tasks they are expected to perform in the

furtherance of national development. The fourth and final chapter of Part I will attempt to show that management training has largely been perceived as a panacea for administrative underdevelopment in most developing countries; and that the role and functions that training institutions in these countries are expected to perform may not necessarily be the full answer to the problems of national development administration in these countries. The discussion in this part will draw heavily on available literature so as to provide a broad perspective to the various aspects of the subject of this study.

Chapter 1

## Major Obstacles to Meaningful Development in Developing Countries

To add to the definition of development given in the introduction to this section, it must be stated that development is a process of societal change. Society is never static at any given time. The level of dynamism, however, tends to vary from time to time and from society to society. For the purpose of this study, the term 'development' will be used to mean that societal change which is brought about by the deliberate and sometimes planned actions of the citizens of developing countries and their governments. In this sense then, development is broadly perceived as planned, guided and managed change. It is the view of this study that development is multi-dimensional in nature and does not only mean growth in the traditional economic sense. Meaningful development implies a total transformation of the politico-socio-economic environment and outlook of society with the objective of raising or improving the levels of living of the masses of people in that society.

In the post-colonial situation, therefore, this change and development is not incidental, nor is it left to the mythical "invisible hand" of the Smithian figment. Paul A. Schillings notes:

> Developing countries are waking up to a new phase of life, and are experiencing new political, economic, social, cultural, and administrative problems: new changes are taking place affecting every facet of man's life, and corresponding needs, which tax and test the dynamism of governments and administrations, are cropping up. People's attitude towards change in the post-independent societies has taken a new

> turn. Change is no longer left to take its own
> course; economic and social change or
> development has now to be planned, organized and
> administered, in order to produce quick results
> and meet rising expectations.[1]

The purpose of this chapter is to outline, albeit in general, some of these problems that confront governments of developing countries in their noble task of bringing about change and development. These obstacles to development discussed below do not necessarily manifest themselves to the same extent in all developing countries, nor are they necessarily all evident in any given country. These obstacles can be divided into four broad categories as follows:

- Political obstacles

- Administrative obstacles

- Economic obstacles

- Socio-cultural obstacles

This division is solely for the convenience of organized discussion since there are overlaps, and since obstacles of one kind often lead to problems of another kind.

## 1.1 Political obstacles

Political stability is a prerequisite for development. Many developing countries are faced with serious problems of political instability brought about by tribal conflicts, sectionalism and war situations. While some of these problems are carry-overs from these countries' colonial past, others are a result of weak linkages between the government leaders and the people they govern:

In some countries in Asia, the basic problem is
a fundamental lack of consensus about values and
goals among the people and the existence of a
bifurcated structure that separates the ruling
elite from the masses.[2]

The result of this division is the existence of a conflict
situation which, apart from being disruptive to
development activities, also means that the ruling elites
fail to secure a viable political base for modernization:

The cement of nationhood is fragile - indeed,
the structures of the state are not firmly in
place. National symbols command little support;
the polity is riven by ethnic religious and
regional cleavage; and the criteria of
legitimacy for rulers and procedures for
succession have not been fixed; and the regime's
capacity to extract compliance is as weak as the
social disciplines that so tenuously bind
individuals and groups to the modern polity.[3]

This situation is exacerbated by the fact that
institutions for resolving conflicts are weak, if they
exist at all, in these countries. Thus, while the post-
colonial situation is commonly characterized by societal
dynamism and higher levels of political consciousness,
there is always the danger that the resultant energies may
not be effectively directed towards the common goal of
national development, but may be expended in attempts to
pursue narrowly defined sectional interests. Esman writes:

The pervasiveness of social conflict in
developing countries and the weak institutions
and procedures for mediating conflict place
these polities in constant jeopardy. Economic
growth and political development tend to
generate conflicts among social, economic,
regional and ethnic groups faster than they
produce methods and institutions for conflict
management.[4]

The experience of some developing states seems to
indicate that the existence of a nationally agreed and

acceptable political ideology goes a long way in ensuring political stability and the institutionalization of appropriate conflict management mechanisms. Conversely, the absence of such an ideology may lead to absence of unity of purpose especially with regard to the direction of national development. When there is no agreed formula for progress; no agreement on what norms and values to preserve or discard and no agreed goals and objectives, development becomes haphazard, unbalanced and largely inequitable as well as divisive of society. It is the role of political leadership to take adequate measures to create an environment in which development is able to occur with the enthusiastic participation of all and sundry.

Kempe R. Hope and Aubrey Armstrong see the role of political leadership in a developing country as going further than just creating an appropriate environment for development to take place:

> The improvement of a nation's administrative and management capability is highly dependent on support from the political leadership. The role of the political leadership is indeed the most crucial factor to be ascertained in the process of national development and hence in the improvement in the administration and management of development. Political leadership is the arbiter of, rather than one participant or factor among many, in the process of national development.

The inability, or perhaps, unwillingness of the political leadership in most developing states to perform this role means that, for these countries, development efforts tend to lack the thrust and effectiveness they should otherwise have. The distance between the political elites and the

people is one of the reasons why political leadership fails to fulfil this role as was stated earlier. The other reason is that the political elite will perceive change and development as a threat to their status and authority. "This elite status and authority is so crisply controlled that it is difficult for society to penetrate."[6] Thus, a further obstacle to development is lack of commitment on the part of the political leadership.

> Commitment here involves an overriding desire to promote rationality, rise of productivity, social and economic equalization, improved institutions and attitudes. All of these aspects of national development combined will hopefully produce the administrative and management machinery needed, while at the same time generating further change. The promotion of these ideals points toward modernization and is directly opposed to the desire for the maintenance of the status quo.[7]

A further obstacle that emanates from the gap between political leadership and the people is that the political leaders rapidly lose touch with the real needs of the people, and therefore fail to formulate appropriate policies or create the relevant and required, effective institutions to facilitate these needs. For most developing countries, the post-independence period is largely characterised by continuity rather than change: as Delwin A. Roy observes, "For many of these states independence does not mean freedom in any real sense, but rather transfer of control from the colonial power to a local elite group."[8] If the local elite becomes as distant from the masses of the people as the colonial rulers were, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for them to be aware of the real needs of the people and to

give them the order of priority that the people would desire.

A further result of this obstacle is that the political leadership will employ irrational and inappropriate processes of policy formulation and decision-making. By and large, these processes do tend to exclude the participation of the people at grassroots level, and this becomes a serious development obstacle: ". . . development involves the people and is not possible without popular participation".[9] Lack of popular participation necessarily results in lack of public support of development activities. Mobilization of public participation, however, necessitates the modification, in some cases, or the complete abandonment, in others, of western colonial organizational structures and procedures. It may also mean the creation of new institutions and the adoption of more people-, task- and results-oriented procedures. Such measures call for change rather than continuity. It is only by initiating such change that the political leadership can successfully induce, promote and manage change for development in the whole of society.

> It is thus that political leadership determines goals, selects methods and gives direction. Society develops or fails to develop according to the extent to which its political leadership is intelligent, creative, skillful and committed. Without this requisite function of political leadership, there will be no increase in administrative and management capability, no progress, no direction, no development.[10]

The final problem or obstacle to meaningful development that rides on the political plane is the lack of appropriate mechanisms for the equitable distribution

of benefits whether they be economic, political or social.
Inequality has a negative effect upon popular
participation in development. And, as noted earlier, it
also contributes to such negative aspects as political
instability, sectionalism and ethnocentrism, all of which
result in the existence of an environment which is not
suitable for national development:

> If . . . increasing resources is the essential
> means and the core of all development, the
> distribution of the new resources is the pulp
> which will give it its actual shape. The
> importance of development is reduced if only a
> minority of the population is affected.[11]

Thus, while development may mean, in part, economic growth
or the creation of new wealth, the extent to which such
new wealth is equitably distributed significantly affects
the zeal with which further development activities will be
supported and executed by the people at all levels of
society. Deciding on and selecting distribution mechanisms
are political activities which may promote or retard
development.

## 1.2 Administrative obstacles

The continuity of colonial structures, systems and
organizations referred to in the section above results in
the first of the administrative obstacles that plague many
developing countries - namely, poor organization of
government. This problem also arises from such other
factors as dispersed, diffused and duplicating functions,
offices and responsibilities; inadequate managerial
facilities; inadequate planning of administration;

political interference and lack of skillful administrators.[12]
Some of these problems will be discussed below to show how
they are obstacles to national development.

In most developing states, the administrative machinery
left by the colonialists is not appropriate nor adequate for
the new state's aspirations and new roles of the new order
and new society. The commonest measures that are taken to
rectify this situation include : indigenization of top admin-
istrative positions; modification and simplification of
administrative regulations, particularly terms and conditions
of service. There may also be creation of new institutions
and departments in addition to rather than in replacement of
existing ones. There is usually very little in the form of
genuine administrative reforms which would result in radical
structural changes to existing organizations although these
may be more urgently required. Worse still, the newly created
organizations are often constructed along the pattern of
existing ones, to the extent that the state machinery merely
expands in terms of numbers of public servants and public
offices with the scope of government remaining largely limited.

The result of this situation is what may be termed bureau-
cratic incapacity, since the bereaucracy will face severe
difficulties in dealing with the heightened demands for public
services and the phenomenal crisis of expectation charact-
ristic of post-colonial situations. Stone rightly observes :

> . . . government functions are generally
> dispersed among an excessive number of
> ministries, authorities and agencies. New
> agencies and public corporations to fulfil
> development objectives are superimposed -
> often necessarily - upon traditionally
> oriented governments without a prior review
> of the entire structure. The result is a
> multiplicity of organs, duplication of
> function and diffusion of responsibility.

That this duplication results in wastage of scarce resources

which should otherwise be used for development programmes

is evidenced by the insistence of aid donors that recipient

states reduce the size of their administrative machineries,

or that they agree to allow the donor agency to make use of

its own technical staff in the administration of the designated

projects. While there may be other ulterior motives for this,

the implication for use or mis-use of resources certainly

also does exist.

The elements of diffusion of responsibility and disorder

are graphically noted by Yves Chapel who also sees the problem

of poor organization as consisting of two major features -

disconnection and disorder. He writes :

> Disconnection is, for instance, shown by ill-
> distributed powers and duties, over-centra-
> lization, unco-ordination and decisions not
> followed by appropriate action. Disorder is
> rife in the departments: owing to bad organi-
> zation; the administration may only with the
> greatest dificulty work on a sound basis of
> filing, records, information, internal liaison,
> and regular dispatch of current affairs. This
> is often made worse by redundant staff with
> ill-defined tasks and by serious defects in
> the control system, in the codification of laws
> or in the exercise of authority in a disorga-
> nized civil service.

Ineffectiveness of this nature is often reflected in

the failure of development schemes and in shortages of

basic

commodities in some of these countries. Enforcement of decisions falls to undesirable levels and corruption runs riot. Chapel continues:

> The administration is unable to come up to expectations, and the results are serious. Political corruption makes a sound public service system difficult if not impossible. Bribery - which may be linked with the people's mental habits or the civil servants' lack of a sense of duty or of the general interest - will, if varied and widespread, give an idea of the atmosphere in which the administration works.[15]

Such an atmosphere tends to resist change, since change will mean breaking away from habits which the more powerful elements of society benefit from. Thus the disadvantaged masses are left with little or no option than to become increasingly apathetic and fatalistic. Pointing out that willingness to change is not a function of knowledge but rather of conscience; and that change is brought about by a moral intention to alter one's behaviour in the interest of the common good, S.R. Nanekar argues that:

> Continuance in high offices of knowledgeable individuals who would not change because of vested interests is what explains why in many countries, particularly the developing ones, despite all professions of need for change in administrative system and behaviour, the old ways of doing things merrily go on.[16]

Such resistance to change sometimes even survives the adoption of imported rational models of administration because such models are often distorted in order to suit what those in high offices may regard as conventional ways of doing things. When these imported models, therefore, fail to bring about expected results in development they are denounced and other ones called for and tried with the

same results.  Stagnation results and national slogans, once

powerful tools for public mobilization, attain a hollow ring.

Lack of proper co-ordination is another administrative

problem or obstacle to development which is also closely

related and sometimes  emanates from poor governmental

organization.  The fact that soon after independence, and

in response to new and increased demands for public services,

new ministries and departments are created often results in

bureaucracies that are so ernomous and complexly organized

that co-ordination becomes difficult if not occasionally

impossible.[17]  Lack of adequate co-ordination plays havoc with

the timely implementation of development projects:

> Stemming from poor organization and programming is
> a lack of co-ordination, especially in respect to
> timing, between the agencies responsible for planning
> and financing programmes and projects and those
> responsible for executing them.  Funds, foreign
> exchange, materials, personnel and other necessary
> resources may not be authorized or available when
> needed to carry out a project or activity.[18]

Thus, lack of effective co-ordination and synchronization

results in bureaucratic incapacity and administrative paralysis,

which, in turn, adversely affects the national development

process.  In cases where there is a degree of centralization,

with all decisions and transactions having to be referred

to headquaters, the resultant delays and inefficiency seriously

disrupt the momentum of development.  High centralization

also means that mass participation in the design and implementation

of

development activities is seriously reduced, thereby
lowering the morale, enthusiasm and therefore support of
the masses for the development activities. As Stone
observes:

> Regions, provinces and cities are not consulted
> or adequately involved in formulating
> development plans and operations. Neither are
> they given sufficient operational authority, tax
> powers, conditional grants, or opportunity to
> organize local programmes which would make a
> maximum contribution to development.[19]

Measures of this nature can only be taken if the
development plans are so designed to include them. In
fact, the ideal situation is to have all possible elements
in the environment participating in the drawing up as well
as in the implementation of development plans. Thus, the
other administrative obstacle often faced by developing
countries is that of faulty or inappropriate development
plans.

Hope and Armstrong define a national development
plan as "a blueprint of public policies designed to bring
about certain results which would not be forthcoming
without it".[20] They also call it "a decision determining
the strategy of government action embodied in rules,
regulations, controls, directives and impulses, all of
which are designed to increase output and
productivity".[21] The government in a post-colonial
situation finds itself having to intervene in the
socio-economic development of society, and this is usually
done by planning for desired change and development,
mobilising available resources and searching for new ones.
These measures need to be taken with careful assessment of

the ultimate impact they will have upon the development
environment. That the development plans of some of the
developing states become unrealistic and non-functional [22]
is unfortunate since it means that development grinds
to a halt and the quality of life for the people remains
low and unimproved. Thus faulty development plans become a
development obstacle:

> . . . they do not incorporate the administrative
> measures, organizational provisions, and
> procedures essential to their implementation;
> nor are they backed up by well designed and
> evaluated projects. They often consist mainly of
> aspirations or hopeful statistical
> projections.[23]

A further way in which development plans tend to
be faulty is in their omission of non-governmental efforts
in national development. In economies where resources for
development are scarce the government cannot afford to
disregard the initiative of individuals and non-
governmental organizations. The initiatives and efforts of
individuals must be supported, encouraged and indeed
protected by administrative or legal measures which must
be included in national development plans. The lack of
adequate measures to foster and assist private entre-
preneurism retards development

Stone also notes that there are other problems
involved in national development plans:

> Development depends on putting projects into
> operation, establishing new services,
> accelerating productive enterprises, creating
> new institutions. However, development
> programmes are often inoperable because the
> technicians who prepare them seem to view them
> as self-executing and do not back them up with
> operationally designed programmes and projects.
> The projects are designed in vague terms and

> inadequately tested for economic viability or
> administrative feasibility; data on natural
> resources and manpower needs and availability
> are fragmentary; required manpower, equipment
> and materials are not scheduled; or financing is
> not fully arranged.[24]

This is indeed harsh criticism of development plans.
Nevertheless, it is all valid criticism, as the
experiences of many developing states would reveal. The
foregoing is not to be taken to imply that a well designed
and adequately detailed blueprint will lead to meaningful
development. Such a document will however go a long way to
chart the process of development and to act as a useful
guideline for all who can participate in the process. The
practice of drawing up a glossy document full of grandiose
projects and waving it before aid donors can only lead to
dependency, frustration and under-development.

Bureaucratic incapacity also manifests itself as
an obstacle to development in terms of what Chapel terms
administrative under-development, which he defines as:

> . . . the temporary inability of a developing
> country to provide itself with an administration
> suited to its needs and means, just when the
> demands of development are most keenly felt.[25]

As stated earlier, these demands are most keenly felt soon
after the attainment of national (political) independence.
This is also the time when the new nation is facing
serious problems with regard to the shortage of
appropriately skilled manpower to man the development
administration machinery. It is also the time when most of
the colonial administrators will be leaving, either of
their own accord, or because the new regime and new
society may find them undesirable as public servants in

the new nation. As observed earlier, this is also the time

when rapid nationalization or localization is actively

pursued. Administrative under-development results, as a

consequence of all these factors and others, in ineffi-

ciency and effectiveness of the national administration.

Thus, lack of adequately qualified personnel is one of the

principal causes of administrative underdevelopment as the

value and competence of an administration depends on its

staff.

The weakness of the post-colonial administrators is

reflected in various ways :

> Their inadequacy is not only technical (lack of
> necessary knowledge or qualifications) but also
> administrative (e.g. no organization ability or
> sustained effort, difficulty in putting decisions
> in administrative form so that they can be carried
> out, deficient supervision and management of staff)
> and even moral (absence of an ideal of service for
> the common good, a feeble civic sense or general
> interest, etc.).[26]

This weakness, occuring as it does soon after national

independence means that there will be an imbalance between

bureaucratic responsibilities and bureaucratic capability.[27]

This imbalance constitutes the most crucial factor which

leads to the failure and frustration of most social and

economic development plans in post-independent states. In

an article analysing the documents presented at the 1965

Paris meetings of the Working Group of Schools and Institutes

of Public Administration, J. Bhattacharyya gives the following

as some of the major causes of this administrative incapacity:

> Firstly, the saving potential of the developing
> economies is very low, so that not enough
> resources are devoted to creating the necessary
> administrative infrastructure for development.
> Secondly, in many instances the traditional
> functions of the administrators, i.e.
> maintenance of law and order, have persisted.
> The consequence is that, instead of the
> administrator becoming a change agent, he
> endeavours to maintain the status quo. Thirdly,
> bureaucratic control does not permit quick
> decisions to be made even though these may be
> major policy matters affecting ways and means of
> executing development projects. Fourthly, the
> education systems are full of imbalances which
> are not conducive to a rapid economic and social
> development.[28]

He identifies four major imbalances in the education system of most developing countries which, he argues, "intrude on the production functions of the education system, causing poor quality skills to be produced".[29] Of particular interest to this study, however, is the second cause of imbalance mentioned above. Most of the developing states have attributed this status quo orientation of administrators to lack of appropriate skill, knowledge and attitudes. The solution to this problem is, as will be shown later, to train the administrators in such a way that they acquire the necessary and appropriate skills, knowledge and attitudes to become effective change agents. This accounts for the proliferation of management training institutes and schools of public administration in these countries.

Another noteworthy factor about the causes of administrative incapacity mentioned above is the interrelated nature of the factors involved; so that one problem gives rise to, or further aggravates the other. Thus, the conventional and slow procedures of

decision-making have a negative impact on development

projects and therefore on productivity, resulting in

limited resources for further development and the

provision of more adequate infrastructure and other

facilities for social and economic advancement. The

resulting vicious circle tends to encourage maintenance

of the status quo rather than provide motivation for the

taking of risks through innovative action.

Lack of comprehensive and accurate manpower planning

and assessment is another obstacle to national development

in developing countries. Hope and Armstrong suggest that

measures for increasing administrative and management

capability for social and economic development should be

an integral part of national development plans.[30] They argue:

> Manpower planning and assessment go far beyond
> tabulation of supply and demand indices of the
> labour force. It must take into consideration
> the broad spectrum of problems of human
> resources development. Planning and assessment
> of manpower should be a part of the development
> plan of any developing country, and should be
> co-ordinated with education planning and
> training. In the LDC s manpower planning is of
> vital necessity, but has always been a short-
> coming of post-independence development planning
> in these economies. This shortcoming manifests
> itself in the negligence or unconcern of the
> governments and, to a lesser degree, in the lack
> of qualitative and quantitative techniques
> necessary for such planning. [31]

Here again, it is evident that the lack of skills is the main

cause of administrative incapacity and under-development. It

is due to lack of adequate skills that those who are respons-

ible for manpower planning are unable to draw up plans which

contain accurate assessments of

available skills nor measures to improve the skills,
knowledge and attitudes that are appropriate for
development programmes. Indeed, some necessary programmes
contained in glossy plans end up having to be shelved for
long periods because the human resources with the relevant
skills are not available. For, as Stone cautions:

> Many fields of knowledge, skills and competences
> are required in the administration of
> development. Without educational planning and
> studies to identify personnel needs,
> development, no matter how well planned, cannot
> succeed. Even so, an understanding of the
> importance of educational planning in the
> achievement of development objectives is still
> limited.[32]

Mere estimation of the numbers of personnel
required by broad groupings without breaking these
groupings into specific categories for the various
development activities does not constitute adequate
manpower planning. Institutions which are charged with the
task of educating and training manpower cannot use them as
guidelines for the identification of the specific skills
that are in short supply but required for national
development.

The Public Service Review Commission (PSRC) which
was established by the Nigerian Federal Government in 1972
to examine the public service of Nigeria identified six
findings as problems with regard to manpower planning in
that country. It is the view of this study that most of
these problems would be applicable to the majority of
developing countries throughout the world. The problems,
as noted by Harry A. Green, are as follows:

1. The manpower planning operations indicate

(a) an incapacity to evaluate manpower components of development projects;

(b) an incapacity to undertake employment/demographic studies;

(c) an inability to attach and retain competent professional staff;

(d) an inability to recommend training priorities;

2. there is no comprehensive and current skills inventory;

3. there is a lack of research on manpower utilization;

4. poor responses to manpower surveys;

5. lack of guidance to educational planners and learning institutions concerning future manpower needs;

6. little evidence of connective planning in education, employment and manpower matters.[33]

These problems are indeed a summary of what has already been stated in this chapter with regard to national development and manpower planning. They, however, more graphically highlight the folly of fragmentary development and manpower planning. Development is a multi-faceted but highly integrated process which demands that all its aspects and elements are carefully considered in planning and implementation. Neglect of some of them leads to poor performance in others.

For some developing countries, however, manpower planning and development planning may not be the major problem or obstacle to development. The major problem may lie in these countries' personnel management policies and

practices. Personnel management is taken here to include such aspects as recruitment, promotion, salaries and other terms and conditions of service. Some developing states have adequately qualified human resources in sufficient numbers, but their ability to attract and retain these resources is crippled by use of obsolete and inappropriate personnel management policies. As a result these professional people leave the public service and enter the private sector where their skills are likely to be better rewarded.

Thus, Donald C. Stone notes:

> . . . high quality personnel are not recruited and promoted for the tasks of development. Most civil service systems fail to define adequately the tasks and qualifications required. The low level of remuneration often prevents competent civil servants from living honestly or devoting full time to their jobs.[34]

This situation is often exacerbated by the disorganization of some civil services which prevents a rational employment of personnel and by the drain from the lower levels to the higher positions, or by conflicts between those who were promoted at independence and junior officers, most of whom will be better qualified and better trained than their seniors. Personnel management is therefore a crucial, perhaps the most crucial, though often neglected aspect of development planning in developing states. And as P.R. Dubhashi aptly observes, " . . . mere financial allocations will not bring about development. Development will get stultified if personnel management is neglected".[35]

Finally, the end of colonial rule also means that

the post-independence administrative system has to be seen
as having a more people-oriented outlook. Its relations
with both the politicians and the client public has to be
different from that of the colonial era. Esman
argues:

> Development administration requires active flows
> of information from clients to administrators
> and the modification of programmatic content and
> procedure in the light of new information. In
> developing countries, the social distance
> between officials and clients must be reduced if
> services which the regime wishes the public to
> accept and the behavioural changes which they
> hope to achieve are to be effective. Clients
> must be consulted and even be brought into
> administrative roles, a shift on the part of
> clients from passive to more active roles in
> their relations with government and
> administration.[36]

The flow of information must be two-way in nature and not
only flow from the administrators to the clients. The
public must be informed of what resources and services are
available and what part they can play in the national
development programmes. The administration, likewise,
needs to be informed on the needs of the people and also
needs feedback on suggested and completed programmes. The
need for information and, therefore, interaction is
mutual. This kind of relationship does not readily obtain
if the colonial administrative system is continued. Thus
continuity of colonial modes of administrative behaviour
and operations tend to become obstacles to development in
a post-independent country.

But to call for such an active role in
administrative matters by the public implies a breakaway
from the authoritarian posture of traditional colonial

administration.[37]  It also implies the negation of such

western administrative ethics or norms as neutrality,

impartiality and the separation of administrative from

political roles.  It is, indeed, a call for commitment

not only to the regime's political ideology, but also to

the articulated national development goals and objectives.

> If these forms of commitment are to transcend
> formal verbalization, they must be tied to
> incentive systems which reward and protect
> developmental effort and performance above
> caution time-serving and rigid adherence to
> rules. [38]

It is however difficult to bring about such incentives and

to effect appropriate interrelations between the public

and the administrators without radically revamping the

hierarchial organizational structures typical of western

administrative systems.  Hierarchial structures facilitate

"specialization, precise definition and compartmentalization

of responsibilities, authoritarian patterns of supervision

and control, and a premium on service to headquaters rather

than to clients".  [39]  Such an organizational structure is

not appropriate for a change and development-oriented

administration.  It inhibits the integration of specialized

services, flexibility to development of staff and to the

assignment of tasks, and it also stifles organizational

orientation to clientele needs.  Revamping a hierarchial

organizational strucutre must therefore include, inter

alia: flattening hierarchial controls; integrating

services at the levels of clients; increasing relative

rewards for service in the

field; and, organizing operations by project or by creating multi-professional task forces or teams on a continual basis.

Unfortunately, the persistence of hierarchical organizations with their rigidities and strict departmentalization in developing countries continues to militate against the design and implementation of appropriate development programmes. The lack of appropriate and adequate organizational reforms, in spite of rhetoric, means that the traditional roles played by politicians, administrators and members of the public remain unchanged. As Esman points out:

> Given the pervasive lack of trust in many poverty cultures, and the threat of new patterns to existing hierarchical and specialist structures, the shaping of innovative, flexible forms of organization will not be easy to achieve.[40]

The state in a post-colonial situation is called upon to perform immense tasks of economic and social development. It is therefore necessary that the traditional administrative apparatus and interrelations be re-modelled and re-aligned to reflect both appropriate change and a willingness to change. Thus the administration must change itself in order to cope with changing conditions, and to be able to introduce changes in the environment.

## 1.3 Economic obstacles

It has already been noted earlier in this chapter that lack of adequate amounts of resources, particularly financial resources, leads to developing countries failing

to carry out some of the necessary development programmes they may wish to carry out. Obstacles noted above - corruption, inability to attract and retain high calibre professionals into the civil service - may, in some cases, emanate from this lack of financial resources. That this inadequacy of the necessary resources should be felt most acutely soon after national independence is understandable given that government activities and public services increase dramatically at this stage of national development. It becomes imperative therefore, that ways and means of creating more wealth are found and employed:

> Increasing levels of economic development would indicate the need for increasing levels of development administration, which in turn influences the impact of development planning - since the secret of successful development planning lies not only in sensible politics but also in good public administration.[41]

Governments of developing states attempt to increase productivity by taking such measures as guiding economic development by facilitating both private enterprise and public corporations; deploying fiscal monetary and price policy instruments;[42] planning and investing in economic ventures either on their own or as joint ventures with private capital and sometimes by engaging in industrial and commercial activities. They also try to encourage citizens to produce more by employing more modern and effective techniques and technology for production. Some governments also seek foreign technical and financial aid from more developed countries, in most cases, with far reaching and negative consequences to the recipient countries.

For some developing countries, however, the problem is not so much of inadequate resources as of over-ambitiously undertaking development programmes that are beyond their economic, technical and administrative capability. The result is an over-burdened economic and administrative system and the performance of such a system with regard to increasing productivity is often dismal and frustrating. Development projects may be left half baked, or may take so long to complete that they become disconnected from other programmes planned to be complementary to them. Accurate and realistic budgetary practices must therefore be employed not only to ensure that funds are made available for planned activities, but also to ensure that planning takes into account the realistic levels of available resources. Hope and Armstrong write:

> Budgets play crucial roles in the development administration process because they entail a compulsory and direct transfer of resources. Hence it is very important that the budget reflect the relative levels of resource allocation and capital formation to be achieved in the economy with respect to the existing revenue available.[43]

This requirement, once again implies the crucial need for appropriately skilled development administrators, whether they are planning, finance or technical officers. Financial mis-management constitutes one of the major obstacles to national development in developing countries. While some cases of financial mis-management can indeed be attributed to corruption and selfishness on the part of both the political and administrative elites in these

states, it is however true that the major problems arise
because of lack of skills in matching the various elements
of the production process in appropriate and realistic
formulae.

G.O. Orewa, writing specifically about African
economies and the development obstacles, makes the
following assertion:

> While it is true that development in Africa has
> been slow because of shortage of capital, it is
> equally true that inadequate administration of
> these countries' internal resources has been a
> major obstacle to development. A few examples
> will illustrate this point. The administration
> of direct taxation, supposedly a major source of
> public revenue, is very weak in many African
> countries; evasion still occurs on a large
> scale. For example a study of this problem a few
> years ago in the former Western Region of
> Nigeria revealed evasion as high as 45-50 per
> cent in some urban centres. In many countries,
> commissions of inquiry are appointed to review
> the tax administration, but very little is done
> to follow up their recommendations by
> re-organizing the field tax administration. For
> instance, while thousands of small taxpayers are
> arrested and prosecuted every year for
> non-payment, one rarely reads in the press of
> the conviction of a wealthy tax evader.[44]

Three problem areas emerge from this rather grim and
graphic picture. First is the obvious fact that the
mechanisms for tax payment are inadequate and
inappropriate. Some developing states still use the same
obsolete methods employed by colonial powers who never
aimed at ensuring equitable distribution of economic and
social costs and benefits. Some of these methods are so
inappropriate that the revenue collected by means of their
use is a far cry from what it costs government to provide
meaningful development and public services. Further, these
methods have become such well-trodden paths that

falsifying the documents requires little ingenuity.

Secondly, it is possible that the financial managers are not skillful enough to be able to design more appropriate and stringent mechanisms for tax collection. This lack of skills is further reflected in the future to catch out and prosecute the major tax evaders who possibly have more political clout and better advanced methods of covering up their evasion tactics. It is also these people who benefit more from national resources than the small-time tax evader who is eventually prosecuted. That most of the major evaders are wealthy multi-national corporations and other foreign companies is well documented.

Thirdly, the quotation above clearly indicates a lack of political will to legislate for more effective taxation regulations and procedures. This is usually common in situations where the political and administrative elites have acquired a sizeable stake in the system; they therefore know that to legislate for more water-tight taxation measures is to threaten their own social and economic base. They would rather that thousands of dollars be spent each year in hot pursuit of small tax-evaders than that more stringent measures be used to affect all evaders. Related to this political lack of good faith, is the element of corruption. It is common knowlegde that some public servants in developing states will not hesitate to make personal gains at the expense of the general public and national interest.

In summary, however, a situation where the state

is unable to collect taxes legally due to it simply means that it can only have limited financial resources for development and other administrative activities. Financial mis-management is also manifested in irrational budgetary systems and controls and auditing mechanisms, irregularities in public spending, and unwise use of foreign exchange. On the other hand, these countries continue to borrow money and other capital resources from developed countries, thus creating a perpetual dependence situation out of which it may be costly if not impossible to extricate themselves. The dependence situation results not in development but rather in under-development and more borrowing, and so the vicious circle of poverty continues. The relationship between economic and administrative obstacles and between economic and political obstacles has thus been amply demonstrated. What relationships exist between economic and socio-cultural obstacles remains to be seen in the next section.

## 1.4 Socio-cultural obstacles

Development is a process which takes place within a given socio-cultural environment. The extent to which development is able to take place within an environment, therefore, depends, not only on political, administrative and economic factors, but also on the prevailing socio-cultural factors in that environment. Conversely, the extent to which development is able to take place affects the socio-cultural setting of a given environment. Socio-cultural factors, for the purpose of this study,

will be assumed to manifest themselves as practices, conditions or attitudes which do interfere with getting work done efficiently, speedily and responsibly.

Under a sub-heading entitled "Cultural Inhibitions" Glenn Stahl lists 9 such inhibitions which, he argues, have adverse effects upon managerial effectiveness. These are:

1. An elitist frame of mind on the part of some portions of a bureaucracy (and general public acceptance of same) that inhibits a 'service-minded' approach to citizens.

2. An unwillingness to judge or discipline subordinates, an attitude sometimes attributable to religious beliefs.

3. Nepotism and the accompanying fear of offending persons in the civil service who are friends or relatives of influential families.

4. Public servants' fear of accepting responsibility, often due to long years of working under an authoritarian regime.

5. Related to number 4: a lack of trust in the judgment of lower echelons in a bureaucracy, resulting in excessive centralization instead of relying on more realistic post-audit systems to maintain control over the application of policy.

6. An inordinate worship of long-standing procedures and forms, and failure to initiate revision even when the need is acknowledged.

7. A tradition - too often tolerated by average citizens

- of supplementing low government pay with gifts and
bribes in order to expedite routine processes.

8. Use of government jobs for charitable purposes,
simply to reduce unemployment.

9. A 'manana' attitude - putting off to tomorrow what
needs doing today.[45]

It would be wrong to assume that these inhibitions only
manifest themselves in developing cultures or societies.
Some of these also do prevail in so-called developed
economies, some of them at highly organized levels.
Nevertheless, the fact that these socio-cultural
mal-practices do militate against effective use of
national resources for the common good means that the
impact with which they adversely affect the development
process in developing countries is relatively higher since
these very same resources are in short supply.

The question arises as to whether the
mal-practices of some development administrators
necessarily do reflect the rot and general malaise in
society. The answer to this question is, regrettably, in
the positive. Sola Aina, writing about bureaucratic
corruption in Nigeria, states that:

> Public servants are part and parcel of the
> larger society from which they derive their
> values and norms. For instance, corrupt leaders
> cannot expect incorruptible citizens. Caiden
> sums up this point best when he states that:
> "People get the government they deserve. If they
> are diligent, demanding, inquisitive and caring,
> they will get good government. If they allow
> themselves to be intimidated, bullied, deceived
> and ignored, they will get bad government."[46]

Writing on the same subject, and in reaction to Aina's

article, Dele Olowu writes:

> This paper takes as given that bureaucratic
> corruption is an extension into the public
> sector of the widespread political corruption
> which pervades the polity of all developing
> countries in historical and contemporary
> periods. In countries at this stage of
> socio-economic development, government property
> is regarded as the spoils for those fortunate
> enough to be in government at any point in time.
> One of the problems beclouding our understanding
> of bureaucratic corruption is the difficulty of
> defining the concept, being so heavily
> culture-bound and tied to the prevailing ethical
> values of each society.[47]

This culture-boundedness, so to speak, of

corruption and mal-administration should not be taken to

mean that there are some societies whose cultures make it

impossible for them to modernise and develop. Neither does

it mean that the now developed states necessarily have

cultures which make such corruption and negative

development impossible. In fact so-called developed

nations are just as culturally diverse as developing ones.

Thus the implication of 'superior' to 'inferior' culture

as portrayed by some anthropologists and so-called

'radical sociologists' [48] is nothing short of academic

snobbery if not naked racist prejudice.

Be that as it may, there are religious and

cultural norms and values in every society which do

impinge upon and sometimes negatively influence the

processes of administration and development. It can indeed

be a valid thesis to argue that some of the major

cultural, social and economic problems facing developing

countries are a result of the acculturation brought about

by the impact of western colonialism. The extent to which

each society was able to salvage those cultural values and norms that appear compatible with current development and administrative needs seems to be the major determinant of an appropriate environment for change and development.

It must, however, not be overlooked, that there are socio-cultural conditions in developing societies which are a result of western-industrial-type methodologies having failed, been misunderstood or resisted. Stahl lists the following as examples:

(a) absence of a long tradition of organized effort on a large scale;

(b) a tendency to depreciate the value of specialization, sub-division of labour, and inter-relationships among specialities;

(c) exaltation of 'white collar overlord mentalities' on the part of ruling classes, borrowed from the example of previous authoritarian states or of colonial rulers; or

(d) determined resistance by elite groups in the bureaucracy to any innovations that they construe as threats to their power. Such conditions can hardly be written off as evidence of either laziness or mental inadequacy.[49]

It however is far too late in the era of independence to continue to blame all the ills of developing societies on the now departed colonialists. Developing societies have the task of steering their cultures towards the desired goal of the creation of an environment where development administration and development itself are able to

accelerate to the benefit of all the peoples of these countries.

While it is possible to identify socio-cultural obstacles to development, and even to suggest the possible causes of these obstacles, it is not easy if at all possible to recommend a magical combination of socio-cultural practices, beliefs and attitudes that fully account for totally successful and effective development administration. The best that can perhaps be suggested is that developing societies have to take cognisance of the fact that "whether due to religion, folk-lore or group habits of thinking, cultural realities inhibiting effective administration . . . are not immutable just because they are categorized as 'cultural'".[50] Cultures, habits and attitudes change in all societies. It remains the task of the societal leadership to direct that change along favourable or desirable channels to bring about the totality of human and therefore societal development.

In conclusion, it is important to re-emphasize that the norms and values of a society have a strong influence on the nature and quality of that society's administrative system. The extent to which new wealth will be created and distributed largely depends on the cultural, social, economic and political values, beliefs and attitudes of those in positions of leadership and the clients they serve or are supposed to serve. A quotation from Stahl may serve to appropriately conclude this chapter. He writes:

This discussion is not an exhortation to all

developing societies to change for the sake of
change or to abandon all long-revered
traditions. It is simply a contention that: 'if
they want to succeed in management and
stimulation of an efficient, effective
bureaucracy to guide the state toward higher
productivity and material wealth . . . they will
very likely have to accept fundamental changes
in culture . . . ' There is no single panacea –
unless we consider 'willingness to change'
itself a panacea . . . Obviously a willingness
to change can come only from within a society.
It cannot be imposed from the outside.[51]

References and Notes - Chapter 1

1. Paul A. Schillings, "The Role of IIAS in Education for Development Administration: The Role of Schools and Institutes" in Education for Development Administration: A Symposium, IIAS, Brussels, 1966, pp.9-11, (9).

2. Raul P. de Guzman et al., "Management Training Needs in the Escap Region: Toward Collaborative Efforts" in Philippine Jn. of Public Administration, Vol.XX, No.2, 1978, pp.162-179, (163).

3. Milton J. Esman, "Administrative Doctrine and Developmental Needs" in The Administration of Change in Africa: Essays in the Theory and Practice of Development Administration in Africa, E. Philip Morgan (ed.), Dunellin, New York, London, 1974, pp.3-26, (11)..

4. Ibid., p.4.

5. Kempe R. Hope & Aubrey Armstrong, "Toward the Development of Administrative and Management Capability in Developing Countries" in International Review of Administrative Sciences (IRAS), Vol.46, No.4, 1980, pp.315-321, (318).

6. Ibid., p.319.

7. Ibid.
Part IV of this study will elaborate on the effect that this status orientation of the political leadership can have on the capability of an MTI.

8. Delwin A. Roy, "Management Education and Training in the Arab World: A Review of Issues and Problems" in IRAS, Vol.43, No.3, 1977, pp.221-228, (225).

9. P.R. Dubhashi, "Organization Changes and Personnel Management for Development Administration" in IRAS, Vol.46, No.2, 1980, pp.172-174, (174).

10. Hope & Armstrong, "Administrative and Management Capability", p.319.

11. R. Roussel, "Development as a Social Economic and Political Process" in IRAS, Vol.32, no.2, 1966, pp.155-158, (157).

12. David C. Stone, "Guide Lines for Training Development Administrators", Jn. of Administration Overseas, Vol.5, No.4, 1966, pp.229-242, (231).
It is important to realize that only a few of these problems can be partially solved by means of administrative training.

13. Ibid.

14. Yves Chapel, "Administrative Under-Development" in IRAS, Vol.32, No.3, 1966, pp.vi-viii, (vi).

15. Ibid.
    For a detailed discussion of administrative corruption see Sola Aina, "Bureaucratic Corruption in Nigeria: The Continuing Search for Causes and Cures" in IRAS, Vol.48, No.1, 1982, pp.70-76.

16. S.R. Nanekar, "Public Administration Training for Change" in IRAS, Vol.39, No.1, 1973, pp.56-60, (58-59).

17. Delwin A. Roy, "Training in the Arab World", p.223.
    Thus the original purpose of the creation of new ministries and agencies is eventually defeated. The complexity that results often leads to an even less effective administrative system.

18. Donald C.Stone, "Guide Lines for Training", p.231.

19. Ibid., p.232.
    The problem of over-centralization will be discussed further in Part IV, where it will be argued to be a constraint which militates against the effectiveness of an MTI.

20. Hope & Armstrong, "Administrative and Management Capability", p.320.

21. Ibid.

22. Donald C. Stone, "Guide Lines for Training", p.232.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid. See also Samuel Paul, "The Strategic Management of Development Programmes: Evidence from an Internaitonal Study" in IRAS, Vol.49, No.1, 1983, pp.73-86.

25. Yves Chapel, "Administrative Under-Development", P.vi.
    This 'temporary inability' for most countries lasts a very long time. Twenty years of serious administrative under-development certainly constitutes more than just a temporary set of problems.

26. Ibid., p.vii.

27. J. Bhattacharyya, "Obstacles to Development", in Schools Section of IRAS, Vol.32, No.4, 1966, pp.347-350, (347).

28. Ibid., pp.347-348.
   Indeed, the second cause mentioned has led many in developing countries to regard the administrative system as notoriously conservative and reactionary rather than progressive and dynamic.

29. Ibid., p.348.
   These imbalances are: "(a) imbalances between the need of the economy and the output of the education system; (b) imbalances between levels of education, e.g. primary and secondary education; (c) imbalances between the student population and the teacher requirement; (d) imbalances in the salary structure of teachers".

30. Hope & Armstrong, "Administrative and Management Capability", p.316.

31. Ibid.
   Thus the plan should also contain proposed measures of dealing with future changes and needs in manpower levels, skills, knowledge and attitudes. These measures constitute more than mere statistical projections of present levels.

32. Donald C. Stone, "Guide Lines for Training", p.233.
   See also by the same author, "Tasks, Precedents, and Approaches to Deucation for Development Administration" in Education for Development Administration, pp.19-41.

33. Harry A. Green, "Administrative Capacity for Development: Proposals for Bureaucratic Reform in Nigeria" in Philippine Jn. of Public Administration, Vol.XX, No.3, 1976, pp.292-307, (300).

34. Donald C. Stone, "Guide Lines for Training", p.233.

35. P.R. Dubhashi, "Organizational Change and Personnel", p.174.

36. Milton J. Esman, "Administrative Doctrine", pp.18-19.

37. Ibid., p.17.
   This break with the colonial administrative system is essential; it is, however, also difficult as will be argued in Part IV.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., p.18.
   Few countries, if any, have departed from this western organizational structure, or taken measures to flatten it and change its rigid systems of operation.

40. Ibid.

41. Hope & Armstrong, "Administrative and Management Capability", p.320.
They also add: "Moreover, higher levels of economic development do result in more revenue being available for the implementation of development projects, and it also tends to increase the absorptive capacity of the country".

42. Milton J. Esman, "Administrative Doctrine", p.12.

43. Hope & Armstrong, "Administrative and Management Capability", p.320.
See also Samuel Paul, "Strategic Management of Development Programmes".

44. G.O. Orewa, "Some Aspects of Development Planning and Administration in Africa" in The Administration of Change in Africa, E. Philip Morgan (ed.), pp.85-130, (101).

45. Glenn O. Stahl, "Managerial Effectiveness in Developing Countries" in IRAS, Vol.45, No.1, 1979, pp.1-5, (3).
Not all developing societies are stricken with all of these inhibitions. Glenn also adds: "Such conditions by no means explain all the constraints on effective administration . . . but they too often stand in the way of the kind of progress hoped for and even prevent alleviation of other, more concrete constraints, such as the inadequacy of manpower and funds".

46. Sola Aina, "Bureaucratic Corruption in Nigeria: The Continuing Search for Causes and Cures" in IRAS, Vol.48, No.1, 1982, pp.70-76, (75-76).
Aina is, in fact, quoting Gerald E. Caiden, "Public Maladministration and Bureaucratic Corruption: A Comparative Perspective", Conference on Fraud, Waste and Abuse in Government, University of Pittsburgh, October 5-7, 1980.

47. Dele Olowu, "The Nature of Bureaucratic Corruption in Nigeria" in IRAS, Vol.49, No.3, 1983, pp.292-296, (292).
While agreeing with the major points raised by Aina, Dele does not agree with the article's "treatment of the nature of bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria, its assessment of the measures proposed for dealing with the problem and its rather pessimistic conclusions".

48. Sola Aina refers to R.K. Merton as a "radical sociologist"; same article p.76. In most cases, however, so-called radicalism among some anthropologists is little more than ethnocentric grandstanding.

49. Stahl, "Managerial Effectiveness", p.3.

50. Ibid., p.4.

51. Ibid.
    Stahl does not entirely rule out external contacts or
    influence in the search for more appropriate ways and
    means of creating an environment in which development
    can take place at the acceptable rate. He writes:
    "Sometimes what is happening in another developing
    society is more relevant and realistic, more
    conductive to finding the best ways to induce
    acceptance of change and to keeping expectations
    practical".

## Chapter 2

### Administrative Prerequisites for Development in a Post-colonial Situation

The diversity of the numerous obstacles to development discussed in the previous chapter clearly indicates that no single force or organization in a developing state can exclusively adequately deal with these problems and bring about desired levels of politico-socio-economic progress. The national leaderships of developing countries can make use of the national administrative system, private enterprise, market mechanisms, non-governmental organizations, interest groups, political parties, the mass media and local authorities in various combinations to further national development. This chapter will, however, focus mainly on the national administration and project and analyse its role in this crucial process. The basic assumption of this chapter is that the national administrative system of a transitional or post-colonial society is the major force for national development. The extent to which the governments of developing countries are able to induce and manage change and development for their people, it will be argued, largely depends, inter alia, upon the efforts, calibre and managerial skills of the public servants of these countries. For the sole purpose of orderly discussion, this chapter will be divided into three major parts as follows:

- Role of bureaucracy in development.
- Functional requirements of development administrators.

- Desirable attributes of development administrators.

## 2.1 The role of bureaucracy in development

For the purpose of this study, the term bureaucracy will be used to refer to the higher civil services or the managerial class: the development administrators, "who occupy managerial roles, who are in some directive capacity in either central agencies or in the field, who are concerned with the policy and plan formulation, programme implementation and evaluation ."[1] The study will not attempt to confine itself to any one of the several models of bureaucracy, and subscribes to M. Umapathy's view that "the meaning of bureaucracy is dependent on the intention of the user".[2] It must, however, be emphasized that, except where it is clearly stated otherwise, all use of the term bureaucracy in this study will be referring to senior civil servants in developing states. Thus, the term development bureaucracy will also be used to refer to this same category. There will be instances where the points mentioned will, however, be applicable to middle and lower level administrative classes which, in any case, also do form parts of development bureaucracies in these countries.

It was pointed out in the previous chapter that in most developing countries the line of demarcation between political and administrative actors is often blurred. The increased intervention of government in the social, cultural and economic development activities largely necessitates the closer inter-relationships between

politicians and administrators in a post-colonial setting.
Esman argues:

> Administration is deeply implicated in political
> choices. Administrators both control access to
> scarce resources and participate in their
> differential allocation and distribution.
> Despite much self-deception and self-serving
> humility, administrators in all modern societies
> participate in the shaping of public policies
> and manage action programmes which involve
> political decisions. They perform communication
> functions linking client groups to government
> agencies and to one another.[3]

This is, however, not to mean that administrators in these
countries necessarily engage in partisan politics. It does
mean that they are expected to participate in activities
which require commitment to the national political
ideology. Thus, demands for goods and services by the
public are often transmitted through administrative
channels. So are the responses to these demands:

> Political choices are required not only in
> responding to demands that originate in society,
> but also in inducing clients to use new public
> services and to comply with government
> policies.[4]

A further role implied in this quotation is that
of conflict management. In a situation where resources are
scarce and political consciousness is high, the role of
administrators in mediating and managing conflict is
crucial to the processes of change and development.

In an analysis of the role of development
bureaucracy, Umapathy asserts that although the essence of
development is "holistic change" which is brought about
and directed by state action, development bureaucracy is
mainly concerned with economic development. He, however,
recognizes that this economic development has social,

political and administrative implications but argues :

"Direct involvement of bereaucracy in bringing about

social and political development, comes second and third

in order in terms of the volume of attention given".[5]

Umapathy cites E.H. Valsan's tentative model of develop-

ment bureaucracy which has three levels as follows :

> Higher level development bureaucracy, middle
> level development bureaucracy, and lower level
> development bureaucracy . . . The higher level
> development bureaucracies undertake roles of :
> (1) 'policy fomulation: goals and strategy;
> (2) appropriation and allocations of funds;
> fixing priorities;
> (3) execution of policy; direction; and
> (4) training'.
> The middle level development bureaucracy
> according to him undertakes four roles, viz.,
> (1) learning and interpreting;
> (2) energizing and supervising;
> (3) co-ordination; and
> (4) collection of information.
> The lower level development bureaucracy
> undertakes four roles, viz.,
> (1) mass contacts;
> (2) demonstration of innovations;
> (3) introduction of new institutions, and
> (4) collection of taxes.[6]

For the purpose of this study, the top two levels constitute

what will be referred to as bureaucracy.  The above-mentioned

roles of bureaucracy will be elaborated on below to highlight

their relation to change and development.  Greame Moodie

envisages a strategy of development which, he argues:

> . . . is distinguished from a purely economic plan
> on the one hand, and, on the other, from a
> general commitment to development which, like a
> commitment to peace, may be quite meaningless as
> a guide to action in the administrative or any
> other sphere.[7]

This strategy must facilitate the translation of the general

objectives of development into effective

guidelines of action by containing specific and coherent sets of social as well as economic goals: "To this end it must take a relatively coherent set of decisions on the methods by which it will seek development . . .".[8] While agreeing that the primary responsibility for devising such a strategy of development rests upon the political leadership, Moodie also argues:

> Nevertheless, it must be formulated by those leaders with the advice of, and in the closest association with, the highest level of civil service and official advisers. To this extent, therefore, the responsibilities of the political leadership are also in some degree the responsibility of the higher levels of the administration.[9]

Thus, with regard to policy formulation and development goal setting, the administration of a post-independent state plays more than just the advisory role. This is more so because of the politicians' pre-occupations with other matters, and also because of the lack of technical know-how on the part of the politician. The development bureaucracy is, therefore, sometimes forced into a rulership function. As Esman rightly observes: "Administrators, often by default, become the principle adaptive agencies of their societies."[10]

With regard to the appropriation and allocation of funds it may be said the role of development bureaucracy is vital for the development efforts of the nation. The level of funds allocated to each programme; the timing of the releasing of such funds and the re-distribution mechanisms employed all become determinant factors in the

success of development programmes. In decisions of fund management the role of bureaucracy is closely tied to that of the political elites. Thus, while the politicians may have the prerogative of setting priorities as well as the levels of funds allocated to each development programme or project, the administrators still have the task, in addition to that of advising politicians on priorities and feasible levels of resources, of determining the most appropriate methods of managing these funds and the development programmes themselves.

The role of execution of policy and giving of an appropriate direction is often regarded as the major measuring rod of the bureaucracy's effectiveness. Yves Chapel states that: "The administration's ineffectiveness is shown by its inability to ensure the proper enforcement of most government decisions, even laws and regulations".[11] With respect to development, this role of the development bureaucracy is crucial since it greatly affects the pace at which development takes place and to what degree those who are supposed to benefit from such development are satisfied. This role must also be considered in terms of bureaucracy's responsibility to direct financial institutions in accordance with the development strategy, policies and goals of the government. Thus, while during colonial times major financial institutions used to finance only the bigger enterprises in the urban areas and selected commercial farming enterprises, the new financial institutions must be directed and encouraged to undertake the financing of

previously neglected but priority sectors such as small scale agriculture, co-operative societies and rural industries.

The role of training has largely been taken seriously by most bureaucracies in developing states. As this study will argue in a later chapter, training has indeed, been perceived as a kind of panacea for administrative under-development. The tasks of bureaucracy with regard to training include: formulation of appropriate training policies, goals and objectives; creation of relevant training institutions; staffing and equipping such institutions; determining the institutional characteristics of these training institutions - location, leadership, organizational structure, autonomy - formulation and execution of appropriate personnel policies which take cognisance of training and self-development in career advancement and remunerations. It is also the task of bureaucracy to make training facilities available for non-governmental organizations at all levels of society. Thus, the training of peasant farmers in better farming methods and use of modern, appropriate technology is likely to lead to higher productivity and improved living standards. At the same time the training of young people in technical courses for both the public and private sectors will reduce the shortage of skilled manpower and also lead to accelerated development. Meaningful development is negated if the development of the nation's human resources is neglected or given low priority.

Development bureaucracy has as one of its most delicate roles the role of learning and interpreting policies, demands for services, organizational reforms and methods of effectively providing the required goods and services. Politicians will not always be able to accurately articulate the desired goals and objectives of national development. It is the task of bureaucracy to accurately identify these and translate them into feasible development programmes and projects. The ability of the development administrator to sift through the politicians' and public's expressed sentiments and select the possible from the impossible, the real thing from rhetoric is crucial for the performance of this role.

Further, development bureaucracy does not have much in the form of clear-cut workable solutions to development problems. Experimentation is the rule of the game. The ability to assess the possible impact of intended action therefore becomes a vital requirement if bureaucracy is to successfully induce and manage appropriate change and development. As Esman observes:

> Most of the social and technological innovations and reforms which accompany modernization must be deliberately induced in organizations. These organizations, intended to produce changes in the society to which they belong, combine diverse skills, foster and protect innovative practices or patterns of behaviour, and guide their acceptance by other organizations and groups which must incorporate these changes into their on-going activities . . . the organization must become technically viable, its staff must be committed to the innovations, and its leadership must manage relations with complementary organizations until the latter accept and use the innovations, to which they may originally have been indifferent or even hostile.[12]

Just as no standard solutions to problems can be prescribed, no standard methods of delivery of goods and services can be assumed to be appropriate universally. The learning and interpreting role must enable the development administrator to learn from experience and feedback from clients, and to adapt and adjust his activities and methods until the desired results are attained.

Related to the role of learning and interpreting is development bureaucracy's role of energising and supervision. As stated earlier, the post-colonial stage is characterised by the modification of inherited institutions and the creation of others. A well performed learning and interpreting role can enable the bureaucratic elites to effectively instil into both the junior officials and the public adequate levels of zeal, enthusiasm and confidence in the new direction, methods and institutions to enable them to surge ahead with development activities. This should also erode resistance to change and the fear of the unknown so common in tradition-bound transitional societies. Esman aptly notes that:

> Persons involved in any process of rapid change tend to feel adrift. The major values, institutions and behaviour patterns which provided security and predictability in the past are rapidly eroding; new patterns have not clearly emerged to replace them and to provide the focus of integration for the individual. Such phenomena as alienation, anomie, crisis of identity, self-hatred and other symptoms of psychological disintegration appear on a large scale. The symptoms are characteristic of transitional societies and tend to be magnified by the economic dependency which accompanies urbanization, technological change, and the

> breakdown of kinship institutions. Mitigating these tensions through community organization, welfare measures and doctrine which conveys a sense of stable purpose can reduce the possibility of social and political disturbance, enhance individual and group productivity, and foster the integration of the individual into modern roles and institutions.[13]

Thus the energising and supervision role aims at not only ensuring that lower levels of bureaucracy perform up to expected and acceptable standards, but also to encourage the new institutions to forge ahead with the roles and functions for which they were created, and to educate and encourage the clients to accept and make use of these new institutions to the full. To that end then, "the administrator is a teacher, experimenter, and negotiator as well as a technician".[14]

The diversity of the roles and functions of the development administrator are obviously a reflection of development bureaucracy itself. This diversification of administrative organizations means that it is necessary to establish effective co-ordinating agencies as part of development bureaucracy. These agencies have the critical role of ensuring that the many and varied development agents and agencies act in concert in the execution of development policies, programmes and projects. An effective development bureaucracy will have such co-ordinating agencies operating at all levels - local, regional or provincial and national. Co-ordinating agencies do not only co-ordinate governmental development efforts. They also ensure that the efforts of non-governmental organizations and groups are supported,

guided and controlled so that they fit into the identified development strategy and contribute positively to the attainment of national development goals and objectives. Such co-ordination should result in the reduction of development imbalances inequity and sectional interest pursuance. Further, the multi-disciplinary nature of the development process necessarily means that good co-ordination of the various disciplines involved is undertaken by those who are able to view national development as a whole. The administrative system in a developing country occupies this bird's-eye-view position to a considerable extent. As Umapathy notes:

> The complex set of developmental effort has to be well coordinated and integrated and controlled through plans; budgets, good communication, intra and inter-organizational, monitoring of performance management, financial audit and so on.[15]

Finally, development bureaucracy has the all-important role of activating and mobilising the people of the country to participate in the development process. As has already been noted, this may require that some of the people be brought into decision-making roles which, under the colonial administration, were the preserve of senior civil servants and politicians. If development bureaucracy is to accurately identify development needs and motivate the various publics to be involved and participate in development activities, then the passive recipient posture of the colonial era needs to be displaced by publics which see themselves as essential contributors to their own progress. Masahiko Honjo writes:

> . . . nothing could be more insulting to the
> people at the grass-roots level than to let them
> think the 'sugar daddy' government will provide
> everything which they need without making them
> seriously quest for what they need. No
> government can meet the supply of inflated
> expectations of the people for the improvement
> of their environment. When they think that
> everything will be handed down by the very
> generous 'sugar daddy' government without them
> making any effort, they cannot appreciate the
> real value of what they have gained and
> therefore they are not able to make use of it.
> The projects should be initiated and carried out
> by the people themselves. The role of government
> in this regard is primarily to support them by
> assuring their effectiveness in the total effort
> of nation building.[16]

Thus, the role of development bureaucracy in this sense is seen as that of educating the publics on possible courses of action; on available resources and services that can be utilized to further their efforts at self-development. This, naturally involves changes in attitudes and behaviour patterns. The development administrator therefore aims at inculcating in the clients the sense of importance which subscribes to the slogan "we are our own liberators through self-help and meaningful participation in development activities".[17] The publics must also be educated in using the public services productively:

> This includes the development of capacities to
> identify problems, provide feedback, and
> pressure administrators: in sum, to develop the
> confidence that enables them to interact more
> effectively with officials. This emphasis on the
> activation of clients will be a major concern of
> development administration . . . .[18]

This tutelary role of the development administrator necessarily means that the relative statuses of administrators and clients have to be revised and

re-moulded to permit appropriate interaction to take place. The give-and-take of dialogue, bargaining and persuasion become crucial instruments of development and change. The relation of development bureaucracy with the public may indeed be considered to be one of, if not the most, determining factor to the success or failure of development in a post-colonial society.

The role of development bureaucracy has indeed been projected above as one of vital importance to the development efforts and requirements of developing states. The development administrator has been portrayed as a policy formulator, goal setter, researcher social engineer, mediator financial manager, teacher, co-ordinator, motivator and change agent. He is also an ideologist for development, a modernizer and a spokesman for the under-privileged.[19] To be able to do all of these, development bureaucracy has to be programme, results and effectviness-oriented; committed to change and have the capacity to induce and manage change in the administrative system as well as in social and economic life. Development administration:

> must acquire a dynamic capacity of a catalyst to break down commitments to old symbols and of a participant to permit regroupings of forces and of ideas and ernegies in the accomplishment of work.[20]

The functional requirements that are needed to facilitate the effective performance of these roles will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

## 2.2 Functional requirements of development administrators

According to A. Gaylord Obern[21], in any organization two functions are usually carried out, namely: the 'maintenance ' function, and the 'change' function. The former concerns those activities that are essential for the smooth workings of the machinery of the organization such as procedures for recruitment, place preparation, review and implementation. The latter function, on the other hand, has to do with those activities that are necessary to stimulate new or different procedures, ideas and policies. The maintenance function is generally referred to as 'public administration', while the change function would constitute 'development administration'. There is obviously more to both of these terms than is stated here, but suffice it to say development administration gives its attention to change in the organization and in the environment. Thus, the primary concern of every development administrator should be his capacity to stimulate, induce and manage change.

In a post-colonial situation, if development means not only economic growth, but social and cultural change as well, then the development administrator is likely to be torn between two seemingly opposing forces, one representing static forces, and the other representing dynamic trends. The first one calls for the preservation of existing methods and procedures and the second one calls for the building of new institutions and the

introduction of new methods, structures, systems and procedures. The functions of the development administrator are therefore necessarily different from those of the traditional or colonial administrator.

Hahn Been Lee identifies two aspects which, he argues, distinguish a development administrator from a conventional administrator:

> One aspect is his primary engagement in the management of change - not only in meeting problems arising from the change but also introducing changes in the organization in anticipation of the changes in the environment. The other aspect is his conscious identification with the organizational goals in the context of some broader development values of the larger society. These two aspects are closely interrelated and form the distinguishing marks of a development administrator's action.[22]

Emanating from these two aspects are seven major functions which a development administrator carries out. These functions will be summarized below. The first function that Lee identifies is that of "defining and re-defining goals and anticipating new tasks under changing environments".[23] In carrying out this function, the development administrator has to conceptualise the role of his organization in the context of the social environment in which it is. He has to have a "meaningful picture of the cosmos in which he and his organization live and locate the position of his organization in the total context of that cosmos".[24] This implies identifying the purpose, role and functions of his organization and comparing that with the requirements of the environment in the future. He is then able to come up with a new set of goals for his organization. This will be a new set of goals which have

to be redefined in the light of anticipated changes in the environment. His aim is thus not to maintain or protect the status quo, but rather to enable his organization to adapt to the environmental changes in such a way that his organization will remain relevant to the needs of the environment.

The second function is that of "initiating new plans and policies, or re-formulating existing policies".[25] Plans and policies are the embodiment of organizational goals and objectives. The goals and objectives of his organization must therefore be translated into new and workable plans and policies if the organization is to be effective. New actions and tasks necessarily require new procedures. Existing procedures and regulations must therefore be re-examined, modified or even discarded for new and appropriate ones. Since the existing regulations and procedures are products of past situations, it is unlikely that they would be appropriate for a changed situation. Translating goals into plans and policies also involves the setting out of guidelines and priorities as well as determining the rate and sequence of the various components of the sub-goals.

Umapathy emphasizes this point and argues that development bureaucracy has to concern itself with what he calls the four P's - policy-making, planning, programme and projects. These elements constitute what Siffin calls the "development design strategy"[26] function of development bureaucracy. As was noted in an earlier section, the lack of technical know-how among the

politicians and their pre-occupations with other matters
make the role of development bureaucracy in policy-making
a determining one. Umapathy writes: "Converting policies
into derivative plans, programmes and projects is an
inevitable function of action-oriented development
bureaucracy".[27]

The third function is that of "adapting and
restructuring organization for new tasks".[28] In this
regard, the development administrator looks at his
organization's structure so as to identify its strengths
and weaknesses in relation to the new tasks it has to
carry out. Restructuring the organization does not
necessarily have to be a radical and disruptive process;
in some instances what may be needed is simply the
adoption of methods of forming multi-disciplinary task
forces consisting of officials from the various units of
the formal organization.

> This provides opportunities whereby individuals
> with different orientations and capabilities
> blend flexibly without bindings of formal
> authority channels and also where natural
> linkages for more productive formal
> organizational arrangements could evolve. Such
> preliminary steps could be followed up by more
> definitive restructuring of the organization,
> giving organizational expression to the more
> important program thrusts.[29]

Thus, restructuring involves new or modified structural,
procedural and personnel arrangements with the purpose of
reducing or eliminating existing organizational
constraints which may inhibit effective execution of the
new tasks. As Irving Swerdlow argues: ". . . organizations
can be initiated or changed in a way that will make

possible or will speed up the process of development".[30]

Lee identifies the fourth function of a development administrator as that of "motivating and energizing people toward task goals".[31] The new procedures and structures discussed above can only be used as effective instruments for carrying out tasks by appropriately motivated individuals. The development administrator must thus motivate and energise the people in his organization and ensure that they have excitement and personal satisfaction in carrying out the tasks and achieving the organization's goals: "Convergence of individual goals with organizational goals is essential for realization of development."[32] Motivating and energising people requires that the development administrator take a special interest in getting to know his colleagues; he needs to pay more attention to them so as to discover their potentialities and talents which may be effectively utilized in carrying out the organization's tasks. Where necessary he should also recruit new members of staff, ensuring that only the people with the relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes become part of the organization. Undoubtedly, this is the most difficult yet most vital of his functions in facilitating organizational effectiveness.

The fifth function involves the creation and cultivation of a favourable task environment.[33] Restructuring an existing organization and introducing new procedures, tasks and goals will usually meet with

resistance and even hostility. It is the function of the development administrator to create a favourable environment by cultivating a desirable political climate, recognizing and respecting the authority of the political decision making bodies, and cultivating appropriate contacts and relationships with the political leadership. This will not only ensure that the political leadership will support the new ventures; it will also mean that the development strategy thus designed conforms to the nationally defined and articulated needs and aspirations. This in turn will go a long way in ensuring the success of the organization in its new tasks. Lee rightly observes:

> This is something which has been played down in the conventional theory of 'neutral' bureaucrat, but in the context of development administration political adaptability and viability of the administrative leadership is an essential ingredient of success.[34]

Graeme Moodie agrees with this observation in his advocacy of this type of strategy of development. He writes:

> It is certainly the case that officials ought ideally to be politically neutral in public. In private, however, and in their relations with their political chief it is equally certain that they must take account of the political situation, of political forces and of political necessities. The fact is that officials must work within and through existing organizations and must work within existing political limits.
>
> This means that in so far as the official is taking decisions himself, he has very little opportunity for social and political creativity. This means that where the problem facing the government is . . . that of changing the stage setting, i.e. of changing the political scene in which action takes place, when the problem in other words is to shift the whole level and

> nature of public debate about an issue, then the
> role of the official is constricted, for this is
> a situation which demands above all the public
> exercise of political skill.[35]

The development administrator must therefore be able to win the support and guidance of the political leadership in order that the task environment of the organization will be favourable, receptive and co-operative in bringing about the development goals and objectives identified.

The sixth function of the development administrator is the mobilization of resources to carry out the organization's tasks. In the process of cultivating a broader and deeper support base, the development administrator can incorporate ways and means of securing new financial and human resources[36] even though they may be marginal ones. Lee argues:

> A development administrator should regard these
> marginal developmental resources as that crucial
> leverage whereby he could demonstrate his
> developmental cause and generate further
> resources for larger programs. Resources, scarce
> as they are, have the tendency of mutual
> generation.[37]

Thus the creation and cultivation of effective organizational linkages with the purse-string holders and the commanders of public and political power can lead to the scarce resources being made available to the organization, thereby providing it with more opportunities to be innovative and have a more meaningful impact upon its task environment and thus contribute positively to the processes of change and development. Timely mobilisation of human and financial resources is an essential ingredient of development administration.

The seventh and final function that Lee identifies is that of "giving meaning to on-going tasks".[38] The high levels of planned change inherent in development administration mean that crises can occur in the process. The development administrator has the function of ensuring that relative orderliness is attained during the implementation of the organization's tasks: "This requires a reasonable consistence of decisions which in turn implies a sound leading principle for the task".[39] To foster this situation requires that all the people involved in the carrying out of the task share as a collective objective, the developmental goal. This organizational consensus about the goal is vital for the orderly and effective implementation of the development programmes and projects. It is however not always easy to identify and pursue a single developmental goal on which consensus can be attained. It is therefore the function of the administrator to adopt an open-ended approach so as to "accommodate and absorb an increasing variety of developmental goals . . . . a flexible body of developmental goals".[40] Meaning must, therefore, continuously be drawn from current programmes in order to give meaning to on-going tasks. There must thus be a clear meaning to the tasks that the organization is executing and it must be such a clear meaning that all in the organization can see and accept it. Subsequent tasks are therefore better understood and planned to fulfil or complement on-going ones. At the same time undesirable consequences and implications in current tasks facilitate the taking of

appropriate measures by modifying on-going tasks and adopting new strategies for subsequent ones.

Table 2.1 below provides a summary of the seven major functions discussed above and the corresponding desirable attributes that development administrators should have. The next sub-section of this study will discuss some of these desirable attributes.

TABLE 2.1

FUNCTIONS AND ATTRIBUTES OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATORS

| Functions | Attributes |
| --- | --- |
| 1 Defining and anticipating tasks | future outlook analytic faculty normative conviction |
| 2 Formulating plans and policies | grasp of situation substantive knowledge analytic faculty |
| 3 Adapting organization to task | innovative mind organizing skill |
| 4 Motivating men for task | positive view of human nature human skills and knowledge communication skill |
| 5 Cultivating favorable task environment | power sensitivity communication skill |
| 6 Mobilizing resources to carry out tasks | entrepreneurial will & skill power motive analytic faculty |
| 7 Giving meaning to tasks | normative conviction philosophy of life sense of public responsibility ethical standard |

Adopted from Lee, "Attributes of Development Administrators", p. 396.

2.3 Desirable attributes of development administrators

The role of bureaucracy in development and the various functions of development administrators in the

foregoing sections clearly indicate that in order to play these roles and carry out these functions, development administrators require skills and attributes of considerable diversity, intricacy and complexity. Indeed the task of identifying some of these skills and attributes is so staggering that at best it can only be assumed to be no more than a general overview. This section has the purpose of highlighting some of these attributes so as to provide a broader perspective of the objective of this present study. Thus this section presents these desirable attributes and asks, by implication, whether they can indeed be imparted on development administrators through the process of institutional training. If the answer is in the positive then the derivative question is what institutional factors of training institutions determine the effectiveness of imparting these attributes upon development administrators?

Asserting that development administrators, because of the variety of the developmental activities they have to undertake, require a wide range of characteristics, Lutful Hoq Choudhury lists the following:

> a broad, world encompassing view, a scientific
> spirit and pragmatic creative approach, a
> knowledge of the methods and tools of science, a
> basic understanding of the social sciences and
> the humanities, talents in the integration of
> ideas and resolution of conflicting demands of
> people and interests in society, and above all,
> an idealism that will guide and stimulate
> them.[41]

While these attributes are indeed desirable, they leave a lot if not too much to the imagination as to how best

development administrators can acquire them. Some individuals can easily acquire more than half of these attributes by simply attending such educational institutions as universities and colleges, but whether they would be suitable development administrators is highly debatable. On the other hand, the possibility of designing a management training programme that would incorporate all these attributes seems to be remote, even assuming that training is a continuous process that takes place throughout the development administrator's career.

Approaching the subject from the same rather general view, Nghiem-Dang advocates the training of public servants "who will be able thoroughly to grasp the problems of development, clearly to understand the aims of development programmes"[42] and seek practical solutions which are applicable and appropriate to a given social context at a given time. To that extent, he argues that development training programmes should enable the student to have:

- a broad view of national development;
- a keen perception of the administrative situation in a given country at a given time;
- sufficient adaptability of mind to choose an alternative solution when that first tried is found wanting;
- ability to make up his mind quickly, when the recommendations of experts and technicians are at variance, to find a satisfactory solution for each administrative problem;

- ability to persuade administrators on different

levels to put the solutions adopted into practice.[43]

These are obviously commendable attributes except

for the striking absence of human related attributes from

this list. Is development administration really an end in

itself? Do development programmes and projects matter more

than the people they should purpose to benefit? This study

subscribes to Katz's view that: "the accomplished

administrator relates the rational action of achieving

governmental goals with the rational and irrational

components in human behaviour".[44] Development efforts

which do not aim at influencing human behaviour have

little chance of bringing about a higher and better

standard of living of the people.

In his analysis of the professionalization of

administrators and managers, Chi-Yuen Wu identified the

following attributes as desirable for administrators in

developing countries:

> . . . a man of intelligence and culture, a man
> of character, a man with an open mind and a
> broad view, a man with good intuitive judgement
> and with a good sense of justice, a man with
> overall concern for the whole community, and a
> man who is fully aware of the political
> implication of what he is advising or doing . .
> . men of creativity and innovation, capable of
> serving as major agents of change and
> development, familiar with all important aspects
> of government operations, mastering the arts of
> communication and motivation, equipped with the
> modern techniques of analysis, and the knowledge
> and skills of administration and management, as
> well as men who take a broad, 'systems' view of
> the problems faced by the government and who are
> capable of using the inter-disciplinary approach
> to problems.[45]

The assumption that development administrators are

obviously male is rather unfortunate. Otherwise the list is as comprehensive as can be, since it includes skills of human relations and behaviour. As Wu himself accepts: "Skills needed for effective performance as administrators of development include technical, human relations and conceptual skills".[46]

C.P. Bhambhri, who portrays an administrator as "a pace-setter for innovation and a torch-bearer of social change and modernization of the country"[47], apparently also takes cognisance of the human side of development bureaucracy:

> He (the administrator) is expected to be everywhere - from the farm to the factory - fighting against established modes of living of the people of an ancient country whose elite want to transform it into a modern one. Further, this task of nation-building has to be performed in the context of democracy where an administrator is accountable to the people's representatives for all his acts. Not only this. In a democracy, interest groups and sectional leaders pressurize the administrator to provide them benefits. Established procedures and rules and regulations come into conflict with the sectional demands of people's representatives. This is the greatest challenge to a public bureaucrat in a developing society.[48]

Obviously all the attributes mentioned in this section are valid and desirable for development administrators. Their numerousness and diversity clearly indicate that the tasks these individuals are expected to carry out are diverse, intricate and of significance to developing societies. Perhaps the most appropriate way of summarizing these attributes is to make use of Lee's second table as shown in Table 2.2 below. Lee divides the attributes into four categories from a curricular planner's viewpoint. He

argues that: "From such a vantage point it is useful to classify these qualities into meaningful and manageable clusters which are conducive to curricular thinking".[49]

TABLE 2.2

CLUSTERS OF DESIRED ATTRIBUTES

1  Intellectual attributes - knowledges (I)
       analytic faculty
       grasp of the situation as a whole
       knowledge of substantive policy areas
       knowledge about human behaviors and relations

2  Operational capability - skills (S)
       organizational capability
       human skill
       sensitivity to power situation
       communication skill
       entrepreneurial skill

3  Orientational attributes - values & attitudes (V)
       future outlook
       innovative mind
       positive view of human nature
       entrepreneurial will
       power motive

4  Ethical qualities - philosophy & standards (E)
       normative conviction
       philosophy of life
       sense of public responsibility
       ethical standards

Source: Lee, "Attributes of Development Administrators",
        p. 396.

These attributes will be considered in detail in the next chapter, which deals with the management training needs of development administrators. This chapter has primarily outlined the role of bureaucracy in development. It has been noted that the government in a post-colonial situation makes use of the administrative system to intervene in the change and development processes of society. Although the government also makes use of other agents and forces in society to bring about societal

change and development, the functions of inducing desirable change, managing conflict, unifying the nation, directing and co-ordinating development efforts are mainly carried out by development administrators. This, it has been argued, makes the administration a determinant force for change and development in a developing country.

The various functions of development administrators were highlighted in the light of the development requirements of transitional societies. These functions necessitate the acquisition of specific attributes by development administrators, attributes which can be broadly grouped as those of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes and philosophy and standards. While some of these attributes can only be acquired through appropriate on-the-job experience, others can indeed be acquired by formalised training in specific subjects. It is to the training needs of development administrators that this study will turn in the next chapter.

## References and Notes - Chapter 2

1.  M. Umapathy, "Designing Bureaucracy for Development", in *Indian Jn. of Public Administration*, Vol.28, No.2, 1982, pp.276-277, (283).

2.  Ibid., p.280.
    Most of the references used in this study focus on middle, senior and top level development administrators, although no clear cut demarcations are made.

3.  Milton J. Esman, "Administrative Doctrine and Developmental Needs" in *The Administration of Change in Africa: Essays in the Theory and Practice of Development Administration in Africa*, E. Philip Morgan (ed.), Dunellin, New York, London, 1974, pp.3-26, (9).
    See also C.R. Santos, "The Political Neutrality of the Civil Service Re-examined" in *Public Personnel Review*, Vol.30, No.1, 1969, pp.9-14.

4.  Ibid.

5.  Umapathy, "Designing Bureaucracy for Development", p.283.

6.  Ibid., p.284.

7.  Graeme Moodie, "The Political Aspects of the Strategy of Development" in *Public Administration and Economic Development*, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 1965, pp.81-88, (82).

8.  Ibid, p.83.

9.  Ibid.

10. Esman, "Administrative Doctrine", p.11.
    See also Edwin Bock, "The Impact of Development Programmes on the Relationship Between Political and Administrative Bodies" in *Public Administration and Economic Development*, OECD, 1965, pp.73-79.

11. Yves Chapel, "Administrative Under-Development", in *IRAS*, Vol.32, No.3, 1966, pp.vi-viii, (vi).

12. Esman, "Administrative Doctrine", p.15.
    For further discussion on the role of development bureaucracy see also Nsilo Swai, "Preconditions and Requirements for Development" in *Education for Development Administration: A Symposium*, IIAS, Brussels, pp.43-52.

13. Milton J. Esman, "The Politics of Development Administration" in John Montgomery & William J. Siffin (eds) *Approaches to Development: Politics,*

Administration and Change, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1966, pp.59-112, (62).

14. Esman, "Administrative Doctrine", p.14.

15. Umapathy, "Designing Bureaucracy for Development", p.285.
    See also Samuel Paul, "Strategic Management of Development", especially his 16 propositions for strategic interventions, pp.77-86.

16. Masahiko Honjo, "Building up National Capability for Regional Planning and Development" in Philippine Jn. of Public Administration, Vol.XX, No.4, 1976, pp.348-361, (355).

17. Modified Zimbabwean slogan commonly used during the liberation struggle. The original slogan states: "We are our own liberators through armed struggle".

18. Esman, "Administrative Doctrine", p.19.

19. Saul M. Katz, "A Model for Educating Development Administrators" in Public Administration Review, Vol.28, No.6, 1968, pp.530-538, (532).
    He sees the development administrator as part and parcel of the modernizing elite and therefore as participating in the following functions of a modernizing elite: "First is the organizing of resources around a defined set of objectives. Second, is the linking together of the modern, intermediate and traditional groups in the society".

20. A.R. Tyagi, "Administrative Training: A Theoretical Postulate" in IRAS, Vol.40, No.2, 1974, pp.155-170, (160).

21. A. Gaylord Obern, "Development Administration" in IRAS, Vol.37, No.4, 1971, pp.411-413.
    He also adds, "development administration gives its attention to the process of change, the seeking of interim goals and the maximization of all effective forms of communication irrespective of status, authority or formal structure", p.411.

22. Hahn Been Lee, "Desirable Attributes of Development Administrators" in Philippine Jn. of Public Administration, Vol.16, No.3, 1972, pp.390-398, (390-391).

23. Ibid., p.391.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Umapathy, "Designing Bureaucracy for Development", p.284.
See also William J. Siffin, "Two Decades of Public Administration in Developing Countries" in <u>Education and Training for Public Sector Management in Developing Countries</u> by Laurence D. Stifel, Joseph E. Black, James S. Coleman (eds), Rockefeller Foundaation Working Papers (2nd), 1978, pp.49-60.

27. Ibid.

28. Lee, "Attributes of Development Administrators", p.392.
The third chapter of this study argues that the failure of most development bureaucracies to carry out this function effectively has had adverse effects upon the development process and the effective performance of MTIs in improving development administration.

29. Ibid.
He also adds: "This function requires first of all 'an innovative mind'. The administrator is eager to try new ideas through his organization. He tries to bend men and organization. This implies enormous enthusiasm and risk-taking".

30. Irving Swerdlow, "The Administration of Economic Growth" in E. Philip Morgan (ed.) <u>Administration of Change in Africa</u>, pp.59-82, (62).

31. Lee, "Attributes of Development Administrators", p.393.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid, p.394.
On this issue, see also Esman, "Administrative Doctrine", especially pp.16-20.

35. Moodie, "Strategy of Development", p.84.
See also Felix A. Nigro & Lloyd G. Nigro, <u>Modern Public Administration</u>, (3rd edition), Harper & Row, New York, 1973, especially Chapter 4, "Values and Public Administration", pp.75-85.

36. Lee, "Attributes of Development Administrators", p.394.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., p.395.

40. Ibid.

41. Lutful Hoq Choudhury, "Training for Development" in Indian Jn. of Public Administration, Vol.26, No.2, 1980, pp.378-383, (380).

42. Nghiem-Dang, "Outline of a Teaching Programme in Development Administration" in IRAS, Vol.32, No.2, 1966, pp.153-155, (153).

43. Ibid.
He proposes that these five ideas be guidelines for the design and development of training programmes in development administration.

44. Saul M Katz, "A Model for Educating Development Administrators" in Public Administration Review, Vol.28 No.6, 1968, pp.530-538, (531).
"In particular, the development administrator needs to be able to relate the knowledge of his special concern to his knowledge of the general processes of societal change."

45. Chi-Yuen Wu, "Training in Public Administration for Development: some Lessons of International Co-operation" in Jn. of Administration Overseas, Vol.10, No.1, 1971, pp.12-21, (14).

46. Ibid, p.16.

47. C.P. Bhambhri, "Training Programme for the Indian Administrative Service" in IRAS, Vol.36, No.1, 1970, pp.22-29, (22).

48. Ibid., pp.22-23.
He adds: "The success or failure of the great experiment of nation building on the basis of democracy and economic planning depends upon the public servants' capacity to deliver the goods. If this experiment fails, the administrator will have his due share of fault and failure", p.23.

49. Lee, "Attributes of Development Administrators", p.396.
See also Yip Yat Hoong (ed.), Role of Universities in Management Education for National Development in Southeast Asia, Proceedings of the Workshop Held in Singapore, 14-17 August 1972, Regional Institute of Higher Education and Development, Singapore 1972, especially Part III "The Desirable Attributes of a Manager/Development Administrator", pp.169-210.

Chapter 3

Major Management Training Needs of Public Servants in a Developing Country

The functions and desirable attributes of development administrators outlined and discussed in the previous chapter largely constitute what may be accepted as development administrators' training needs. This chapter, however, purposes to extend the discussion a step further by identifying these needs in relation to development needs of developing countries. This study does not subscribe to the belief that all the desirable attributes mentioned in the previous chapter can be acquired only through the process of training. It does, however, hold the view that management training can facilitate the acquisition of some of these attributes by, for example, inculcating in administrators interest in critical analyses of methods, decisions, processes, etc.

The chapter on obstacles to development identifies a good number of administrative obstacles, some of which have to do with the calibre of the administrative personnel in developing states. It was argued that the gap that exists between the desired and the existing situation in the administrative systems of these countries constitutes what has been termed administrative incapacity or administrative under-development. The question that arises is whether management training can contribute towards the reduction or eventual elimination of this gap. While this chapter will not attempt to answer this question in full, it will, however, by highlighting the administrators' training needs, indicate that there indeed

is a strong case for believing that the answer to the
question is in the affirmative. Further, the training that
is expected to enable development administrators to
acquire the desirable attributes is largely believed to be
institutional, hence the creation of management training
institutions in virtually all developing countries.

For the purpose of this chapter, the various
training needs of development administrators will be
discussed under three sub-headings as follows:

- intellectual needs (knowledge);

- operational capability needs (skills); and

- orientational needs (attitudes, values, ethics,
  standards).

This is obviously an arbitrary categorization since some
of the needs may fall into two or all of these categories.
It however serves the purpose of discussing these needs
from the perspective of the training process. Only a
general approach can be somewhat appropriate in this
study, thus the training needs discussed below cannot be
assumed to apply to all developing countries nor to all
levels of development bureaucracy.

## 3.1 Intellectual needs (knowledge)

Development administration involves the thorough
knowledge of the concepts, methods and practices of
administering governmental activities. It therefore
requires an understanding of public administration and its
application and extension to the substantive problems of
development.[1] To this extent, development administrators

need greater depth and breadth in blending and reconciling multiple social economic and political variables in their task of managing change and development. The task of managing change and development is carried out in a dynamic environment where social and political as well as economic pressures are exerted upon the administrators. Substantial knowledge of the social, political, cultural and economic environment is therefore essential if administrators are going to be effective change and development managers. Choudhury notes that:

> Development administrators must be acquainted with the existing social and cultural norms and values that affect their work. The development administrator must have an accurate understanding of the general social structure, involving knowledge of sociological and economic relationships and principles. Thus some sociological/anthropological training would benefit any development change agent.[2]

Substantive knowledge of development therefore means and includes a general understanding of the development process, its environment and a detailed knowledge of the specific subjects of the administrator's special concern. Reference to Lee's clusters of desired attributes as shown in Table 2.2 indicates that the intellectual attributes that development administrators need are "analytic faculty"; "grasp of the situation as a whole"; "knowledge of substantive policy areas"; and "knowledge about human behaviours and relations". According to Lee, this is an area which is "most conducive to formal curricular programs".[3] He further argues that

education programs can and have been designed to provide these attributes to development administrators.

Acquisition of substantive knowledge should also enable development administrators to strengthen rational and creative forces and therefore to maximise the effectiveness of an administrative system so that it contributes positively to growth in development. Choudhury observes:

> Administrators with development responsibility must be familiar with different forms of rationality needed for different areas of development administration. Knowledge should be transmitted to development administrators to develop intellectual creativity as well.[4]

It may be appropriate at this juncture to review some of the subject areas that development administrators need knowledge in. Citing a UN publication on administrative development, Raul P. de Guzman writes:

> . . . the professional administrator . . . should have a broad understanding of the new concepts of economic and social development and should be able to relate them to the political and administrative principles underlying the management of the business of the State. He should have a broad knowledge of the political and social sciences and a solid grounding in economic theory, and be thoroughly versed in administrative techniques.[5]

These study areas can still be argued to be broad and general. Nevertheless, a good grounding in social sciences, behavioural sciences and economics can provide development administrators with substantive knowledge essential for the management of change and development activities.

Advising that the curriculum of a training programme should vary according to the category of

personnel it is intended to train, D.C. Stone argues that training programmes should:

> encompass the strategies, policies, processes and technologies entailed in comprehensive societal modernization. Curricula should, therefore, embrace both the knowledge and methods applicable to social, economic and administrative planning and development . . . on the whole curricula should integrate the political, economic, social, legal, administrative and technical aspects of each subject. A multidisciplinary approach is achieved . . . only when varied disciplinary contributions are blended under one skull.[6]

A more specific approach to the identification of possible course content is that given by Katz, who envisages it as comprising four main strands that intertwine to the cable of contents as shown in Chart 3.1 below. According to Katz, three of these strands are associated with the three types of educational or training needs - substantive knowledge, purposive methodology and development administration.[7] These three correspond to the first two categories as used in this section, while the fourth strand - professionalism - would correspond to the third category.

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## CHART 3.1

EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATORS:
SUMMARY LISTING OF CHARACTERISTICS, STRANDS, AND CONTENT ‡

| Development Characteristics | Educational Strands | Educational Content (Course) |
|---|---|---|
| (1) Comprehensive | (2) Substantive knowledge | (3) "Nature and Dynamics of the Development Process" "Problems and Strategies of Development" Functional Specialty* Sectoral Specialty* |
| Prescriptive | Purposive methodologies | "The Nature of Scientific Inquiry" "Quantitative Methods in Social Science" "Mathematics for Administrators" "Development Plan Formulation" "Project Design" |
| Governmental Action | Development administration | Methodological Specialty* "Concepts and Methods of Public Administration" "Administrative Organization and Institutions" "Administrative Functions" "General Development Administration" Development Subsystems † Administrative Specialty* |
| | Professionalism | "Roles of the Development Administrator" "Field Familiarization" "Summer Practicum" "Thesis Field Work and Study Design" |

* Elective choice of subject areas.
† Equivalent to three courses.
‡ Saul M. Katz, *Education for Development Administrators: Character, Form, Content and Curriculum*, (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh, 1967) p. 27.

Source: Saul M. Katz, "Model for Educating Development Administrators". PAR, Vol. 28, No. 6, 1968, p.533.

Column 3 of Chart 3.1 contains the subjects which Katz suggests should constitute a relevant course content for the training of development administrators. He advocates the systems approach in the training of administrators and argues:

> Systems are intended as intellectual constructs
> for the study of selected aspects of society.
> They establish methods for categorizing,
> abstracting, and organizing data on social
> behaviour and studying their interrelationships.
> They are intellectual instruments for the study
> of society, not the studies themselves. Systems
> facilitate the integration of knowledge from
> many sources with the concerns of a particular
> course. Their contribution cannot be adequately
> made in one or a few courses. The systems
> perspective should, therefore, suffuse as many
> of the courses as feasible, helping provide them
> with an orientation toward understanding and
> dealing with development on a comprehensive,
> rationally coherent, and empirically realistic
> basis.[8]

Given the integrated nature of development, the importance

of a systems approach in training civil servants can

hardly be over-emphasized. But to elaborate a little

further on some of the study areas in column 3, it may be

said that "General Development and Administration" can

provide an overall introduction to the administrative

procedures and organizational arrangements for the purpose

of formulating and implementing national development

plans. In most developing societies this is an area of

both significant need and catastrophic failures. It may

indeed be considered to be an area of most urgent training

needs for development administrators.

Another area of need for administrators of

development is that of development theory and practice. As

Katz sees it, this area has six groups of needed output:

> skilled manpower, finances, logistics (or
> facilities for the physical flow of goods and
> services), social mobilization (the
> participation of individuals and groups),
> conflict management (the legitimate power to
> enforce decisions), and information (the
> facilities for the physical flow of
> information).[9]

These are largely areas of operational skills which will be dealt with in the next section. All that can be said here is that the knowledge acquired by the development administrator in these areas should not only enhance the operational skills, but also provide them with those basic concepts which sustain the modern or modernizing society "in all its forms and ramifications, functions and relationships, and beliefs and dogmas".[10]

Intellectual attributes desired by development administrators can only be acquired if more knowledge is transmitted to them from a multi-disciplinary perspective and with the aid of a systems approach that enables one subject to feed on another and provide a holistic view of the situation and environment of development.

## 3.2 Operational capability needs (skills)

Table 2.2 identifies five types of skills that development administrators need to have. These are: organizational capability; human skill; sensitivity to power situations; communication skill; and entrepreneurial skill. Lee is of the opinion that these skills are less conducive to formal education than the attributes of knowledges as discussed in the previous sub-section. He writes:

> Operational attributes such as organizational skills, skills in human relations, communication and political sensitivity can be learned best through practical experiences. Professional training programmes could be designed to enhance these managerial skills through such devices as sensitivity training and syndicate method . . . simulations involving team studies, role planning and internship training programs would

> be some of the more useful ways of casting skill
> elements into the knowledge components of a
> curriculum.[11]

The view seems to be that development training programmes should be so designed that in the imparting of substantive knowledge these skills can be picked up by the development administrators. The need for a training methodology that seeks to be as closely related to the actual work situation is clearly emphasized.

Asserting that a training programme intended for the enhancing of managerial capabilities should emphasize the administrator's ability to make decisions on the allocation of resources and in guiding and directing the formulation of realistic plans and in achieving concrete results, Raul de Guzman et al. write:

> Basically the course may focus on organization
> and management techniques and on the managerial
> functions of planning, organizing, staffing,
> directing and controlling. It should be a
> variation from the conventional approach of
> highlighting principles and dealing with
> abstract concepts and instead, it should provide
> adequate opportunity for applying these
> principles and concepts to concrete development
> management situations.[12]

The idea that the general skills usually provided through management training programmes are inadequate is also shared by Choudhury, who includes the following as some of the skills that development administrators need: skills in development programme and project formulation, implementation and evaluation; ability to shape new courses and strategies as a pro-active policy formulator; ability to improvise and become an effective crisis manager; ability to motivate others in accepting new

changes and development; skills of a public relations expert; skills of an interest broker having the ability to choose among competing interests and reconciling all parties to the outcome.[13]   This combination of skills is essential for the development administrator who must of necessity be all things in all situations so to speak. That this long list spells a heavy need for training hardly needs mentioning. Thus, while it might be expected that development administrators may pick some of these skills in the course of their practice it nevertheless is true to say that most national leaders (politicians and administrators) view these skills as urgently required and therefore as needs that can only speedily be provided through training.   Chapter 4   below will discuss this widely held view in better detail.

A further dimension of the training needs of development administrators is provided by J.O. Udoji, who identifies no less than seven groups of required operational skills that administrators ought to be trained in. In the area of general management he argues that administrators need skills in: establishing goals and objectives; measuring achievements; planning and budgeting for results; organizing projects; creating multi-disciplinary and multi-ministry task forces; and, in leading and motivating staff.[14]   Development administrators, he argues, must know "how to organise both people and technology for the purpose of attaining desired results in the most effective manner".[15]

In the area of supervisory training the needs of administrators are:

(a) work planning;

(b) work organizing and control;

(c) human relations;

(d) communications;

(e) general administrative principles.[16]

For any organization, the importance of skilled supervisors is reflected in the fact that these are the officers who have the functions of instructing, advising and directing the workers. They also have to see to it that the organization's goals and objectives are met.

In the area of financial management Udoji identifies six major areas in which administrators require expertise:

1. programme budgeting;

2. cash flow projections;

3. advanced payroll methods;

4. commitment control;

5. project and cost accounting;

6. financial reporting.[17]

These skills are needed "in addition to, not in lieu of, the regulatory and control aspects of financial management, which must continue".[18] Thus, the argument he puts forward is that a developing country needs to adopt new financial systems which differ from the book-keeping oriented systems of the colonial era. These new financial management systems must aim at ensuring effective use of financial resources for national

development. To that extent, those who have the financial management function must be trained in the special skills listed above.

In the area of information management the needed skills that Udoji identifies are:

1. information systems design;

2. information handling technology (including data processing);

3. information storage techniques;

4. information retrieval and presentation techniques.[19]

By far the largest number of needed skills as identified by Udoji is in personnel management:

1. personnel policy development and administration;

2. manpower planning;

3. recruitment;

4. job analysis, description and specification writing;

5. job evaluation, using standard techniques;

6. audit of evaluation results;

7. internal and external pay research methods;

8. wage and salary administration techniques;

9. training;

10. performance appraisal;

11. labour relations.[20]

Weaknesses in these skills can result in serious problems in human resource management which, in turn, will lead to the retardation of the development process. These skills, it is argued, can be acquired by administrators by giving

them appropriate training; they are therefore considered to be development training needs.

The sixth area of training needs is in materials management. In a developing society this area cannot be regarded merely as store-keeping. It is an area which requires more than just a custodial and clerical function. As Udoji notes:

> Materials management is a sophisticated function that is rapidly gaining in importance as the public services invest more in capital improvements, both construction and maintenance.[21]

The skills needed by administrators in this are as follows:

1. procurement - tendering and purchasing;

2. inventory management;

3. warehouse and transportation management;

4. stock control and stores reporting;

5. disposal of materials and controls of wastage.[22]

The seventh and final area that Udoji deals with is the area of management services. The O and M units of the administrative system need to be adequately staffed with skilled personnel. These people need skills in all of the management functions identified above. "They should spend at least 25% of their time on training and development since they are change agents that get things done through others".[23]

The above-mentioned skills do indeed point to the fact that development administrators' training needs are diverse, complex and numerous. The need for life-long management training thus becomes obvious. As stated

earlier, the acquisition of some of these skills through training programmes is doubtful and debatable. However, the acute shortage of these skills has persisted in most developing countries and management training is strongly believed to be the most effective way of remedying the situation. Y.B. Chavan agrees with this view:

> There cannot be two views on the importance of training for the public service. All jobs in public administration, whether high or low, involve an element of skill and if they are to be performed at optimum efficiency, such skills have to be methodically and systematically cultivated. The employers of public personnel, no less than others, have a right to expect adequate return on the wage bill in terms of efficiency and fulfilment of public purposes.[24]

## 3.3 Orientational needs (attitudes, ethics, values, standards)

As Table 2.2 indicates, the orientational attributes that development administrators need to have are: future outlook; innovative mind; positive view of human nature; entrepreneurial will; and power motive. The ethical qualities are: normative conviction; philosophy of life; sense of public responsibility; and ethical standards. As Lee rightly asserts: "These attributes are of crucial importance to a development administrator because of the high goal-oriented nature of his task."[25] A future outlook or vision that a development administrator requires must be a positive one. As Umapathy notes: "The development bureaucrat requires the vision of a statesman and not that of either a narrow-minded

politician or a rule-minded bureaucrat."[26] Emphasizing

this same thought Stone writes:

> It has been recognized that attitudes of
> individual administrators and managers are one
> of the most important factors in their
> performance. For instance, a manager who
> considers his environment to be hostile is
> likely to be less productive than his colleague
> in the same environment who treats it as a
> positive resource to be mobilised in support of
> organizational objectives.[27]

Vision also implies versatility and adaptability

of mind in decision making. These must be supported by an

innovative and creative mind; a mind that is dedicated to

the creation of ideas, techniques or programmes for

improving present conditions. Tyagi views the attitudes

and personality traits suitable for development

administration as different from the ones that are

suitable for other administrations. The traits he

identifies and their "opposites" are as follows:

1.  a sense of inquisitiveness and alertness as against

    placidity and a non-questioning attitude;

2.  pragmatism and adaptability as against conservatism

    and rigidity;

3.  an innovative approach as against a habit of relying

    upon precedents;

4.  an achievistic as against a ritualistic temperament;

5.  honest and trustworthy as against phlegmatic;

6.  straightforward as against secretive;

7.  participative as against egocentric;

8.  sociable as against being reserved;

9.  scientific or objective as against fatalistic or

    mystical.[28]

These traits, while being desirable for development administrators, are hardly attainable to appropriate degrees nor in all the personnel in a given development bureaucracy. This is so because of various types of constraints which are beyond the scope of this present study to examine. It is however expedient to re-emphasize the pertinence of behaviour traits to the overall performance of development bureaucracy. In other words, administrators of development need more than just knowledge and operational skills if they are to effectively manage national developmental efforts. In Umapathy's view development bureaucracy has to exhibit behavioural patterns consisting of:

(a) action and achievement orientation;

(b) responsiveness;

(c) responsibility;

(d) all-round smooth relations - inside the organization with subordinates and superiors, and outside with the clientele and the public;

(e) commitment to the developmental ideology and goals as well as to personal integrity. Such behaviour is a product of a host of factors like the qualifications, skills, structures . . but also of a good personnel-management system and a sound leadership.[29]

Here again, this rather "pure" type of bureaucratic behaviour is only suggestive and not exclusive. As Umapathy continues:

> In the empirical world there are many constraints which shape the development bureaucracy. Therefore there are many empirical

systems of development bureaucracy with various limitations and levels of performance and achievement.[30]

What then can be the role of management training with regard to the acquisition by development administrators of the desired attributes, whether they be values or attitudes? According to Lee, this area is "not very conducive to final educational programs".[31] The reason for this is that these qualities are largely formed during an individual's childhood and continue to be built upon in the earlier educational and character formation stages. A further reason is that the environment in which an individual grows up plays a crucial part in the shaping of the individual's personality and character. Tyagi writes:

> All researches in psychology, so far done, indicate that all the personality traits of an individual result from a combination of inherited capacities and the cultural environment and also that the environment impinges more fundamentally and deeply on the individual during his infancy and childhood. This means that, by the time the individual enters the civil service, his personality traits are more or less well set.[32]

Felix A. Nigro and Lloyd G. Nigro echo the same view:

> Many deeply held value commitments and assumptions are learned early in life from parents, teachers and members of peer groups . . . Not all values are acquired early in life and remain unchanged throughout the lifetime of an individual. The social and psychological environments within which administrators function at any given time are a strong influence on the pattern of values they apply to concrete situations. New values are learned and old ones strengthened or changed in interactions with friends, professional associates and other influential persons in the environment. Organizations are themselves potent social and cultural systems that tend to support and reward certain values and behaviors while rejecting or

penalizing others. Consequently administrative
decisions are made against a background of
intermeshed personal, organizational and general
social norms and values. [33]

The last two statements of the quotation
immediately above form the basis for the argument in
favour of management training. It is thus argued that
training can open up the minds of administrators; plant
carefully thought out courses that expose them to
desirable values, norms and attitudes, as well as create
situations which discourage undesirable behaviour
patterns. To that extent then, these orientational needs
of development administrators become training needs. Tyagi
argues in favour of this approach:

. . . there is some plasticity in human nature .
. . if programmes of training and education are
properly and scientifically devised, then they
can make a significant impact upon these traits
of human personality. For instance, a scientific
attitude and an achievement motivation can be
cultivated through scientific education . . .
Even positive outlook on work and developmental
outlook can be cultivated through systematic
training of the mind and thinking power. [34]

Arguing that the teaching of cognitive or
psychomotor skills - covered in the first two sub-sections
above - Raul de Guzman et al. advise that training
officers have to ensure that the skills acquired during
training are transferred to work situations by
endeavouring to facilitate the development of
"complementary changes in attitudes and values"[35] in
the participants. They advocate the consideration of the
affective domain as a first step in developing desirable
attitudes, values, predispositions and beliefs that are

supportive of acquired managerial capabilities and technocratic skills:

> It has been observed that as a student moves
> from the lower levels in the affective domain,
> the behavior of the student changes from passive
> to active, involuntary to voluntary, transitory
> to stable, inconsistent to consistent, and from
> neutral (or negative) to positive. [36]

It must however be admitted that the success of training programmes in inculcating desirable attitudes and values is largely dependent upon the socio-cultural and economic environment of the administrative process. Thus, while the relevant behaviour traits may be decided upon and included in the curricula of training programmes, it may still be impractical or perhaps unwise for the individual development administrator to put them into practice on returning to his job. A classic example of this situation is provided in Sola Aina's discussion of bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria. Analysing the functionalist theory in relation to corruption, Aina writes:

> (d) Where various forms of corruption are common, the
> functionalists argue, one can hardly consider them
> immoral.
> (e) In India, for instance, bribery is seldom condemned
> unless some are denied the 'right' to bribe when
> others are getting away with it. [37]

And elsewhere in the same article Aina writes:

> . . . but any person who has lived in or visited
> Nigeria, would support the view that corruption
> is becoming a way of life there. This point was
> best expressed by Naomi and Gerald Caiden, who
> call it systemic corruption, i.e. 'A situation
> where wrongdoing has become the norm, and the
> standard accepted behaviour necessary to
> accomplish organizational goals according to
> notions of public responsibility and trust has
> become the exception, not the rule. In this
> situation, corruption has become so regularized
> and institutionalized that organizational

supports back wrongdoing and actually penalize
those who live up to the old norms.[38]

This is obviously an anomalous situation and cannot be taken to be representative of the situation in all or most developing states. It, however, serves to illustrate the point that training to bring about attitudinal and orientational attributes among development administrators runs the risk of failure unless the values, attitudes and ethics imparted are strongly held and accepted by the environment of the administrative system.

It may be expedient at this stage to discuss briefly the notion of an innovative mind - one of the attributes listed under orientational attributes in Table 2.2 This is the concept which, Detchard Vongkomolshet says, everyone pays lip service to while the actual practice of innovation is largely negligible.[39] This study takes as given the premise that a post-colonial society is a dynamic one. Not only is there a new order in terms of political leadership, but the whole society is charged with a sort of new energy and there is a surge forward in awareness among the people. Most of the old colonial and traditional practices, roles and values are questioned and indeed challenged. This then is the stage where society is probably most receptive to new ideas and practices for it is a period of searching for an acceptable, just and progressive developmental direction.

It is also at this stage that the role of the ruling elite of a post-colonial country can lead society towards desirable and achievable development goals and

objectives. Regrettably, in most developing societies both the political leadership and the administrative elites often fail to effectively direct society towards appropriate and achievable development goals. This is largely because of their preference for continuity rather than change, a fear of the unknown, and sometimes also a fear of the changes that may threaten their vested interests - social, economic and power base interests. A further reason seems to be a dearth of innovative ideas, procedures and practices among the so-called change agents themselves. In fact in most developing countries administrators are largely considered to be conservative reactionaries rather than innovative and pro-active change agents and change managers.

S.R. Nanekar attributes this lack of innovative capacity among administrators to lack of scholarship and self training:

> A reason why administrators lag behind the times
> and fail to cope with fast-changing situations
> is that they regard learning from any other
> sources like reading or research, besides their
> own work-situation experience, as derogatory to
> their noble profession. Mark the approach! It is
> not only that learning from reading or research
> is neglected, but also regarded as something
> professionally profane.[40]

This is an unfortunate and undesirable situation which needs to be remedied if development administrators are to effectively perform the innovative and pro-active role. Self-learning or self-training, although essential for the acquisition of substantive knowledge and new skills and techniques, will, however, not necessarily make an administrator more innovative. It may indeed be a critical

first step since it implies an attitude of willingness to change and a search for new and better methods of doing things. Yet innovation in administration remains a difficult process.

Vongkomolshet identifies six reasons why administrators have difficulty in being innovative:

> First, civil servants often feel that it is futile to suggest new ideas. They feel their suggestions will go in one ear of the boss and come out the other. Second, many civil servants fear criticisms. This is a natural human characteristic. Their idea may turn out to be stupid or ridiculous, and thus they may lose face. Third, many civil servants are inert or inactive in bringing out new ideas. If they make great efforts at innovation they may receive no rewards at all . . . Thus the incentive for innovation in a civil service may be quite low . . . Fourth, even when new ideas are accepted there is still often no implementation. The new idea or program may fall to the bottom of a large stock of day-to-day administrative papers. Fifth, there is the very important problem of vested interests. When an innovative idea implies destruction of old programs, transfer or dismissal of present personnel, that innovative idea faces an iron curtain of vested interests . . . Sixth and finally, there is the situation where there is no real margin for innovation. For example, many farmers are too poor to try an innovation such as some improved seeds. They are too near subsistence to gamble or to take a risk. A civil servant may be in exactly the same situation. He cannot risk rocking the boat.[41]

Thus, while some of these obstacles to innovation can perhaps be alleviated by training administrators, others can only be dealt with if the administrative system itself is changed or modified to allow for the proliferation of new ideas and suggestions of new ways of doing things. The success of training and training institutions in bringing about such changes depends largely on, inter alia, whether they are innovative themselves and on whether they have

the necessary institutional capabilities to tackle these

obstacles. This is the subject of Part II of this study.

Vongkomolshet, however, suggests that the

following strategy can be used to attack these obstacles

and facilitate decisions that are conducive to innovation:

1.  Top executives may communicate to their subordinates
    directives for creating an environment more conducive
    to innovative ideas. Sanctions or persuasion or both
    may be used to create such an environment. If the
    highest level executive in the given organization is
    committed to innovation, the chances are good that
    his organization has high innovative potential.
2.  Training programs emphasizing innovative
    administrative behaviour for executives at various
    levels can be carried out.
3.  Small groups of executives meet for a short period of
    time such as one week to discuss frankly anything
    relating to their organizations. Such basically
    unstructured meetings often increase openness and
    frankness, and awareness of discrepancies between
    ideals and actualities.
4.  Certain inhibiting laws or regulations are changed so
    as to be more conducive to innovative behaviour.[42]

Whatever training programmes are designed for this purpose

should aim at increasing innovative behaviour among

administrators of development. Such programmes should

emphasize methods of analysis and modes of attacking the

problems that organizations face. A training programme

should " . . . stress habits of mind that will be useful

in new situations - curiosity, open mindedness,

objectivity, respect for evidence and the capacity to

think critically".[43] This study regards the problem of

lack of innovative efforts among development

administrators as one of the major, if not the major,

contributor to organizational ineffectiveness in most

developing countries.

Turning now to ethical attributes, philosophy and standards needed by development administrators. Once again this area is not readily conducive to in-service management training. Lee observes that:

> normative conviction, philosophy of life, sense of public responsibility, ethical standards, etc. are mostly derivatives of the earlier process of character formation and education. Again like orientational attributes, they are something that should be treated in terms of selection of students than in conjunction with curriculum.[44]

All the same, training is seen in most situations as the only means with which administrators can be infused with the requisite ethics, philosophy and standards. As will be shown in Chapter 4 of this study, there seems to be a strong belief that when all else fails, try training; and when training fails try more training. As Bernard Schaffer notes: " . . . training seemed patently an instrument for development; if development meant changing behaviour, then use training to make the changes".[45]

As a way of attempting to impart some elements of ethical qualities during training, Lee suggests the featuring of prominent public leaders who have eminent developmental records as special lecturers, while also recruiting into teaching positions faculty members who have practical experience in development.[46] He also adds:

> Encouraging the students to study selected biographies of innovative leaders in public life could be another supplementary means of enkindling the inherent ethical qualities of students of development administration.[47]

The success that training programmes can achieve through utilization of these suggested methods is doubtful. The fact that in most developing countries the "experts" in development administration are mainly so-called "foreign experts" and not national figures; and the high turn-over of national leaders - politicians and administrators - militate against effective use of these methods. The ruling elites of most of the developing states seem to rapidly lose favour with the people and the lower levels of bureaucracy.

Perhaps an even more difficult task is that of designing a training programme that adequately provides an ethical dimension to development administration. As John A. Worthley rightly asks:

> What is the ethical environment of public administration? What is ethical behavior in administration? Is it laws and codes, and is ethical behavior obeying rules and staying out of trouble? What shapes the ethical dimension? What factors produce ethical dilemmas for public employees?[48]

Obviously, a detailed discussion of the answers to these questions is beyond the scope of this present study. It is however pertinent to the subject in hand to briefly outline some views of selected authorities on this issue of ethics and standards for administration.

For his part, Worthley suggests that the ethical dimension consists of more than just a checklist of codes and principles. Rather, it is formed:

> by a convergence of the reality of administrative power with a kaleidoscope of environmental values at both macro and micro levels. It is an understanding of and sensitivity to this power and these values that

> provides a workable foundation for training in
> ethics. Administrative power is the source of
> the ethical issue, and environmental values are
> the bases of ethical behavior. [49]

The relationship between values and power is crucial for

the understanding of ethics and standards. Regrettably,

many development administrators lack this understanding

and therefore end up abusing the powers vested in them by

virtue of their offices. But can an understanding of this

relationship bring about a change of heart and motivate

administrators to become more responsive and responsible

custodians of the public or common good? It would,

naturally, be simple to reply to this question in the

positive and end the discussion. Unfortunately such other

factors external to the training field as societal values

and norms, socio-economic factors and personnel policies

and practices have to be taken into account before any

answer can be attempted. All that can be attempted here is

a general approach to the issues of ethics and standards.

Also endorsing the belief that education and

training in values and ethics are essential for

administrators, O.P. Dwivedi and Ernest A. Engelbert give

the following definitions of values and ethics

respectively:

> Values are the ideals, beliefs, and attitudes
> held by individuals which underlie all personal,
> social and political relationships. They are the
> basic foundations of codes and principles of
> individual, group and social behavior. Values
> are reflected throughout a nation's institutions
> and systems of governance.

> Ethics are the application of values to
> individual behavior and action. They provide the
> moral and legal basis for guiding personal
> conduct in different circumstances and

situations. Ethics are reflected in laws and regulations$_{50}$codes of behavior and professional standards.

For any curriculum designer, the crux of the matter is obviously the identification of such values for a given society, and secondly, translating these into teachable programmes the results of which should be a public servant whose moral, ethical and philosophical standard is above reproach. While it is true to say that training has a part to play in the instilling of ethical standards in administrators, it is equally correct to argue that training cannot entirely remove all the situational dilemmas that administrators may face. There are areas of what Worthley calls "conflicting responsibilities" [51] in which the very attributes of ethical standards may be at variance with each other:

> The challenge that develops . . . is that of having to meet multiple expectations and standards. There is the professional standard of doing a job rationally and expertly; there is the political standard of doing it responsibly, fairly, openly and participatively; there is the organizational standard of doing it efficiently and loyally; and the legal standard of doing it procedurally and with due process - all of which are not easily meshed. [52]

An administrator may, for instance, be confronted with a choice which provides more efficiency at the expense of equality, or more equality at the expense of efficiency. Whichever choice he makes involves the lowering of ethical standards of one kind or another. Making use of Chart 3.2 below, Worthley points out that the public manager is expected to operate within the

shaded area in which values of freedom interact with values of order:

> In short, the ethical environment of public administration is such that it is not enough to be expert and efficient, it is not enough to be fair, honest and responsive. The administrator is expected to be all of these at once. [53]

Chart 3.2
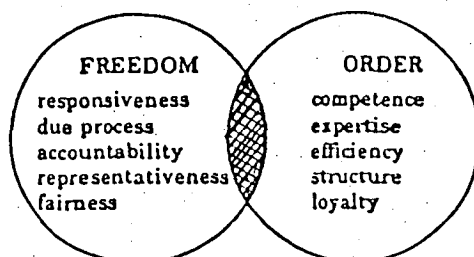


Source: Worthley, "Ethics and Public Management", p.44

In spite of the inability of training to resolve the situation of conflicting responsibilities, proponents of training would still argue that training will make the administrator better able to make the relevant choices on a situational basis. It is further argued that training will assist in the internalization of identified values and their relationship with power bases, thereby making them more competent and of a sound ethical standard.

Suggestions of what should be included in a management training programme are obviously many and varied. But because training is such a culturally bound process with a strongly national setting, it is not easy to make any specific recommendations that will universally apply or be relevant and acceptable to all developing societies.

However, for illustrative purposes and because they claim an international approach, Dwivedi and Engelbert's list of suggestions is quoted below. They

suggest that in order to instill values and ethics in administrators, an education and training programme should contain instruction in the following:

1. Systems of justice and equity in the context of different cultures and institutions of governance.
2. The rights, obligations and responsibilities of individuals and groups within the social and political system.
3. The purposes and limitations of government as an institution for fostering economic and social progress and cultural values.
4. Standards of objectivity, effectiveness, impartiality, integrity and probity in the conduct of public affairs within the context of maintaining a professional public service dedicated to achieving a high standard of efficiency and competence.
5. A system of public communications which fosters citizen understanding of and participation in the processes of governance of the nation.
6. A governmental system which fosters and protects the responsiveness and accountability of public servants to direction and control by the public through its representatives.
7. The prevailing system of laws, regulations and practices governing the conduct of all public officials and employees.
8. Standards of conduct which prohibit the use of public office for self-interest or private gain or for improperly giving preferential treatment or disclosing confidential information to any person or group.
9. Standards of conduct which embody respect, fairness and justice by public officials and employees in their individual and group relationships and in their contacts with the public.
10. Modes of behavior by public officials and employees which reflect the need for responsiveness and loyalty to professional colleagues, and for the support of legitimately established governmental and departmental policies and programs within a framework of conscientious observance of established rules and procedures, ensuring in particular that public resources are utilized in an effective and efficient manner.[54]

This is obviously such a tall order that the possibility of incorporating all these suggestions into a workable training programme seems far fetched. It is, however, correct to assume that an administrator will be able to pick up a good number of these values and ethics in the

course of his practice while others may need to be introduced and reinforced through training. Further, most of these suggestions can and in effect should be incorporated into training programmes or courses of the cognitive and psychomotor types.

This chapter has outlined the major ethical and orientational training needs of development administrators. The importance of appropriate attitudes, values and personality traits has been demonstrated as essential for the effective management of the processes of change and development in post-colonial societies. Of special interest to this study is the notion of innovation which, this chapter has argued, is essential for the appropriate introduction and management of change in these societies. The environmental constraints that administrations may face with regard to philosophical, ethical and orientational attributes have been shown to make the task of training more critical yet more difficult.

The first two sections of this chapter have focused on more easily attainable training requirements of development administrators, which are just as important as the ones covered in the third section. It has been emphasized that administrators need substantive knowledge in various areas and disciplines, which knowledge must be transmitted to them in an integrative and multi-disciplinary manner. In addition to substantive knowledge, development administrators also need specific skills and techniques which they can employ in the day-to-day

business of providing goods and services while spear-
heading national development. It is pertinent to note that
in all three sections, i.e. throughout this chapter, the
process of training has been identified as the most
preferred means of bringing about administrative
capability to development bureaucracies. The next chapter
of this study examines this virtual obsession with
training among developing countries, with particular
reference to institutional training.

References and Notes - Chapter 3

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5. Raul P. de Guzman et al., "Management Training Needs in the Escap Region: Toward Collaborative Efforts" in Philippine Jn. of Public Administration, Vol.XX, No.2, 1978, pp.162-179, (165).
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7. Katz, "Educating Development Administrators", p.532.

8. Ibid., pp.532 and 534.

9. Ibid., p.135.

10. Tyagi, "Administrative Training: A Theoretical Postulate" in IRAS, Vol.40, No.2, 1974, pp.155-170, (156).

11. Lee, "Attributes of Development Administrators", p.397.
   Available evidence, however, indicates that only a few of the MTIs in developing countries make use of the devices mentioned here. Most MTIs are still largely dependent on the lecture method in the training of administrators. The extent to which these desirable attributes can be acquired by administrators under such training circumstances is therefore in doubt. See Chapter 12 of this study.

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    He explains: "The difference between statesman and politician is made on the popular assumption that (a) a statesman is one who thinks of tomorrow and (b) a politician is one who thinks of today only", footnote No. 45.

27. Stone, "Guide Lines for Training", p.17.

28. Tyagi, "Administrative Training", p.158.

29. Umapathy, "Designing Bureaucracy for Development", pp.286-287.

30. Ibid., p.287.
    For a discussion of some of these constraints see O. Glenn Stahl," Managerial Effectiveness in Developing Countries" in IRAS, Vol.45, No.1, 1979, pp.2-5.

31. Lee, "Attributes of Development Administrators", p.397.

32. Tyagi, "Administrative Training", p.158.

33. Felix A. Nigro & Lloyd G. Nigro, Modern Public Administration, 3rd edition, Harper & Row, New York, 1977, p.77.
    See especially Chapter 4 of this source, "Values and Public Administration", pp.75-85.

34. Tyagi, "Administrative Training", p.158.
    Advocating post-entry institutional training of public servants, he adds: " . . . many of these traits can be induced by providing co-operative living and touring, by providing trainee participation in school management and even in course designing and programme formulation".

35. de Guzman et al., "Management Training Needs and Goals", p.173.
    As will be argued in Part IV, to enable the trainee to effectively put into practice the newly acquired skills, knowledge and attitudes requires both support from the trainers, and a working environment at his job which permits and encourages such change.

36. Ibid.

37. Sola Aina, "Bureaucratic Corruption in Nigeria: The Continuing Search for Causes and Cures" in IRAS, Vol.48, No.1, 1982, pp.70-76, (71).

38. Ibid., p.72.

39. Detchard Vongkomolshet, "Innovation: The Task of the Civil Servants" in Report on Regional Seminar on Development, Kuala Lumpur, 1968, pp.27-31, (27).

40. S.R. Nanekar, "Public Administration Training for Change" in IRAS, Vol.39, No.1, 1973, pp.56-60, (57).

41. Vongkomolshet, "Task of the Civil Servants", pp.27-28.

42. Ibid., p.28.
    He suggests three ways in which civil service laws may be modified to facilitate innovations: "(a) Executives should be given more freedom to fire civil servants for incompetence, though civil servants should still have guarantees against whimsical or political dismissals. (b) Granting of tenure should be more difficult. (c) Rewards, both monetary and

non-monetary, should be given to individuals with innovative ideas. The suggestion-box technique should be used. For suggestions resulting in important innovations, bonuses should be awarded. Medals and public honors should be bestowed upon innovative executives." P.29.

43. Ibid.
He suggests 13 ideas which should be stressed in training programmes intended to increase innovative behaviour in administration, but also observes that ". . . behaviour is exceedingly difficult to change. New training programs and laws may have little impact on executives who for years have been (used) not to thought critically, not criticised their bosses, nor allowed their subordinates to criticise them. The behavioral characteristics favourable to innovation are difficult to create in any society". P.29.

44. Lee, "Attributes of Development Administrators", p.397.

45. Bernard Schaffer (ed.), Administrative Training and Development: A comparative Study of East Africa, Zambia, Pakistan and India, Praeger, New York, 1974, "Introduction", p.12.

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52. Ibid.

53. Ibid., p.44.

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For other suggestions on this issue see also:
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Worthley, "Ethics and Public Management".

Chapter 4

Management Training: A Panacea for Administrative
Under-Development

In the first three chapters of this part this
study has dealt with the major issues of development in
relation to the part that national administrations can
play in development. The main points drawn in these
chapters are that: developing countries face many
obstacles which retard or prevent their development; most
of these obstacles can only be dealt with adequately by
government intervention in all aspects of national
development; the civil servants of a developing country
can be a major force for change and development in their
countries; the lack of adequate and appropriate knowledge,
skills and attitudes among development administrators
results in administrative under-development which, in
turn, has adverse effects on the processes of change and
development. Various management training needs of
administrators were identified and discussed. The purpose
of this fourth and final chapter of Part I is, therefore,
to discuss some of the many claims that are made in favour
of training and training institutions as a means of
solving the problems of development, change and
administration in these countries.

This chapter thus intends to bring to a head the
testing of the first hypothesis of this study, which
states that: Management training institutions in
developing countries are generally believed to be
essential agencies for development, because they train
public servants. The discussion below will fall into two

sections: (1) the case for management training, and (2) the perceived role and functions of management training institutions (MTIs) in developing countries. The third section will attempt to provide the major conclusions to this chapter as a whole as well as provide a link into the next chapter.

## 4.1 The case for management training

So much has been mentioned already in the chapters above about management training for development, that it would be repetitious for this section to deal with the topic in hand in more than just a brief summation of the main arguments in favour of training. Basically, this section will highlight some of the arguments that are given as the "raison d'etre" for management training in the public services of developing states.

Most developing countries accept that in the improvement of development administration the major obstacle to progress is the shortage of people with the requisite knowledge, skills and attitudes to occupy the various positions of development administrators. It is further argued that training in general, and management training in particular is an integral aspect of the administration of a modern or modernizing state. To that extent the development of appropriate training programmes is called for and necessitated by several factors:

> firstly, the accelerative thrust of science and
> technology; secondly, quantitative expansion of
> the workload of contemporary government;
> thirdly, the increasing complexity of the
> problems the civil service is encountering

> today; fourthly, the rapidly rising tempo of
> political consciousness among the people;
> fifthly, popular discontent with the existing
> state of affairs; sixthly, the dependence of
> national stability upon the ability of
> government to satisfy at least a minimum of
> popular needs and expectations; and lastly, an
> urgent need for a radical change in the attitude
> of the government employees. All these needs can
> be fulfilled only when the tasks of the
> government are not entrusted to the first
> available supply of willing hands but to a
> carefully$_1$ recruited body of trained
> manpower.

The widening and expansion of governmental activity and its greater impact on the community necessitate that development bureaucracies develop their human resources so as to provide the most effective service possible. Development administrators are continually faced with new situations, new problems and heightened demands for goods and services. To be able to cope effectively and appropriately with these needs and demands, the argument goes, administrators must be trained and therefore equipped to become effective change and development agents.

Future development requirements, in addition to present ones, point to the need for more sophistication in managerial, supervisory and operational methods, techniques and orientations. Development administrators will have to keep adapting themselves to change. Their academic and professional qualifications and experience are likely to be out of date and inadequate from time to time and they will find themselves obliged to renew and refresh their studies and skills at frequent intervals. Training is thus seen as providing this function of

keeping administrators up to date and capable of dealing with present and later problems of change and development.

Bemoaning the fact that training of public servants has received only emotional acceptance while being subjected to certain deliberate or sub-conscious mental reservations, N.K. Bhojwani identifies four aspects of the "raison d'etre" for management training which have not received adequate recognition. These are:

1. Developmental administration has imposed a compulsion on public servants to reach higher stages of responsibility and handle more complex tasks earlier in life than their predecessors had to do. This means that there is less time available for accumulating experience and developing talent through the normal processes of doing.

2. There is a growing risk that inefficiency will tend to get fragmented in the expanding activities of government.

3. The experience of the past is becoming increasingly inadequate for the future, owing to the pace of change and new points of contact and relations between the government and the public. Experience, therefore, needs to be reinforced with new skills required for development administration - skills not associated with administration in the past.

4. To the extent that training promotes ability, it will help create the only stable, acceptable and practical basis for equality of status and opportunity in the

public services. In this sense, training has a philosophical basis.[2]

The implication of the above aspects is that there is dissatisfaction with on-the-job training for civil servants since the knowledge that can be gained through that method is largely not suitable for both present and future needs of a modern development administration. In any case, most developing states view on-the-job training as both slow and time wasting, hence the widespread use of institutional or external training.

Arguing along the same lines of people's rising expectations and rapid expansion of public services in developing countries, Y.D. Phadke adds yet another dimension to the argument for management training:

> In such circumstances the need for sustained and systematic efforts to organize training programmes for development administrators can hardly be exaggerated. In a developing economy other and, perhaps, more attractive avenues of employment are open and government is no longer in a buyer's market. When a government has to compete with private organizations in attracting and retaining persons of high calibre, no government can afford to neglect this vital function of providing training to its servants who are now called upon to discharge more complex duties.[3]

Whether government is able to "attract and retain" the relevant calibre of personnel is not necessarily dependent upon whether it conducts training or not. Factors such as tenure of office, opportunities for advancement and levels of remuneration relative to those obtaining in the private sector are among the determining factors. In fact it is sometimes alleged that some people use government and its "free" training as a stepping stone into better paying

jobs in the private sector. In other words, the factors that may lead to the attraction and retention of appropriately qualified personnel may lie outside the training field itself, in which case training may fail to adequately address this problem.

With specific reference to Africa, the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) Secretariat points out that when most African states had attained independence in the early sixties three major developments began to surface which had far-reaching effects on the training and education of administrators in these states:

> First, a growing school of thought in the former metropolitan countries, spearheaded in Britain by the Fulton Committee Report, came out, amongst other things in favour of institution-alizing professional and managerial training to complement training on the job. Secondly, independence in the African countries was followed by the mass exodus of expatriates who occupied most of the technical, professional and managerial posts thus denuding the African public services of their most valuable and experienced personnel and leaving the service in a most precarious position. It was, therefore, no longer feasible to rely on guided on-the-job training to fill these vacancies and other emergency means had to be devised to ensure the proper functioning and delivery capability of the machinery of government. Finally, at independence, the new African governments were, in addition to the traditional public service functions, committed to a policy of modernization and rapid economic development of the standard of living of their peoples.[4]

The ECA Secretariat also adds that in addition to this situation African countries also found that they needed to Africanize or localize their public services soon after independence.[5] All these reasons, it is argued, pointed to the need for institutional training in these and other developing countries. As the ECA Secretariat observes: "A

quick remedy to the problem was the establishment of Institutes of Public Administration and Management in nearly all countries . . . "[6]

The exodus of expatriate administrators must necessarily be viewed from two angles. In some cases the expatriate officers themselves were not keen to serve under a government of indigenous people; it was largely considered to be degrading to do so. On the other hand, the indigenous governments themselves wanted the expatriates out, since it was considered politically counter-productive to have the machinery of national government dominated by aliens. Further, the leaving of expatriates and their replacement by indigenous officers served two purposes: first, it enabled the new governments to create an image of the new nation having attained "genuine" independence; and secondly, it enabled the new rulers to provide some of their pre-independence supporters with the opportunity of getting "a piece of the action", so to speak - a sort of spoils system. That the overall cost of this situation was too heavy for these nations to pay is largely documented history. All the same, management training was perceived as the most viable way of making these new public servants competent enough to shoulder the traditional and new and expanded functions of government.

According to C. Richard Parkins,[7] to emphasize training as "an important ingredient of a governmental personnel system implies a manpower deficiency".[8] He argues that because of the costs involved, governments

facing ever changing personnel requirements cannot afford to accommodate vast infusions of new people into the administrative systems to perform new tasks or manage new activities. Instead governments prefer to re-cycle existing manpower to the greatest extent possible. Training is therefore seen as an "important means of compensating for the inability to change the composition of the system as new responsibilities are assigned to it".[9]

This assumption is largely valid and applicable for most developing countries. The departure of colonialists did not necessarily mean the disbanding or destruction of colonial institutions and their ways of doing things. There was therefore largely continuity rather than change. The fact that the new governments took on new and additional roles and functions meant that re-cycling of existing personnel was not going to be an adequate way of dealing with change; it was not going to solve the problem of manpower deficiency. The response to an influx of new people into the administrative systems and to new tasks and activities was administrative or management training.

The taking on of new roles and functions by post-colonial governments also meant that their bureaucracies became larger and more complex than colonial bureaucracies. Thus training was also perceived as essential for the uniform interpretation of policies and procedures and the reduction of distortion. Parkins observes that:

> In relatively vast and complex administrative
> systems, training can serve as a means of
> promoting a uniform or standard interpretation
> of policies and procedures. Policy does not
> always communicate itself uniformly to all
> sectors of an organization, and training or
> educational experiences can put flesh on policy
> which is invariably diluted and distorted as it
> trickles down through various layers of
> decision-making. Virtually all types of
> organizations have used training as a means of
> inculcating a broad and consistent understanding
> of policy, especially when such policy has
> represented a shift in priorities or the
> introduction of new approaches to problems.[10]

This is obviously an important purpose of training but, like many other things, it can also be abused: it can in fact be an effective way of maintaining the status quo and discourage the challenging of policies and procedures which top level bureaucrats will have initiated or advised politicians to formalise. To that extent, the other reason why training is considered essential is that it legitimizes the new directions which governments have decided upon. As Parkins observes:

> By imbuing large numbers of officers or
> employees with training experiences focused upon
> a specific programme, it is possible to indicate
> the importance or priority which is attached to
> a particular course of action.[11]

Similar or related sentiments are shared by Hope and Armstrong who emphasize the need for training as part and parcel of administrative reform in developing countries. They argue that for reform programmes to be effective, all the people concerned with the reform process must be involved at both the preparation and implementation stages. This, they assert, will minimise uncertainties, tensions and resistance among the affected organizations and functionaries:

> The implementation of reforms should also
> include training and briefing in new measures,
> provision for feedback and corrective action,
> and assistance in installing new systems and
> methods . . . It is therefore important to
> recognize the government work force as an
> indispensable element in national development,
> irrespective of the system of recruitment of
> these public servants, there is a need to
> improve their capability through training. By
> training we mean the act or process of making a
> person fit to perform certain tasks. Training is
> necessary because no matter how qualified a
> person may be at the time of recruitment, he or
> she still has certain inadequacies, and
> therefore much to learn before becoming a really
> effective civil servant.[12]

But improving administrative capability involves more than

just training. Indeed, in some developing countries the

failure of administrative training to make any significant

contribution to development is because of the lack of

administrative reforms for which administrative training

was initiated or to which it was supposed to be

complementary.

Bernard Schaffer argues that this lack of other

administrative reforms was due mainly to the colonial

legacy inherited by developing countries and their

continued linkages with former colonial powers. He writes:

> The fact is that the actual resort to
> administrative training tended to become and was
> even inherently an alternative to the types of
> reform in the nature and behaviour of
> administration which was now to be needed.[13]

This resort to training is also seen by Schaffer as a

result of the colonial powers' preparation of the colonies

for national independence. The colonial powers had mounted

training programmes prior to independence and trained

carefully selected "natives" who were ear-marked for

positions in the post-colonial administrative systems. For

various reasons the post-independence states failed to extricate themselves from this reliance on administrative training - a sort of 'tunnel vision' effect. Schaffer argues that:

> Preparation had both prepared a crisis and prepared people's minds for a reliance on one sort of solution: institutional administrative training. The actual processes of administrative development during preparation, like unification, had in fact exacerbated the manpower crisis which the new states and the new public services were to face. There was then inescapably a critical, even crucial, relationship between organizational and manpower problems and manpower training. Training became the panacea.[14]

The truth of this situation is reflected in the importation of training through technical assistance and the adoption of the Westminster or Whitehall models or their continuation in spite of these models' inappropriateness. The post-colonial administrations became largely imitative of western administrative systems in more ways than just institutional administrative training, as Umapathy observes:

> Administration in these countries is 'imitative rather than indigenous'. 'All countries, including those which escaped western colonisation . . . have consciously tried to introduce some version of modern western bureaucratic administration.' In the case of ex-colonies, administrative systems generally imitate the administrations of their ex-metropolitan states. The colonial heritage has meant a carryover of the colonial bureaucratic traits such as elitism, authoritarianism, aloofness and paternalistic tendencies.[15]

This mimicking of western bureaucracies, therefore, resulted in the evolution of development bureaucracies which function at cross purposes with the

aspirations and expectations of the populace of developing states. The role of foreign technical assistance in promoting this situation is significant as shall be shown in the next chapter. Suffice it to state here that the fact that foreign technical assistance initiated and financed most of the developing states' training activities meant that the linkages between these countries and their training institutions with developed countries became even stronger after attainment of independence. This in turn ensured that the deviation of developing states from the traditional western systems would be gradual if not negligible.

Related to this and yet another way in which training is seen as a panacea is the fact that some foreign aid, as will be argued later, was tied to administrative training aid; i.e. developing countries could only get it if they accepted it as a package which included administrative training assistance, mainly in the form of personnel. In this light, training may have been perceived as a panacea to the extent that it enabled the recipient country to obtain other, perhaps more preferred aid. This has little to do with making an administrative system more competent and effective as an agency for change and development.

It may be appropriate to conclude this section with a quotation from Adebayo Adedeji who also views development training as the answer to administrative incapacity in developing countries:

> The increasing interest in development
> administration as distinct from public
> administration is no doubt due to a growing
> feeling of frustration among public
> administration experts of the inadequacies of
> the administrators in meeting the challenge of
> development. It is now recognised that the
> reason why most development plans are
> under-implemented is not due to lack of capital
> or labour or any of the other factors of
> production . . . but principally to lack of
> administrative capacity. In order to remove this
> hindrance, it is essential to gear admini-
> strative training to economic development
> planning and implementation. But this by itself
> will not be enough unless such administrative
> training covers all administrators of all levels
> and training is not regarded as a once-for-all
> exercise. 'We should state unequivocally here
> and now, . . . that training is necessary and
> fundamental to the development of a nation. It
> is not cheap, but its rewards are out of all
> proportion to the expenditure devoted to it. . .
> . .'[16]

This long quotation serves to illustrate the total faith
in training as the key to development in most developing
countries. That training was merely a catalyst in
administrative development, for development administration
was largely accepted but in a sort of vicious circle
manner. For instance, it would be argued that adminis-
trators needed to suggest the relevant administrative
reforms - structural, procedural and policy, but to be
able to do so effectively they needed to be trained. This
may sound like an extreme or unkind example but it
nevertheless is fact. Thus training was not only perceived
as a panacea for both administrative under-development and
socio-economic stagnation; it also readily became a
convenient peg on which to hang all the ills of a
post-colonial economy, - a good excuse for doing little
or nothing else to bring about change and development.

Management training for development administrators took various forms in most developing states. Some training took place in government departments, universities and colleges. Some individuals were sent abroad for training and further studies. For the most part, however, management training became the task of especially created management training institutions (MTIs) as well as of semi-autonomous and autonomous MTIs. It is to the role and functions of these MTIs that this study now turns.

## 4.2 Perceived role and functions of MTIs

The division of this chapter into two seemingly separate sections is obviously arbitrary in the sense that most of the arguments in favour of management training also apply to the issue of the creation of management training institutions (MTIs) in developing countries. To that extent this sub-section will focus mainly on those roles and functions that protagonists of training claim for these institutions in order to indicate the contribution that these institutions can make to the alleviation of administrative and development problems that confront developing nations.

The creation of MTIs was rationalised on the basis that:

(a) there was a shortage of suitably qualified personnel in most developing countries;

(b) the absence of administrative officers with appropriate administrative experience meant that

little on-the-job training could be given to new
recruits;

(c) the colonial system of administration was found to be
inappropriate, irrelevant and generally unacceptable;
and

(d) the expansion of governmental activities in the
provision of goods and services and in spearheading
change and development necessarily meant that new
people would be needed by the administrative system
to perform the new tasks.

While these reasons sound plausible, and to some
extent some are indeed plausible, others are however less
genuine in practice, since most of the former colonies
continued to send their officers to the former colonial
powers or to other developed countries for training. Even
the newly created MTIs were largely staffed with
expatriates from developed states. Nevertheless, the
argument that MTIs were initially created to speedily
provide solutions to problems of administrative
inefficiency and ineffectiveness is maintained to this
day.

MTIs, it is argued, are important organizations
that are expected to bring about reforms and modernization
to traditional administrative systems in developing
countries. These reforms include improvements of a
structural, organizational and procedural nature. MTIs are
expected to be instrumental in developing skills among
administrators, and re-orient them to suit national
developmental requirements and aspirations of their

societies. To that extent, MTIs are expected to constantly revise and adjust their activities and programmes to suit the ever changing and expanding functions of the civil service in a developing country. New political, social, economic, cultural and administrative problems are being experienced by most developing countries. New changes are taking place which affect every facet of man's life; societal needs and demands are emerging that test and tax the dynamism of the government and the administration. Change is no longer left to take its own course; instead, careful planning and programming of social and economic change and development have to be undertaken. Quick results must be produced to meet rising expectations. Increased public consciousness has resulted in public criticism of public agencies which fail to deliver the required goods and services on time and in an appropriate fashion. To facilitate this unprecedented demand on the civil service requires that the personnel of the service be people who are especially trained to execute the identified national development programmes. MTIs are thus argued to be institutions which can provide this special training to development administrators.

In a study of MTIs in the Asian region one paper identifies the role of MTIs as two-fold:

(a) to introduce incremental changes in the level of knowledge of the trainees which could raise the performance of organizations without requiring changes in the organizations themselves;

(b) to impart knowledge, instil skills and develop attitudes which support or foster the adoption of new approaches, techniques and values in the administrative system.[17]

Another paper in the same study identifies three roles for MTIs in developing countries. These roles are:

(a) the pattern maintenance or conformist role of preparing the civil servants for efficiently performing their work to keep the administrative system working;

(b) the innovative role which enhances the learning capacity of the civil servants to enable them to continuously re-equip themselves for changes in their role as well as to effect changes in the administrative system;

(c) the pro-active role of anticipating problems in the field of training and evolving their solutions. The training institutions can perform these roles in an instrumental context, that is, by accepting the definition of problems and their solutions evolved or prescribed by others, or in an autonomous context, that is, by identifying training needs on the basis of their own diagnosis of the inadequacies of the administrative system.[18]

According to Inayatullah, the crucial factor in the definition of an MTI's role is the presence or absence of an administrative reform strategy pursued in the country.[19] Because MTIs operate in concrete settings of societies and political systems, they cannot entirely and

accurately identify and define their own roles nor create

the ideal environmental conditions for their functioning:

> The various constraints emanating from society,
> the political and administrative system set the
> limits within which their role is defined and
> conditions[20] for effective functioning become
> available.

In a study of 22 MTIs in the Asian region, Inayatullah

argues for three main strategies of administrative reform,

viz:

(a) the strategy of 'expanding elite control';
(b) the strategy of 'administration modernization';
and
(c) the strategy of 'democratization of
administration'.
The three strategies differ with respect to the
changes they seek in the power of bureaucracy in
the society, in the power of elite groups within
the bureaucracy, and the type of attitudes,
skills and knowledge they seek to replace and
introduce.[21]

One of the arguments which will be made in one of

the chapters of Part II of this study is that role

identification for an MTI usually takes place at the

conception stage of the MTI and as such is significantly

influenced by the MTI's genesis and location. Closely

related to these aspects is the strategy of development of

the ruling elite of a given country and the administrative

reform strategy selected, if there is one. The assumption

is that since the MTI is purposed to facilitate

administrative development and improvement, which in turn

should enhance and further the change and development

processes, then the MTI's role should be such that the

MTI's functions and programmes are supportive of both of

these other strategies, or at least not at variance with

them.

Inayatullah explains that the strategy of "expansion of elite control" is based on the premise that the expansion of bureaucratic power is functional for the purposes of maintenance and gradual modernization of society. Under this strategy administrative reforms should aim at expanding and consolidating the power of bureaucracy while reducing the power of those groups in society which may threaten bureaucracy or attempt to weaken its capacity to maintain and gradually modernize society [22]:

> The administrative system should be structured in such a way that it protects the probity of the civil servant and enhances his capacity to make decisions and enforce laws on an objective basis. [23]

The implication for the role of the MTI under this strategy is that the MTI must provide the administrator with a thorough understanding of the motivations, values and culture of the administered people. This, it is argued, can be done through various means, one of which is training. This is the same strategy employed by colonialists, though with less emphasis on the modernizing aspect of it. That some countries have adopted the same strategy albeit with cosmetic modifications indicates continuity rather than change. The emphasis on "gradual modernization" necessarily means that the administrative system operating within this strategy will lag behind the rest of society in a post-colonial situation. Consequently, the MTI serving such an administrative system will largely perform the maintenance or remedial

training role, and never the innovative or pro-active role.

The fact that this strategy also attempts to increase the power base of bureaucracy means that the training programmes of the MTI will largely be viewed as avenues into the privileged strata of society. The MTI's role and functions will not be seen as benefiting the whole of society nor to be challenging and reducing injustices and other inequities typical of a colonial situation. How such an MTI can claim to be an agency for change and development defeats even the most fertile imagination. Of these MTIs Schaffer writes:

> The discontinuity in poor societies between those who have scaled the sharp pyramid of educational opportunity into security and employment, westernized career and salary and those who have not, has scarcely been challenged by the outcomes of administrative training institutes. Some of them are direct routes into elite positions; others have functioned as or claimed to be the places to pick up the rituals of management terminology as the way to some sort of privilege.[24]

But perhaps, not to put too fine a point to it, it may be said that the failure of this strategy to cause the administrative system to come to grips with such crucial issues of social development as equality, justice and accelerated and appropriate change makes it hardly appropriate for an MTI in a developing state.

The strategy of "administrative modernization" as identified by Inayatullah, is based on the premise that "the presence of an organized bureaucracy in a society is an institutional asset which should be utilized in meeting the new developmental goals of society".[25] As such an

asset, the argument goes, bureaucracy should not be weakened; but it should be made more appropriate - modernized - and made more responsive to newly emerging political institutions and groups. This, it is assumed, can be done by inculcating in administrators a development orientation and equipping them with new technical skills. Thus training is also perceived as the answer to the lack of these skills and orientation among administrators. Inayatullah notes that:

> As there is a great emphasis on imparting new attitudes and skills to bureaucracy, the role of training under this strategy is seen to be crucial. In fact, the countries which adopt this strategy place great faith in the efficacy of training.[26]

Like the strategy of expanding bureaucratic control, this strategy also does not attempt to weaken the power of bureaucracy in relation to the power of other groups. It also does not attempt to distribute or re-distribute power and privilege among the various groups within bureaucracy itself. Further, it also fails to attack the more critical aspects of administrative reform. In fact, it assumes that the inherited colonial administrative structures and procedures can, with minor modifications, be adopted and adapted for the purpose of development administration as long as the personnel is trained or re-trained to acquire new skills, knowledge and attitudes:

> . . . most Asian countries adopted a strategy of administrative reforms in which reorientation of attitudes, skills and knowledge became a substitute for structural changes. As the new attitudes, skills and knowledge were to be

imparted through training, the need for the creation of training institutions increased.[27]

The major weakness of this strategy is, however, that it fails to democratize bureaucracy or to make it more accountable to all sections of society. The outcomes of training under this strategy simply amount to bureaucratic self-preservation. Needless to say the role of foreign technical assistance in this situation was one of enhancing it more for the sake of its rapport with bureaucratic elites than for the contribution it made to the development efforts of developing societies. The fact that foreign technical assistance subscribes to an ideology which does not particularly support challenges to elitist tendencies and practices also constitutes a further explanation.

According to Inayatullah, the third strategy of administrative reform - strategy of democratization of bureaucracy - has two variants: there is the moderate variant and the radical variant.[28] Both variants, however, seek to reduce both the inequalities of power and privilege among the groups within bureaucracy and between it and externally based groups. The variants differ in the way they propose to go about this task. The moderate variant proposes to facilitate equality of power and privilege by abolishing the traditional special status of the bureaucratic elites and allowing lateral entry in the administration. It also proposes to strengthen the political executive's control of the administration.

The radical variant, on the other hand, attempts to change the class origin of recruitment to the administration thus enabling so-called lower classes to enter the service. This variant also seeks to abolish the privileges of the "more powerful groups within the bureaucracy and to institutionalize direct accountability of the bureaucracy to political groups at various levels".[29] Both variants also accept management training as the major means of reforming the administrative system. However, unlike in the first two strategies discussed above, this strategy lays emphasis on training in attitudes and values "so as to enable civil servants to adjust to the structural changes brought about as well as to generate commitment to the guiding ideology of development".[30]

What makes this strategy less palatable to bureaucratic elites is the obvious threat it makes to power, privilege and status. Yet it is this assault on the traditional power bases and privileges which can lead to the removal of conditions that may not be conducive to an innovative and pro-active role in an MTI in a developing country. The orientation of the elite is obviously an obstacle which requires to be attacked on all fronts; so that while the relevant administrative reforms are being made, the elites' power base is also being eroded; and, at the same time threats of replacement by better qualified though less experienced individuals may just be the motivation that is needed to bring about realistic change in the calibre of development administrators. The aspect

of accountability at all levels of the political system also means that the administrator's insularity and, indeed his insulation against the environment so cherished by the colonial administrator, are both no longer readily tenable.

Further, this strategy of administrative reform also seeks to reduce excessive centralization of power in the bureaucracy and the orientation towards the preservation of the status quo. This has important implications for an MTI as Inayatullah rightly argues:

> In countries where distribution of power is highly centralised and the elite is oriented to the preservation of the status quo, the functional autonomy of a training institution could foster changes in administration incompatible with the orientation of the regime in power. In such countries, the learning capacity of the training institutions would be weak to the extent that their contact with social reality is restricted to officially approved channels of information. Similarly, to the extent that the internal structure of training institutions tends to be consistent with centralized patterns of organization in the political and administrative system, the organizational capability of training institutions to perform an innovative and pro-active role would remain low.[31]

These implications of an MTI's internal structure and organization, linkages and autonomy will be examined in better detail in Part II of this study. Sufficient to say here that these are all considered, in this study, to be crucial factors that determine an MTI's capability and institutional effectiveness in the performance of its role and functions. It is, however, not surprising that for most developing countries, this is the strategy of administrative reform that is least preferred. While some

of the reasons for this are endogenous, others are the result of foreign technical assistance which, as stated earlier, tends to promote the continuance of certain approaches regardless of their suitability or appropriateness to the recipient country's conditions, needs and expectations.

Against this backdrop of the various roles of MTIs a brief discussion of the functions of these institutions may be undertaken so as to put these roles into perspective, and also show the extent to which these institutions are believed to be vital agencies for change and development. Do the functions of MTIs confirm the assumption that training is regarded as a panacea for administrative under-development and other development problems in developing countries?

Authorities on management training for civil servants agree that MTIs have three major functions, namely: teaching, research and consultation. MTIs also perform what the UN Handbook of Training in the Public Service calls secondary functions and special functions. Table 4.1 shows the outline of the functions or responsibilities of MTIs as shown in the UN Handbook of Training:

TABLE 4.1

Outline of common functions or activities
of schools and institutes

I. Major functions or activities.
    A. Teaching.
    B. Research.
    C. Consultation, also known as advice or service.

II. Secondary functions or activities.
    A. Documentation, including the establishment of a
       specialized library in public administration.
    B. Publications.
    C. Serving as an information centre or otherwise
       disseminating materials relating to public
       administration.
    D. Extension service or extra-mural activities of an
       informational or educational character.
    E. Promoting the organization and activities of a
       professional association of civil servants.

III. Special functions or activities.
    A. Participation in the choice of civil servants,
       particularly those of high rank.
    B. Organization and conduct of conferences and
       seminars.
    C. Promotion of good relations between the government
       and the university, in case the school or
       institute is affiliated with a university.

Source: UN Handbook of Training, p. 135.

Training:

As the name indicates, training or teaching is
certainly the major function of an MTI in a developing
country. Given that most middle and top level development
administrators have some university or college education
the justification of creating an MTI to further train
these people is often based on the assumption that there
are certain administrative techniques which are essential
for administrative organization, economy, efficiency and
effectiveness, but which do not form part of a regular
university or college curriculum. MTIs, it is argued, are

required to train administrators in these techniques. MTIs are intended to enable the trainee to acquire a practical approach, "an idea of the relative importance of the decisions that must be made, and the drive that is called for by real-life situations".[32]

Training at an MTI, it is argued, has a much wider scope, is neither academic, theoretical, nor routine. It is based on experiential and practical forms of learning. It not only prepares an individual for the job he is doing, rather it equips him to change and grow with the pace of changes ahead. Institutional training lays emphasis on change and learning for future tasks.[33] In short, it is a function of administrative development. These are only a few of the many claims made in favour of administrative or management training. Several other such claims have already been noted in earlier chapters. It is the objective of this section to discuss some of these claims critically though briefly.

Calling it a misnomer, since many things other than administration take shelter under this term, Martin Minogue accuses administrative training of being a growth industry:

> The expansion is rooted in a philosophy which has instant appeal to those with a practical interest in 'development'. Commonly, under-development is viewed as a 'problem'; the solution to the problem is identified as the removal of a series of 'obstacles to development'. A crucial obstacle is held to be the inability of bureaucracies to cope with 'developmental' roles; and the removal of this particular obstacle is to be accomplished by training the bureaucrats.[34]

Minogue argues that those involved in administrative training set public targets which they privately know cannot be achieved. The clients and sponsors of administrative training also join in this deception, according to Minogue, "because they are motivated less by an interest in development, however construed, than by interests which are organizational and personal".[35] This view is confirmed by the admission of proponents of administrative training themselves that it is difficult to accurately evaluate training and training institutions.[36] Evaluation of administrative training is said to be so difficult that the outcomes of such training can largely be assumed rather than validated either quantitatively or qualitatively. In fact the outcomes of administrative training cannot be either verified or falsified; they are not readily measurable.

Bernard Schaffer, an ardent critic of administrative training, agrees with Minogue's assertion that MTIs set themselves non-evaluable goals and argues that this is a deliberate measure taken by MTIs as a means of insulation against adverse evaluation results:

> An administrative training institution rests typically on very generalised concepts of meeting 'training needs', for instance, 'to enable officers to co-operate more effectively with others', or those extraordinarily broad, even explicitly political functions which some institutions of management set for themselves. The function of these goals . . . is to deal with their vulnerable position, not to set out in measurable terms what it is they are going to do. They are not. in fact, objectives about training at all.[37]

and from another of his works:

> Training is a field where the possibility of any
> evaluation of the manifest processes . . . is
> peculiarly susceptible to challenge. Hence the
> continual stress placed on what are called
> 'latent outputs' of training.[38]

That changes occur in developing economies is fact. The extent to which MTIs induce such changes and facilitate effective change management and development administration may, indeed be difficult to prove one way or another. The function of training is closely related to and supported by the function of research which MTIs also claim to carry out.


Research:

Research is widely agreed to be an essential function of an MTI. It is believed to be a foundation for the improvement of training in the public service. Research provides factual information describing and analysing current administrative processes and problems in developing countries. Research has the practical aspect of contributing training material for the design of appropriate training programmes; for the writing of textbooks and articles in the field of administration. Research, it is argued, can facilitate a better insight into the organizational situation of the MTI's clientele organizations and so enable the MTI to design and structure training programmes in such a way that the training situation is not too far removed from the trainees' work situation or situations, as the case may be. To that end, research requires, and adequately carried out, facilitates the collection and verification of a

great deal of data, and it must necessarily be a
continuous process.

While most MTIs tend to limit their research
activities to specific or selected areas, normally, an MTI
is not limited in the scope of its research interests. It
might undertake research on any subject it regards as
important:

> By launching inquiries in administrative
> problems, which perhaps have attracted some
> public attention, and by publishing the results
> of objective surveys containing recommendations
> for improvement, a school or institute may go a
> long way towards the realization of its general
> mission to improve public administration.[39]

Development administration being a dynamic field requires
that the staff of an MTI be interested and competent in
conducting research in their special fields and in related
matters that may provide a more holistic approach to the
functions of training and consultancy. Even the trainees
themselves should be given a sound grounding in research
methods and techniques: "Training institutes should accept
a concept of in-service training for civil servants which
includes research as well as training".[40] If the role of
MTIs is not merely that of enabling civil servants to
function efficiently in the existing administrative
systems and environments, but also to recommend and bring
about changes in those aspects of existing systems and
environments which inhibit the maximum use of human
potentialities and material resources, then research,
specifically applied or action research, assumes a crucial
dimension. Inayatullah observes that:

> . . . where training institutions conceive an
> innovative role for themselves, and are directly
> concerned with assisting government in policy-
> formulation research receives considerable
> emphasis.[41]

The institutionalisation of applied research could make a

significant contribution to the improvement of management

training in developing countries. This may indeed, be the

desired situation of an MTI; the real situation, as

several authorities have found out, is not quite as

satisfactory as the foregoing depicts.

Moshe Weiss points out that there is almost a

total lack of resources at most MTIs in developing states,

so that the function of research is constrained. The

lacking resources he identifies include money, time,

equipment and qualified manpower:

> In the absence of institutionalized applied
> research in many developing countries,
> scientific methods are rarely utilized and
> long-term considerations are sometimes
> neglected. Thus, the improvement of development
> administration depends to a considerable extent
> on the institutionalization of applied
> research.[42]

This neglect of research necessarily leads to the neglect

of the function of consultation which in turn leads to

inadequate or inappropriate training programmes as Delwin

A. Roy notes:

> There is much less evidence of research and
> consultation than of training, and little effort
> to integrate such activities with training. This
> has a definite impact on the relevance of
> teaching materials since it is from such
> activities that practical cases and observations
> might be drawn.[43]

This failure to generate appropriate practical cases and

training material often leads the MTI to adopt training

programmes that may not be suitable for the kind of development administrators that are required. Some MTIs end up adopting training programmes that have been developed in foreign mainly developed countries as Raul de Guzman et al. point out:

> Lifted from standard courses formulated in developed countries, many of these programs lack relevance in that they are not consistent with the conditions and needs of a developing nation . . . More often than not, what are offered are replications of programs contained in brochures disseminated by business oriented training institutes. What more could be expected of so-called training programs, but the adoption of stereo-typed canned courses like techniques of supervision, office management, systems and procedures analysis, human relations and the like.[44]

Adebayo Adedeji sees the reliance of MTIs on mainly civil servants and former civil servants, and the MTIs' location within government departments as a contributing factor to the lack of high calibre personnel who could carry out research activities for the MTIs. He argues that MTIs that are attached to local universities are more likely to attract personnel which has the relevant qualifications and who are more likely to undertake research "since progress in the academic world depends in a large way on research output".[45]

Pursuing the same argument, albeit more vehemently, C. Richard Parkins sees beyond the qualifications of the staff of an MTI and lays emphasis on the orientation of a civil servant-cum-trainer vis-a-vis that of a non-civil servant researcher. Pointing out that most MTIs have a tendency to divorce research from training, Parkins writes:

A key inhibitor to a happy marriage between
research and training is the tendency of
Government training institutions to rely heavily
upon civil servants - most of whom are not
trained to either do research or interpret its
findings - for faculty and staff. In several
instances, it has been observed that research is
regarded with suspicion since the accumulated
experience of the civil servant is invariably
deemed to be more valid than the results of a
two- or three-month study by an academician.
Also, the pragmatic bent of the administrator
may make him impatient with research findings
which are not amenable to swift and easy
solutions. The biases of the researcher and the
experienced civil servant often are
incompatible; and this incompatibility becomes
more pronounced when both groups share the same
institutional setting and compete for
recognition.[46]

This incompatibility between these two groups also

manifests itself in various other ways which adversely

affect the functions of training and research. Firstly,

the civil servant trainer is obviously concerned with

immediate solutions to problems of administration,

training or development, whereas the researcher is more

interested in "problems which are fundamental, not

susceptible to quick procedural solutions . . . ".[47] Thus

the trainer is likely to regard the researcher's

activities as less relevant to his problems than he would

like them to be.

Secondly, just as much as some of the researcher's

hypotheses and findings cannot be readily translated into

a format that can be used for designing training

programmes or for consultancy activities, some of the

trainer's problems cannot be easily converted into

researchable issues. Thus, the basic issues of relevance

and utility remain unresolved. Also at stake is the

question of the researcher's independence, which tends to
be restricted by the fact that problems of a micro nature
are the ones that are more easily translated to a training
setting. Thirdly, the researcher, because of his strict
adherence to objectivity, may come up with research
findings which the civil servant trainer may find to be
deviant or distasteful, being part of the administrative
system under examination. That the resultant training
programmes will be watered down versions of the ideal or
appropriate ones hardly warrants mention. Parkins aptly
advises that:

> . . . researchers must exhibit tolerance for the
> concerns of the administrator and the
> bureaucratic culture which has produced his
> outlook. Administrators must be allowed the
> freedom and objectivity to critically examine
> their own behaviour and the system of which they
> are a part. Defensiveness from either quarter
> will only compound the problem.[48]

What the foregoing obviously implies is that one of the
major problems that MTIs face with regard to the functions
of training, research and consultation is that of
staffing; i.e. whether the staff of the MTI should be
mainly academics, civil servants or a combination of the
two. This issue will be dealt with in more detail in
Part II of this study, which also discusses the related
aspect of institutional location.

In addition to the problems discussed above,
several other maladies seem to plague the function of
research at MTIs in developing countries. One such malady
seems to be the differences that may exist with regard to
priorities of investigation and to what the real problem

is. Trainers and practising administrators tend to identify the symptoms of a problem rather than its causes, whereas researchers tend to try and identify the root cause of the problem and deal with it first. Parkins proposes an explanation for this situation as follows:

> Possibly the difference in viewpoint resulted from the administrator's tendency to accept the system as a given - a relatively immutable one; whereas the researcher felt obliged to accept it as a given but one which necessarily had to be changed to bring about improvement.[49]

Other maladies are revealed in Inayatullah's study of 22 MTIs in the Asian region. Inayatullah suggests that the importance attached to the function of research at an MTI can be assessed on the basis of the following three indicators:

1. Research is conceived to be an important objective of the institution.

2. A separate research division exists with separate budget allocations for research.

3. A certain number of research publications come out regularly from the institution.[50]

On the basis of these three indicators, Inayatullah made the following findings with regard to the institutionalization of research in the MTIs: institutions in countries where not much research has been done by universities carry a heavy research burden while those in countries where adequate research has been done by universities or MTIs that are attached to universities have lighter loads of research activities; for MTIs located within the administrative system, the attitude of the establishing

ministry towards research determines the importance with
which research is regarded and the funds allocated for
research activities; the actual conduct of research and
the flow of publications which result from research is
related to several internal and external environmental
factors:

> Availability of personnel trained in research
> methods, the degree to which research was
> rewarded in terms of salaries, promotions, etc.,
> the extent to which research brought
> professional recognition outside an institution,
> the extent to which administrative issues were
> considered politically sensitive and therefore
> outside the scope of research, and the degree of
> secretiveness accorded the official data of a
> country determine the flow of research
> publications.[51]

Inayatullah also found out that the research function in
an MTI is related to the MTI's perceived role, so that a
purely conventional MTI which is not involved in the
development and analysis of policies, procedures and
programmes of government places a low priority on
research. MTIs which perceive for themselves an innovative
role and are directly involved in government
policy-formulation place considerable emphasis on
research.[52] In short, Inayatullah's findings indicate
that the function of research is rather limited in most
MTIs:

> In general, the role of research as an integral
> element in training and consultancy activity is
> not fully appreciated in the training
> institutions . . . The training institutions
> generally have still to accept the challenge of
> carrying out research on significant and major
> problems with the objective of promoting
> administrative change and improvements. In
> addition, they have not investigated some of the
> basic issues related to administrative change,
> such as the impact of the transference of

> Western administrative doctrines and
> technologies on national administrative systems,
> or on the development of an administrative
> technology appropriate to the local
> environments.[53]

While Inayatullah's study is confined to 22 Asian MTIs,
his findings are largely applicable to the majority of
MTIs in developing states. This low level regard of
research also has adverse effects upon the third major
function of an MTI - consultancy to which this study will
now turn.


Consultancy:

Consultancy or consultation is also known as
advice or service according to the <u>UN Handbook of
Training</u>. As stated earlier, this function of an MTI is
supportive of and complementary to the training and
research functions. The serious shortage of suitably
qualified and competent development administrators in most
developing countries makes this function a crucial one for
the appropriate improvement of national administrative
systems and the introduction and management of change and
development. Governments of developing states may request
MTIs for advice and guidance in the improvement of
outmoded and obsolete procedures, organizational
structures and regulations. MTIs with adequate research
and training resources and expertise should be able to
respond positively to such requests.

This collaboration between the MTI and the
government will assist in the establishment of mutual
trust and confidence. It will also encourage government

departments to provide the staff of the MTI with access to files and documents that deal with problems of development administration. Moreover, such collaboration will significantly enhance governmental support for the MTI - an essential ingredient for the institutional capability of an MTI as will be argued in Part II of this study.

Some MTIs discourage their staff from undertaking paid consultancy activities on the basis that trainers may pay more attention to this function to the detriment of the function of training. Another reason is that MTIs that are attached to governments should not be seen to encourage private money-making activities by civil servants. This is unfortunate, since discouragement of consultancy could lead to the MTI's failure to attract and retain high calibre personnel. Further, MTIs should accept the fact that the value and benefits that accrue to the functions of training and research as a result of consultancy outweigh the need to ensure that trainers conform to the civil service ethics and values regarding lucrative activities outside one's employment.

Consultancy enables the trainers to be in touch with the current problems and to forestall potential problems of the organizations from which their participants come. Consultancy thus provides an insight into the organizations and enables MTIs to view the issues and problems that confront these organizations from a more realistic angle. Besides providing the MTI with an opportunity to introduce and influence change in clientele

organizations, consultancy also provides the MTI with a
golden opportunity to gather data that can be used for the
development of more appropriate training material and
programmes. The overall effectiveness and relevance of an
MTI is necessarily enhanced by an active and successfully
executed consultancy function. The case study method of
training, for instance, requires that relevant case
studies be written up and analysed. The preparation of
useful case studies can greatly be enhanced by direct
involvement by MTI staff in tackling organizational and
developmental problems in the environment. Given the lack
of local content in most of the training programmes of
most MTIs, this assertion can hardly be over-emphasized.

Consultancy also assists an MTI to identify the
training needs of its clientele organization. This is
important since all organizational inadequacies are not
necessarily training needs. The accurate identification of
training needs enables the MTI to place the right emphasis
on the various aspects of the courses and to select the
appropriate methods of training. Thus the benefits of
consultancy must be seen as mutual in nature:

> Consultancy activities stimulate both faculty
> and students, provide realism, create
> opportunities to test research methods and
> ideas, and very importantly, it enables the
> institutions to fulfil their roles as important
> tools of national development.[54]

The three major functions of MTIs - training,
research and consultancy - have the common characteristic
that they are all concerned with aspects of knowledge.
Research seeks to reveal knowledge which at the moment

lies hidden. Consultancy applies specialised knowledge to difficult problems as a way of finding solutions. Training imparts well-established knowledge to those who have to carry out particular duties. Research is therefore an originator of knowledge, while both consultancy and training apply it.[55] John Morris sums it up most explicitly:

> When teaching, consulting, and research are brought together into the same institutions, it will be easier to transfer the new information into the practice of management through the practice of teaching.[56]

It is regrettable that in spite of the many benefits or advantages of effective consultancy services most MTIs in developing states regard this function as a low priority function. The reasons for this unhealthy situation are closely related to the ones discussed under the research function above. While some of the reasons for this inadequacy are outcomes of inappropriate internal policies and arrangements, others derive from such factors of institutional capability as location, autonomy linkages and leadership. These factors will be discussed in Part II. MTIs also carry out several secondary functions which will be briefly discussed below.

Secondary functions:

The first function in this category is the documentation and library function. Every MTI needs a collection of books, journals, articles and documents. These are usually kept in the MTI's library which is supposed to be a specialised library in that it should

have items of relevance to the MTI's special areas of operation. MTIs that are attached to universities enjoy the advantage of being able to make use of university libraries, and are thus able to use more of their financial resources for the purchase of works relating to development administration and other public affairs. They are also able to obtain relevant materials from government departments, local authorities, professional associations and non-governmental organizations which have a development orientation or interest.

Several problems are, however, encountered by MTIs in developing countries in relation of the function of library and documentation. Firstly, there is the problem of a lack of appropriate bibliographical material, particularly in some areas of development administration. The result is that the MTI ends up purchasing books and journals which are quite unsuitable for their particular needs. Secondly, most of the available literature is written and published in developed countries; and most of such literature is applicable to the developed rather than to developing economies, in which case such literature may be quite inappropriate for the research, training, consultancy and other needs of the MTI and its staff and students. Thirdly, only a few works have been published in developing countries, particularly works done by the nationals of these countries, so that an MTI may be quite considerably constrained in obtaining a sizeable collection of adequately relevant material which can be used for all its major and secondary functions.

Ironically, this very fact makes the functions of research, publication and consultancy all the more urgent and important. Fourthly, there is the problem of language; most of the available works so far published are written in foreign, mainly European, languages. This necessarily limits to some extent, the utility of these works and their direct application to the needs of the MTI. Attempts to laboriously translate some of these works into national languages often result in distortion and low quality products.

The second secondary function of an MTI is that of publications. Some MTIs prepare and issue publications relating to public or development administration. This function is also closely related to the function of research as the UN Handbook of Training notes:

> These functions go together in a natural series, as quite obviously there could be few publications of much value without the performance of research, which in turn requires the collection of documentary and other materials of research.[57]

The publications of MTIs include prospectuses, instructional material, monographs and professional journals. In addition to providing information to outside organizations, such publications provide an essential forum for the exchange of ideas and give tremendous credence to the motion of a learning organization which an MTI should be. The professional journals are particularly important because they provide an outlet for research and related professional matters. Journals also enable the various MTIs in different countries to learn from each

other, and to exchange notes. This cross-fertilization of information, research findings and experiment results is a crucial ingredient of the innovative and pro-active roles of an MTI in a developing state.

As in the cases of other functions discussed above, the function of publications also faces problems of inadequacy of funds, lack of high quality research activities needing to use the publication function, and lack of support from local professional bodies. While it is true to argue that a significant number of professional journals now exists in most developing states, it is equally true to say that some authors or professionals have a tendency to shun these journals and have their articles and books published in more prestigious journals overseas. This is unfortunate since some of the more deserving MTIs will not be able to acquire these journals. The problem is also exacerbated by the fact that most so-called foreign experts based in developing countries prefer to publish their works in their home institutions and countries. Indeed, MTIs in developing states have become such a fertile ground for the "foreign experts'" academic pillage that all sorts of measures are taken to ensure that access to these countries and institutions remains tenable. Meanwhile the publications function of MTIs in these countries remains stunted and mediocre.

Other functions of an MTI:

MTIs in developing countries also assume the function of disseminating information on public and

development administration as part of the overall function of furthering administrative reform and improvement. In addition to issuing publications, they offer public lectures as a way of stimulating interest in administrative and development change. Well managed MTIs base these public lectures on new ideas, research findings, social surveys as well as on inquiries they receive from clientele and other organizations in the environment. These activities can enhance the impact of the MTI on the processes of change and development in developing societies.

MTIs also carry out the function of providing extension services. These are extramural activities of an informational or educational nature. To do this an MTI may deploy some of its staff to areas where they can conduct training for civil servants who would otherwise have difficulty in attending regular courses. Sometimes an MTI may provide extension services by conducting training during out-of-work hours or off-duty hours. This is done to enable civil servants who cannot attend during official working hours to attend. This is an important service since it facilitates the self-development of civil servants. Resources permitting, all MTIs should undertake some sort of extension service activities. This should, however, be carefully planned to ensure that the major functions of the MTI are not jeopardized. The issue of the MTI's physical location i.e. whether it is located in or near an urban area or out in a remote area, also has a bearing on what extension services it can provide. An MTI

which is located fifty or sixty kilometres away from the national or provincial capital city or major urban centre may not be able to provide regular off-duty classes for civil servants easily.

A further function that an MTI can perform is that of founding and sponsoring professional associations, usually of persons who are interested in development and development administration matters. In most cases some of the members of such associations will be former trainees of the MTI. The sponsorship of such associations by an MTI helps to stimulate continued interest in the MTI and its activities. It also helps to facilitate public participation in the MTI's affairs, thus keeping the MTI better informed of its environment's views on its role and functions. Further, this arrangement allows for healthy interaction of MTI staff, practising professionals and the public, and allows for the free flow of ideas which is essential if the MTI is to effectively perform the innovative and pro-active role. Given that in a developing country some of the people who may be members of these associations may be holding considerably high positions in government, the MTI is further assured of support for its present and future activities. As will be argued in Part II, this is an effective way of establishing and managing institutional linkages and it enhances an MTI's institutional capability.

Depending on its location, status and role, an MTI can also have the function of selection of civil servants. MTIs which are located within the administrative system

seem to be able to perform this function more directly than those that are located outside the administrative system. Table 4.2 below provides a typology of MTIs commonly found in developing countries. It may be necessary to point out here that for the purposes of this study both Institutes of Public Administration (IPAs) and Management Training Institutes are being referred to as Management Training Institutions (MTIs). The focus of this study however, as stated earlier, is those institutions that deal with the training of middle and senior level development administrators. Thus in a country where the entrance to middle and senior level positions requires a qualification like a diploma or degree in the social sciences or related fields, then MTIs that are located outside the administrative system can have an indirect influence upon the selection of civil servants.

## TABLE 4.2
### A Typology of Public Administration and Management Training Institutions

| Category | Types of Training | Target Groups | Duration of Training | Types of Professional Staff |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civil Service Training Academy (Government owned & managed) | Pre-entry training (PET) In-service training (IST) Non-degree classroom work & field attachments | New recruits to public service - middle & senior level personnel of ministries/departments | PET 3-24 months IST 1-12 weeks Short seminars/ workshops | Experienced civil servants on secondment & academic trainers |
| Ecole Nationale D'Administration (Francophone) | PET (prior to recruitment) Classroom & field attachments | Pre-entry candidates mostly for the public service | 1-3 years | Experienced civil servants & academic specialists |
| University School Department of Public Administration | Mostly PET (degree/diploma programs) Part-time IST | Students - middle level administrators | 1-2 years | Permanent academic faculty & part time visiting faculty from public service |
| Autonomous Institutions of Public Administration | Mostly IST, some PET, classroom work & some field projects (sometimes leading to degree) | Middle level personnel in government - public enterprise managers | 1-9 months Short programs/ seminars | Permanent academic faculty & visiting practioners |
| Administrative Staff College | IST, classroom work | Senior & middle level personnel in government, public & private enterprise managers | 1-12 weeks Short seminars for top levels | Permanent faculty with academic & practical experience & some visiting faculty |
| Management Training Institute | PET, IST, project related training Classroom work & field projects/ attachments (leading to degree/ diploma in PET) | Young people interested in private & public enterprises - middle & senior level personnel from government & industry,program/project personnel | PET 1-2 years IST 1-12 weeks Short seminars for top level | Permanent faculty with academic & practical experience & visiting faculty |
| Sectoral Training Institute/Center | IST, PET (PET rarely) Classroom work & field projects | Middle level & technical personnel Program/project personnel | 1-9 months 1-2 years (occasionally) | Academic specialists & practising sectoral administrators |

Source: Samuel Paul, Training for Public Administration and Management in Developing Countries: A Review. World Bank Staff Working Papers No. 584, Washington, 1983, p.43.

Finally, MTIs can also play a significant part in improving relations between universities and governments in developing countries. In most of these countries, universities, because of their autonomous or semi-autonomous position and their usually critical attitude towards government, are often regarded with suspicion by the governments. MTIs attached to universities can be catalytic in fostering amicable relations between the university and the various departments of government from which their trainees come. Good relations between the government and the university through the MTI can be cemented by the promotion of good personal or informal relations which can eventually be developed into official linkages. The assumption that well managed and diversified institutional linkages are essential for the institutional capability of an MTI will be discussed in more detail in Part II of this study. It is also necessary to point out here that government controlled MTIs can also facilitate harmonious and supportive relations between the university and the government by inviting university lecturers to participate in their training and research activities, and by exchanging notes on experiments and surveys.

This chapter has demonstrated that governments of most developing countries firmly believe that management training of development administrators can lead to the creation or evolution of effective development bureaucracies. It has been argued that in most cases it is perceived as a panacea for most if not all the development

problems that these countries face, almost to the exclusion of any other possible remedies. This section has, however, argued that while training may indeed impart certain knowledges, skills and attitudes to development administrators, it needs to be supported and complemented by actions, policies and other factors which may lie outside the field of training.

With regard to the roles of MTIs in developing countries, this chapter has been able to examine three major roles perceived in relation to adopted administrative reform strategies. With the exception of the strategy of democratization of bureaucracy, these strategies, and therefore the roles they prescribed for MTIs have been argued to be deficient or inappropriate, since they have not enabled the MTIs to address such issues as the elitist nature of bureaucracy, inequality of opportunities and the continuation of colonial administrative systems and structures in developing countries. It has also been emphasized that virtually all the strategies of administrative reform perceived institutional management training as the major means of bringing about the desired changes and improvements in the administrators and the development bureaucracies.

The chapter also identified three major functions of MTIs in developing countries - training, research and consultancy - and argued that training is largely considered by most MTIs to be the most important of the three. It has been argued that in spite of the many positive claims made in favour of both research and

consultancy, these functions are accorded such a low priority by most MTIs that they fail to be adequately complementary to the training function which suffers as a result. Secondary and other functions of an MTI have also been examined to underline the contribution they can make to the MTI's role, goals and objectives in a developing country. This chapter thus re-affirms the premise that institutional management training is perceived as a panacea for administrative under-development and development problems by most developing countries.

## Conclusions to Part I

This initial Part of this study has provided what may be regarded as the background to the discussion of MTIs and factors of institutional capabilities of MTIs in developing countries. Part I has outlined and discussed some of the major obstacles to national development and change in developing countries. The thrust of the first chapter is that the obstacles to development that confront developing countries are many and varied, and that administrative obstacles to development constitute only a part of these problems. It has been argued that confronted with these obstacles to development during a time when the demand and expectations of their peoples were heightened, most developing countries had no alternative but to facilitate more active participation of governments in most development activities. This intervention was seen as possible through national administrative systems and agents.

But because lack of adequately qualified development administrators in these countries appeared to hinder bureaucratic efficiency and effectiveness, it was decided to engage in management training to impart to administrators appropriate knowledge, skills and attitudes - in other words, to create more effective and responsive development bureaucracies. Most developing countries assumed that the speedy training of development administrators could be achieved by creating MTIs and charging them with the specific task of training these officers. Thus, according to Samuel Paul, MTIs

proliferated in developing countries - from 70 to 280 in the past two decades.[58]

Four clusters of the desirable attributes of development administrators were identified and discussed with the major argument coming through, that these attributes can be acquired by public servants if they are trained. This strong belief in management training as the answer to development administration's problems was further demonstrated in the fourth chapter which, in addition to presenting the case for management training, also dealt with the various roles and functions that MTIs in developing countries perform or are expected to perform. It was pointed out that in spite of the articulated desire to foster national development by some governments, the development strategies and strategies for administrative reform that these countries have adopted make the work of MTIs peripheral rather than central to the processes of change and development in these countries. This study has argued that the lack of meaningful structural and organizational reforms and the continuity of colonial administrative systems and models have meant that the MTIs' efforts at transforming and improving the administrative systems have largely been frustrated. Nevertheless, the faith in training and in MTIs goes on as was indicated in the discussion of the functions that these institutions carry out.

This study has argued that most MTIs place a lot more emphasis on the function of training than on research and consultancy. The limitations of this approach have

been highlighted and the complementary nature of these functions has been shown to suffer as a result of the neglect of research and consultancy by MTIs. The secondary functions of MTIs have been shown to be vital for the continued relevance, acceptance and utility of an MTI. Regrettably, these secondary functions are also fraught with such problems as lack of appropriate literature, lack of financial resources and lack of significant works of research for publication.

The numerous views expressed and analysed in this Part about management training and MTIs in developing states lead to the adoption, as valid, of the first hypothesis of this study, which states that <u>MTIs in developing countries are generally believed to be essential agents for development because they train public servants</u>. The adoption of this assumption leads this study to an examination of the institutional characteristics of the MTIs themselves and an attempt to suggest how these institutions can be made more effective and institutionally more capable of carrying out their designated roles and functions in developing countries.

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46. Parkins, "Training and Development", p.704.
    The INTAN case study (see Chapter II), however,
    indicates that the assumption that civil servants
    will necessarily shun research may not be true for
    all MTIs. There is, however, evidence that most MTIs
    which have mainly civil servants as instructors tend
    to accord the research function a low priority.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., p.705.

49. Ibid., p.706.

50. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization", p.42.
    With regard to 2, some MTIs may not have a separate
    budget for the research division, but they control
    their own budgets rather than have it controlled,
    say, by the establishing ministry or government
    Treasury. See, for example, the INTAN case study -
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PART II

FACTORS THAT DETERMINE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF MANAGEMENT
TRAINING INSTITUTES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Introduction

As was shown in Part I, the past three decades
have seen a proliferation of management training
institutions (MTIs) in developing countries. These
institutions were created in response to the post-colonial
needs for adequately and appropriately trained indigenous
people to manage the national development efforts of these
countries. The training infrastructure for most developing
countries thus did expand and diversify to a considerable
extent. This Part has the purpose of closely examining six
factors which, it is proposed, constitute what may be
termed the criteria for determining an MTI's capability.
the six factors are:

- institutional genesis;

- location;

- linkages;

- leadership;

- autonomy;

- internal structure and organization.

The basic thrust of this Part, and indeed of this
study, is that to ascertain the utility or effectiveness
of an MTI in a developing country requires that these
factors be closely examined. First to be examined should
be the institution's origins or genesis: was the
institution created as a result of foreign technical

assistance or of the national government's desire to ensure that the national administration is manned by appropriately trained people, or did the institution come into existence as a result of the normal expansion of a national institution of higher education such as a university?

Secondly, the issue of where in relation to the national developmental system the institution is located must be tackled. Is it located within the administrative system (regional or national)? Is it outside government control and therefore not directly forming part of the administrative system? Answers to these questions will not only assist in determining the potential effectiveness of the institution, but will also make possible the identification of the task environment of the institution as well as its clientele organizations. Both of these are crucial elements of the national developmental system and should therefore facilitate the better understanding of the utility or effectiveness of the institution.

Closely related to this second factor is the third factor - institutional linkages. These are the relations of the MTI with its clientele organizations and with other organizations in its environment. Does the institution co-operate with other institutions which are involved in related functions? How does it relate to those institutions that provide it with resources or with those institutions that compete with it for the same resources? What relations does the institute have with those that are consumers of its outputs and how does the institution

manage these linkages? An MTI cannot operate in isolation. To be effective, relevant and responsive to development needs, an MTI must, of necessity forge and satisfactorily manage various types of linkages with elements within and outside its environment.

Fourthly, the factor of leadership has to be examined. Embodied in this factor are the national political leadership on the one hand and the MTI's technical leadership and staff on the other. The various roles and functions of institutional leadership will be discussed and their effect on the overall performance of the institution as a development agency highlighted. The basic assumption here will be that the impact an MTI is able to make on the development system significantly depends on the nature, quality, outlook and efforts of its leadership - including the MTI's national political leadership. Thus in assessing the impact or effectiveness of an MTI, examination and analysis of the leadership needs to be undertaken.

The fifth factor which has to be considered in determining the effectiveness of an MTI is that of institutional autonomy. This is the freedom, authority and power that the institute is able to exercise in determining its programmes and other activities, as well as in deciding on its doctrine, mission and functions without external interference or threats to its resource base. Obviously, the issue of autonomy is closely related to some of the factors mentioned above. For example the location of an institution largely determines the nature

and degree of its autonomy, while this autonomy dictates the type of linkages the MTI is at liberty to forge in the environment or outside it. Institutional autonomy or the exercise of such autonomy clearly depends on the nature of the leadership. Nevertheless institutional autonomy remains a crucial factor in its own right in the determination of an MTI's capability.

The sixth and final factor is the issue of an MTI's internal structure and organization. This Part will argue against a highly departmentalized and hierarchical structure for an MTI. The constraints which emanate from a hierarchical structure and strict compartmentalization will be identified and discussed in relation to their effect on such factors as innovations, free flow of ideas, participative ideology and the integrated nature of the development process. Thus an examination of an MTI's organizational structure and the strategies employed in its internal operations can be instrumental in explaining the level of impact of the institution on its clientele organization and thus on the process of national development.

These six factors constitute what this study proposes to call criteria for assessing the effectiveness of MTIs in developing countries. In this second Part these six factors will be discussed and analysed within the broad and rather general hypothesis which states: the level of institutional capability which an MTI in a developing country can attain as a change and development agency largely depends on the nature of its genesis,

<u>location, autonomy, leadership, and internal structure and</u>
<u>organization</u>. For the purpose of this study the term
"effectiveness" will be used to refer to the level of
desirable and expected impact an institution is able to
have on the administrative system and hence on the
development process. Thus, an MTI which, through its
training and other activities, leads to improvements in
administrative performance by public servants will be
considered to be an effective training institution.
Conversely, an ineffective MTI is one which merely
performs the remedial and maintenance roles for the
administrative system. No attempt will be made in this
study to measure quantitatively the mentioned levels of
impact and effectiveness. Instead, this study will confine
itself to the examination and analysis of the six factors
mentioned above and how they relate to an MTI's
effectiveness or capability.

## Chapter 5

### The Relationship Between an MTI's Genesis and Institutional Capability

The basic premise of this chapter is that the initial conception of the need for an MTI has significant bearing on the subsequent growth and development of that MTI. This is so because the initial conception largely determines goal setting, institutional doctrine and mission, forging of environmental linkages and activities of mobilizing enviromental support for the MTI. In most developing countries, the emergence of MTIs is usually attributed to one or more of three major factors. Some MTIs emerged in response to "a systematic need - a need which was too complex to be met within the framework of traditional institutions"[1]; this need was, in most cases identified by those on the national political and administrative system. Other MTIs emerged as a result of the need being identified by external technical assistance, usually from a developed country or international donor agency. Other MTIs emerged as a result of the normal expansion of national institutions of higher learning such as universities.

The attainment of national independence by most developing countries after World War II necessarily meant that measures had to be taken to transfer, not only the political offices, but the administrative or state machinery from the foreigners to the indigenous people. In some countries, reasonable, though far from adequate, preparations for this transfer had been made by, for example, training carefully selected indigenous people in

public administration, usually in institutions based in the colonizing country.

For most developing countries, independence had significant implications for the systems of administration that existed prior to independence. The new governments came under immediate pressure to localise the civil services so as to project an image of true or complete independence, former colonial administrators suddenly became unpopular, inappropriate and generally undesirable. Most of the colonial administrators left the civil service and in some cases even left the countries which had attained independence. One of the results of this exodus was that the administrative experience in the civil services was diluted since most of the indigenous people appointed to take the places of the departing expatriates were inexperienced in administration. Further, such methods of training as on-the-job training and under-studying became less possible and less effective.

The post-colonial situation was further worsened by the fact that the colonial administration system was proved to be inadequate for the efficient and effective management of the policies and programmes of emergent national governments. The role of the colonial administrator was mainly that of maintaining law and order, and collecting revenue in the colony. The post-independence administrator, on the other hand, had to assume a much wider role. The fact that most former colonies were grossly underdeveloped at independence meant that emphasis had to be placed on development

administration and change management rather than on the maintenance of the status quo and routine activities.

Governments of developing countries realised that training institutions had to be created, either within or outside the administrative system, to train civil servants in the tasks of managing the state's development programmes, projects and other activities. The creation of MTIs in these countries was thus rationalized on the basis that: a) there was a shortage of suitably qualified personnel in the country; b) the absence of officers with appropriate administrative experience meant that little on-the-job training could be given to new recruits; and c) the colonial system of administration was no longer relevant to new needs of the new order, the system was inadequate for national development objectives and aspirations and generally unacceptable.

While such reasons sound plausible, they were, however, not necessarily true in practice, since most of the former colonies continued to send their officers to the former colonial countries for training, or created training institutions but staffed them with expatriates mainly from the former colonial powers. Nevertheless, the fact remains that MTIs were created in developing countries in response to genuine development needs. Noting that public management training in developing states has expanded as well as diversified significantly, Samuel Paul adds:

> International surveys on the pattern of growth
> of training institutions show that the number of
> training institutions has increased fourfold

(from 70 to 280) during the past two decades.
The number of public servants who have been
trained has increased fivefold or more in such
countries as India, Malaysia and the Philippines
during this period.[2]

In spite of this significant proliferation and
diversification of MTIs and their activities, there seems
to be limited impact of these institutions upon their
respective national administrative systems and upon the
development problems they were initially intended to
solve. One of the three major conclusions the World Bank
Review lists is that:

> While the training infrastructure in the
> developing world has in recent decades expanded
> and diversified, its utilization and
> effectiveness have lagged behind
> significantly.[3]

Subsequent chapters of Part II will identify some of the
reasons for this in addition to the reasons noted in
Part I. Within the framework of the basic premise of this
chapter, however, it can be stated that, to a considerable
extent, the genesis of these MTIs may, in effect, have
something to do with the level of impact these
institutions are able to have on their environments.

In a survey of six training institutions in Asian
countries, Wanasinghe observes that in those institutions
where the need for an institution and the initiative to
create one, came from national groups there is a greater
acceptance of the concept of the institution, "and of its
relevance . . . and a greater ability to forge enabling
linkages".[4] Institutional acceptance and relevance and
the ability to forge viable linkages contribute
significantly to an institution's dynamism and

effectiveness. One reason for this is the fact that when the need for an MTI is perceived by national groups the process of creating such an institute tends to take place at high decision making levels in the developmental system.[5] This is vital since training, to be effective, needs to be supported by several policy decisions and practices which require the commitment and support of high level decision makers.

Wanasinghe further observes that in those institutions where the initiative came mainly from outside the country:

> The role of the national groups has been more passive and the acceptance and acculturation of the concept has been retarded, the institutions losing consequently a certain measure of their dynamism and momentum.[6]

A passive role for the national groups has a negative effect upon the development and success of an MTI. The MTI will most likely have difficulties in forging and managing appropriate environmental linkages. It may also face problems with regard to support mobilisation and the acquisition of clientele organizations.

The above is not to be taken to mean that all MTIs created as a result of the need being conceived by agents external to the national groups will necessarily be ineffective. Available evidence however seems to indicate that the majority of institutions so created tend to have this problem, particularly during the initial stages of their development. In the long run, however, and providing that certain deliberate measures are taken by internal groups, these training institutions are largely able to

demonstrate their potential effectiveness and thus project a more relevant and acceptable image of themselves to their environments. Foreign technical assistance is usually a short-term benefit to the aided country, and after a few years the national groups have little option but to become involved in the later developments of the training institutions. Some institutions may have to go through a phase of goal-displacement while others may have to be significantly modified. Rarely has it happened that a training institution under such circumstances is completely closed down. All the same, continued existence does not necessarily attest to institutional capability or effectiveness. Even gravely ossified institutions are able to miraculously continue to exist.

It is obviously desirable to have the national groups taking the initiative to create an MTI; this is a useful starting point. It is by no means a guarantee that the resultant institution will necessarily be effective in bringing about expected improvements in the national administration. Countless other factors come into play, the majority of which tend to fall outside the training field. Further, the aspect of the initiative of national groups also has other dimensions.

Wanasinghe rightfully realizes that, within the national groups themselves, the level at which the need for an MTI is conceived is also important.[7] The higher the level at which the need is perceived the more likely to be effective, acceptable and relevant is the emerging training institution. Of significant importance are the

highest levels in the political and administrative systems. Naturally, there are dangers in this, such as the fact that the resultant institution could be identified with a rather narrow or small elitist group which may indeed be suspected of merely consolidating its power base by advocating and creating such an institution. Nevertheless, the fact remains that if the initiative to create a training institute originates in the highest levels of the national decision-making machinery the training institution so created stands a better chance of forging enabling linkages and of mobilising support and resources in the environment.

A further dimension to this aspect of institutional genesis is the need for not so much a higher level at which the need is conceived, as for a wider degree of participation in its conception and eventual creation. Wanasinghe observes:

> The wider the degree of participation in the process of articulation and formation of the institutional concepts, the stronger appears to be the ability of the institution to find continuing support from the environment.[8]

Such elements and institutions in the larger environment as the political elites, national planners, educationists, the private sector, national bureaucratic elites and local authorities [9] need to be involved from the outset if the training institution is to obtain optimum environmental support and acceptance. This is all the more important in the developing world where political leadership changes overnight are not an entirely rare phenomenon. An MTI the inception of which is a result of widespread environmental

participation tends to display higher degrees of resilience, acceptance and relevance than an institution conceived of and created through the initiative of one or two elements in the environment, particularly in the event of political changes.

The third and final dimension of the national groups as initiators of the concept of a training institution is when the institution is a result of the normal expansion of an existing institution of higher learning. A considerable number of institutes of public administration in developing countries are part of a university faculty or are, at least, affiliated to the national university or universities. It may indeed be the case that the university creates an MTI in response to a perceived need for one, but it may also be that the MTI is created with the primary objective of enlarging the university's fields of operation and therefore its clientele organizations. To this extent it is also possible that the larger environment may remain largely uncommitted to the success of the new institution, and may even be indifferent or hostile to it. On the other hand, and providing that adequate broad-based consultations had been entered into with elements in the environment, the MTI could turn out to be reasonably effective in meeting the identified needs of its environment.

Two cautionary remarks could be made at this juncture. First, many universities in developing states have a rather large element of so-called foreign experts mainly from developed countries; others have strong

functional linkages with foreign institutions some of which, as will be shown later, may have little regard for, nor knowledge of, the real needs of the institute's environment. Secondly, MTIs that form part of a university faculty have a chronic tendency to adopt the academic approach to development and personnel problems. Such an approach may lead to the MTI becoming less relevant to the developmental needs of the nation and it may eventually be considered to be of dubious utility by its environment, a situation which may result in the MTI failing to achieve institutional effectiveness.

It has been mentioned earlier that training institutions which were created as a result of the initiative coming from outside the country have tended to eventually lose their dynamism and effectiveness. The major form of external participation in this area is foreign aid - bilateral or multilateral - now commonly called foreign technical co-operation. For the purpose of this study this aid will also be referred to as foreign technical assistance. Several reasons are given for the apparent failure of foreign aid to create training institutions which successfully meet the recipient countries' development needs.

Zoe Allen gives an excellent account of what constituted foreign technical assistance from most developed countries to developing ones for the purpose of public management training. According to Zoe Allen, foreign support in this area:

runs the full gamut from foreign conception and

> instigation of a training programme to foreign
> response to an 'indigenous' request, with
> varying and ambiguous degrees of induced or
> spontaneous initiatives in between. It also
> covers a range of quantitative support, from the
> funding of the whole operation, including
> buildings, libraries and teaching materials to
> the mere provision of personnel.[10]

From the above it is clear that foreign technical assistance does, in certain cases, surface the need for a training institution. Writing along the same vein Bernard Schaffer cites the case of Sudan, which invited the United Nations (UN) to send a team of experts to look at the public service and recommend ways in which it could be improved. Sudan had just attained national independence (1 January 1956). The UN team, which consisted of a USA citizen and a New Zealander, after being in Sudan for only three weeks, recommended "that an institute of public administration would do a valuable job there also".[11]

As stated earlier, when the conception of the need for an MTI comes from outside the country, the national groups tend to play a passive role while the foreign elements play a more active role in the creation and subsequent development of the MTI. Distinguishing between institutions created at the initiative of foreign and national elements Wanasinghe writes:

> There is a noticeable difference in the
> experience of the different institutions in
> regard to goal setting, forging of environmental
> linkages and obtaining environmental support,
> etc., which might be traced to the relative
> roles of national groups and of foreign
> organisations in the determination of needs,
> their formulation, their articulation and the
> preliminary implementation of the ideas.[12]

These factors - goal setting, environmental linkages,

support, etc. - are crucial to the relevance, acceptance and therefore ultimate effectiveness of the training institution. Available literature is emphatic that in situations where foreign technical agencies played the active and dominant role in the setting up of a training institution, the forging of relevant enabling linkages has been difficult for the institution. Acceptance by the environment was also at undesirably low levels, to the extent that the institution would have to woo participants to enrol for training, rather than that the participants should demand more than what the institution could provide.

Several reasons could be offered in explanation of such a situation. First, some foreign aid offered to developing countries is conditional upon their agreeing to set up an MTI and also agreeing to accept foreign trainers to form part of the staff at such an institution. Because the developing country will be in need of this other aid, it may have no option but to accept the creation of the training institution as well, since this is the only way to obtain the aid package. It should, therefore, not be surprising that the national groups should regard such a training institution as "an alien implantation . . . (which can) be an impediment to the implementation of the new development strategies of the country".[13] It would be difficult for such a training institution to find continuing support from the environment.

Secondly, and related to the first possible reason mentioned above, is the problem that the foreign technical

personnel largely lack political contacts in the aided country.. They are therefore not able to effectively "sell" the concept of management training to organizations in the recipient country. Oftentimes they have to depend on the diplomatic or aid agency contacts and channels to mobilize some form of recognition and acceptance - a rather unhealthy situation since it makes them heavily dependent on the power of the purse strings rather than on what they and the institution can contribute to the national development effort. Internal political contact is essential for testimonial support and policy guidance for the foreign technical experts. Otherwise their training activities will largely be an exercise in futility. In a country where the training institution is, so to speak, forced down the throat of the nationals, such environmental support will not readily be forthcoming.

Thirdly, foreign technical assistance is also constrained by the fact that the personnel of the aid agency on which the trainers depend has a rather "non-academic orientation"[14], to the extent that the aid agency may fail to appreciate the value of research and feasibility studies. Quoting Gordon Lee, Zoe Allen writes:

> One is struck by the absence among regular USAID
> staff of genuine, deep-seated interest in the
> culture of the people they are supposed to serve
> . . . Mission life is frequently encumbered by
> egregious over-emphasis upon certain trivial
> social procedures.[15]

Research and feasibility studies are central functions of any MTI. When they are neglected the other functions also suffer and the institution's overall effectiveness

diminishes. Further, the image of the institution has a lot to do with its acceptance by the environment. Aid field agents who display a manifestation of inappropriate attitudes and behaviour patterns do grievous harm to the image of the MTI they sponsor. Thus, the agency-trainer relationship becomes a factor in the determination of the success and capability of a training institution created by a donor agency.

The fourth possible reason for limited impact by aided MTIs is that the foreign experts are often incapable of providing the requisite leadership for a training institution in a post-colonial setting. To be capable of contributing positively to development problems and efforts, management training has to be both proactive and innovative. Geof Wood, writing about public management training in Zambia, states:

> Innovation requires the performance of a substantive leadership role, but the expatriate director of the training institution is quite unable to occupy it, no matter how willing.[16]

The importance of institutional leadership for ultimate effectiveness of a training institution will be dealt with in a later chapter. Suffice it to say here little attention is paid to this factor when foreign technical assistance is negotiated. In fact some donors insist on the recipient country accepting foreign trainers to run the training institution.

Colin Leys gives an account of the Kenya Institute of Administration (KIA) which obtained USAID for capital assistance to the tune of $416,000. He writes:

> An unwritten but nonetheless firm condition of
> this aid was that the Kenya Government would
> also accept US technical assistance for the
> Institute. This was to be provided by means of a
> USAID contract with the Maxwell School of
> Citizenship and Public Administration of
> Syracuse University, New York.[17]

After some resistance from the Kenyan government with
regard to the role of the intended personnel, it was later
agreed to relegate them to positions with little
decision-making and authority. The Syracuse contract
provided the KIA with language laboratory and library
facilities. But, as Colin Leys observes:

> in terms of administrative training, it is
> difficult to trace a single significant mark
> left on the work of the KIA by the staff
> supplied under the contract.[18]

As it later turned out, the five or six US
so-called experts were not experienced trainers; they were
academics recruited elsewhere and not part of the regular
staff of the Maxwell School. The Kenyan government, on the
other hand, had always held a non-academic conception of
administrative training. Colin Leys continues:

> They were sceptical about the value of academic
> studies for producing in a hurry the sort of
> field administrators they wanted to replace the
> outgoing British members of the Provincial
> Administration.[19]

Unfortunately not all national leaders or incumbents of
relevant offices will be capable enough of copying the
Kenyan example. Consequently the majority of sponsored
training institutes would be staffed if not headed by
unsuitable expatriate "experts". How such institutions are
expected to perform the proactive and innovative role
defies the imagination.

The fifth reason for institutional inadequacy is the apparent wholesale transfer of technologies, models, values and attitudes from donor countries to recipient countries with little regard for local needs, culture and preferred development strategies. Public management training cannot be conducted in a value-free atmosphere, if ever such an atmosphere exists. A.R. Hoyle aptly observes that: "Each country has a unique value system which alone is relevant to it and training cannot be relevant if it is not rooted in it".[20] The UN Handbook of Training further emphasizes this need for a national orientation of all phases of public administration:

> All phases of public administration have an intensely national application. Administrative organizations and practices can be said to be successful only in the national setting in which they are found. In no phase of public administration is this often repeated observation more true than in training. Training in the public service must somehow fit into the national culture, and it must be full of practical applications to the work situation prevailing in the country . . .[21]

This study argues that this important dimension to the training process is largely ignored if not despised by most elements in technical assistance agencies. The assumption seems to be that whatever ideas, practices and procedures successfully operate in given developed countries should, once inculcated in the civil servants, operate just as successfully and appropriately in any other country, whatever its cultural, ideological or other situation. Such an assumption is erroneous and necessarily counter-productive.

The negative consequences of foreign conception of

the need for an MTI in a developing country have deliberately been laboured on in this chapter. This bias should, however, not be misconstrued to mean that all training institutions so conceived necessarily become ineffective, nor must it be taken to imply that all nationally conceived and created institutions become necessarily viable and effective agencies for change and development. Rather, the deliberate emphasis demonstrated here is intended to contribute, albeit in a small way, to attempts at exploding the myth that foreign technical assistance in the form of MTIs and personnel will necessarily lead to improvements in the performance of the national managers of development activities.

Further, the reasons, discussed above, of the dismal failure of foreign technical assistance are only the tip of the iceberg. In spite of this rather costly but ineffective situation, developing countries never seem to learn. Thus in spite of foreign initiated training institutions' inability to contribute positively to national development, these institutions continue to survive even long after the foreign experts have departed. Some survive simply because the national leaders of these developing countries, and their bureaucratic collaborators may consider these institutions to have some symbolic value:

> And even if its institutional characteristics render it inappropriate for making any innovative contribution to . . . inherited administrative structures, reference to its existence and to its enhancement under the title National Institute performs the rhetorical function of revealing a commitment to nation-

building activities.[22]

Such survival is nevertheless divorced from the institution's structural and cultural inability[23] and ineffectiveness to function as an agency for change and desirable national development.

## Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to highlight the relationship between the initial conception of the need for a training institution and that institution's later capability in its environment  Various points of conception have been identified and examined in the light of the experiences of a few countries and institutions.  Institutional genesis which largely fashions the roles that the various actors are going to play.  Like any other institution an MTI depends for its effectiveness and survival on its task and larger environment.  The elements in the environment or outside it, which initially identify the need for a training institution tend to have a vested interest in  its creation, development and survival.  Those elements which will not have taken part at this initial phase tend to play little more than a passive role in later phases of the institution's development.

The ideal situation is obviously to have all elements inside and outside the environment participating actively from the conceptual phase through all subsequent phases of a training institution's development.   Such a

situation, unfortunately, rarely ever obtains. At any
rate, some of the problems discussed above, particularly
with regard to foreign technical assistance, would not
necessarily disappear. It is, however, probable that these
problems would be better dealt with to the advantage of
the training institution and those it is supposed to
serve.

The possible points of institutional genesis for
an MTI as discussed in this chapter can perhaps be
expressed on a continuum as shown in Chart 5.1 below.

Chart 5.1



| Foreign technical experts | University faculty | Bureaucratic elites | Bureaucratic/ political elites | All elements |

Possible points of institutional genesis in relation to potential
institutional effectiveness
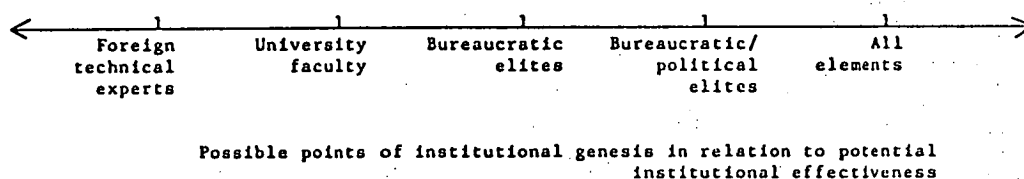
The continuum indicates that, all other things being
equal, maximum institutional effectiveness could be
attained if all external and internal elements are
involved at the inception stage of the training
institution. Conversely, minimum levels of effectiveness
would result if the conception and initiative for the
institution is externally based, say in the form of
foreign technical experts surfacing the need for such a
training institution in a given developing country. The
various other elements discussed in this chapter would
fall at various points along the continuum.

Institutional genesis determines, to a significant

degree, the institution's mission, doctrine, goals, its location in a given developmental system, its various publics or clientele organizations and the linkages it is likely to be able to forge with other elements in its environment. Institutional genesis further facilitates the MTI's capacity to accurately determine training needs; it therefore, determines an institution's relevance to its environment and its acceptance by that environment. Institutional genesis is thus a significant factor in the determination of the level of impact that an MTI is able or likely to have on the administrative system and therefore on the development process of a developing country.

References and Notes - Chapter 5

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p.264.

23. Ibid., p.265.

Chapter 6

Institutional Location as a Factor Determining the Effectiveness of an MTI

  The factor of institutional genesis as discussed in Chapter 5 of this study has a bearing upon institutional location. Institutional location refers to the position or status of an MTI in relation to other elements and organizations in a given developmental system. In this chapter, it is hoped to demonstrate that the location of a training institution in a given environment affects the performance of that institution and the level of impact the institution will be able to have upon its environment.

  The UN Handbook of Training in the Public Service admits to the controversial nature of this institutional factor:

> No problem relating to the organization and functioning of schools and institutes of public administration has led to wider differences of opinion and greater variety of solutions than that of locating the training institution.[1]

This study does not in any way claim to attempt to end the controversy. Rather, the study hopes to highlight the various possibilities of institutional location and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of these in terms of the overall effectiveness of a training institution in a developing country. The aim will be to project institutional location as a factor to be considered when reviewing the effectiveness of a training institution. The UN Handbook quoted above emphasizes the relevance of location by stating:

  When a school or an institute is first created

it is necessary, as a practical matter, to put it somewhere in the governmental and educational structure. Where it is placed will have profound effects upon the ease with which it will function and its success in realizing the mission assigned to it.[2]

Several possible locations for a training institution seem to exist. The UN Handbook lists and outlines six such possibilities as shown below.

TABLE 6.1

Outline of possibilities as respects status of schools and institutes

I. Official schools and institutes.
A. Attached to presidency, premier's office, central personnel agency, or other central agency of superministerial authority.
B. Attached to a single ministry, such as education, finance, or interior (home affairs).
C. Independent and autonomous.
   Principal examples: schools or institutes of Brazil, Colombia and United Arab Republic.

II. Non-official schools and institutes.
 A. Affiliated with a university.
    1. As a part of a faculty, college, department, or other sub-division of the university.
       Example: Institute for Administrative Affairs, Faculty of Law, University of Tehran, Tehran, Iran.
    2. As an independent faculty or unit of the university.
       Example: Center for Public and Business Administration Education, National Chengchi University, Taipei.
 B. Not affiliated with a university and functioning as an independent and autonomous institution.
    Example: Royal Institute of Public Administration, London.

Source:    UN Handbook of Training in the Public Service, p. 150.

For the purpose of this study, institutions in I above will be referred to as government training institutions, while those in II will be called non-government training institutions. Thus institutions in I are generally considered to be part and parcel of the national

administrative system and to be located within the national developmental system. Institutions in II, on the other hand, are considered to be external to both the administrative and developmental systems, though they have an influence upon both systems.

In an analysis of 236 training institutions, Samuel Paul divides these institutions into four categories. He argues that the line of distinction between training institutions tends to be blurred "as institutions operate in several areas simultaneously".[3] Table 6.2 below summarizes Samuel Paul's analysis:

TABLE 6.2

Institutions by Category and Region

|  | Asia | Africa | Latin America | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| University departments or schools of administration | 27 | 20 | 38 | 85 (35.5) |
| Autonomous institutes of administration | 11 | 12 | 13 | 36 (15.0) |
| Government institutions of training | 39 | 44 | 22 | 105 (45.0) |
| Management institutes | 5 | 2 | 3 | 10 (5.0) |
| Total | 82 | 78 | 76 | 236 (100.0) |

Note: The figures in parentheses denote percentages.
Source: Samuel Paul, Training for Public Administration and Management in Developing Countries. World Bank Staff Working Papers, No. 584, World Bank, Washington DC, 1983.

It is clearly evident from Table 6.2 above that the majority of training institutions in developing countries fall under the control of government. Various reasons are given for this pattern of development of these

institutions. Most governments of developing countries considered training for public servants to be a matter which could not be left to non-governmental institutions. Even in countries where local universities had, in some faculty, an institute of public administration, some governments still established their own institutions for the training of public servants. With reference to institutions in the African region Michel Rougevin-Baville observes that:

> Many states . . . are reluctant to leave the training of their civil servants to institutions over which they have no control, and it is interesting to note that those which are prepared to do so often prefer to send them straight to Europe rather than to the university of a neighbouring country.[4]

One of the reasons for this fear is that generally, universities have largely not concerned themselves with the immediate and concrete problems that face governments. Consequently, they have not been able to develop adequate and relevant skills and expertise to conduct training for civil services.

> Generally speaking, the specific object of a university, its traditions and its methods, are wholly directed towards teaching of a high general cultural standard and are ill-suited to the provision of professional and character training . . . The faculties produce graduates; these still have to be turned into professionally competent civil servants.[5]

Another reason is that universities are generally considered to be centres of radical ideas and therefore unsafe as sources and vehicles for "imparting a given ideological orientation".[6] It was feared that they might mislead civil servants and inculcate in them ideologies

that may be incompatible with, if not hostile to, the ruling regime's ideology. Some of these fears were reasonably valid, particularly those relating to the nature and quality of the education and training provided by most universities. Rougevin-Baville writes:

> University teachers inevitably bear the stamps of a training and of interests which are essentially theoretical. It seems, however, to be generally accepted that administration cannot be taught satisfactorily by the university staff alone . . . the indispensable practical instruction regarding the organization, methods and actual working of the services can be given only by the people who are doing the work, and the structure of a university makes it difficult to recruit the type of teacher required for this purpose.[7]

The final reason which also seems to be valid is that the statutes of most universities lack the necessary flexibility, particularly with regard to conditions of entry. The usually high educational standards required to enter university are likely to be a constraint upon the entry of potential public servants who are usually in short supply during the early emergence of a developing country.[8] Governments have largely tended to respond to these fears and criticisms of universities by creating their own training institutions. It must nevertheless be recognized that Table 6.2 also shows that university-related institutions form the second largest group of training institutions. In fact in Latin America they form the largest single group.

As has been stated earlier, there is apparently no single "ideal" location for a training institution that can be said to be universally applicable. The choice of

location for such an institution seems to depend heavily on the situations and conditions peculiar to a given country. It is, however, necessary to discuss some of the various pros and cons of some of the several possible locations of these institutions, particularly emphasizing or highlighting the implications of such pros and cons on the training institution's overall performance and effectiveness.

For most government training institutions the location generally preferred is within the ministry or department of the chief executive, such as the Prime Minister's or President's Office. This, it is assumed, provides the institution with a higher level of prestige, and affords it direct access to the seat of power. True as this may be, such location also has its disadvantages. For most government training institutions being located in an establishing ministry or department automatically means that most, if not all, of its funding comes from government. This consequently, means that the training institution has little need to undertake its own fund raising activities, since funds become accessible to it as a matter of government budget routine. In most cases such funding is not necessarily contingent upon the institution's performance, nor is it an indication that the institution is of significant benefit to the administrative and developmental systems.

Total dependence for financial resources on the government can be counter-productive to the innovative

potential and general effectiveness of a training
institution. Inayatullah writes:

> Total financial dependence and continued assured
> resources can have, and possibly do have a
> negative impact on the urge and capacity to
> develop innovative programmes and activities
> designed to attract a larger clientele and more
> resources.[9]

An institution located outside the government
administrative system, on the other hand, would need to
continually develop its capacity to innovate and attract
more resources and a larger clientele. This is not to be
taken to mean that non-government institutions are
necessarily more effective than government training
institutions; other factors, discussed elsewhere in this
study, need to be taken into consideration.

A further reason why financial dependence on
government is likely to lead to limited effectiveness is
that a government training institution would have to avoid
those innovations that may threaten the status quo.
Governments are known to prefer to continue funding
deadwood organizations while ruthlessly dealing with those
organizations that may threaten their power base or other
interests. Financial dependence is, however, not the only
constraint that a training institution located in the
public sector has to face.

Where, for example, a training institution so
located has corporate status, there is usually a governing
body consisting of members that are appointed by, or
representatives of concerned ministries and departments.
These members are usually civil servants or former civil

servants, who will obviously seek consistency between the training institution's policies and programmes and the requirements practices and procedures of respective ministries and departments. Such individuals would therefore tend to be wary of significant departures in the training institution's activities from established government policies, practices and procedures. This, in turn, would adversely affect the training institution's innovative potential and therefore its overall effectiveness. All things being equal, a non-governmental training institution would tend to be more flexible and daring in this respect than a government training institution.

This study is of the view that a management training institution in a post-colonial situation, to be an effective agency for change and development, has to be able to perform adequately the innovative and pro-active role. The study also holds the view that a training institution which fails to perform this role can only engage in remedial training and with little input into the search for solutions to development and other administrative problems facing a post-colonial country. Given the expanded role of a post-colonial government in the development of the nation, and the increased demand for public services in these countries, it is accurate to say that a training institution that fails to be innovative and pro-active will have little impact upon the administrative system and therefore upon the national

developmental system. This view is central to this study
and, as such, it will be emphasized throughout this study.

A training institution's ability to attain
relevance, sensitivity and responsiveness depends, inter
alia, on its interaction with other institutions in the
environment. In the majority of developing countries, the
major clientele organizations of MTIs are government
ministries and departments. Whereas a non-government
institution still needs to so interact with these
clientele organizations as to attract and retain them, a
government training institution virtually has a captive
clientele as a matter of government personnel policies. In
this regard, therefore, it is possible that a
non-government training institution will be more dynamic
and better motivated to ensure that its enabling linkages
with the environment are well managed, and that its
interaction with the environment will lead to more
resources being made available to it. A non-government
institution is thus likely to develop its capacity to
carry out the function of research, an essential function
for accurate identification of training needs.

It is, however, argued that a training institution
should show a quick pay-off in furthering national
objectives for social and economic development. To be able
to do this a training institution must work closely with
the government:

> An institute cannot function effectively in this
> role in isolation from the government(s) it
> seeks to serve. Ivory towers 'think tanks', and
> prophets crying in the wilderness, are
> peripheral in their impact on governments

seeking to grapple with the day to day problems
of societies . . . [10]

From this angle it would appear that government training
institutions would have an advantage over training
institutions located outside the government system. The
argument for this would be that since national governments
have the prerogative to define and articulate national
development goals, policies and objectives, the training
institutions that are closer to governments would have
less difficulty in identifying the training or manpower
needs of their governments. While this could be true in
certain circumstances and only up to a point, it is
equally true that government training institutions may be
so close to their respective governments that they may
fail to view national problems from any other angle except
that of national government. Further, government training
institutions are usually only able to deal with
governments from a subordinate position, since they are
part of the machinery of government which has to conform
to various procedural clearances and financial sanctions,
for example. Saxena observes that:

> These linkages lead to an unavoidable dominating
> influence of bureaucracy of the country on the
> training institution. The proximity of training
> institutions with government and administration
> makes them prone to the dysfunctional features
> of bureaucracy. [11]

Unless a government training institution is
granted genuine and effective autonomy, it may find itself
engaged in the "over-selling" of training without adequate
concern for achievement or pursuit of professional
excellence. Training in that case will, indeed, be

considered as a ritual; as part of a routine; it has to be done, never mind why or what effects it will have on those who receive it. Nothing can be more damaging to the effectiveness of a training institution and the training process. A training institution which finds itself in such a situation can only perform the reactive and never the pro-active role.

In a study of six training institutions in the Asian region, Wanasinghe found that in spite of the several disadvantages of being located within the government system, most institutions studied preferred this location. He states:

> It is often felt that the location of an institute at the 'very centre of power itself' would automatically generate acceptance by enabling and functional linkages, and there is a general desire to be located thus.[12]

Wanasinghe rightly cautions that this view is not necessarily or entirely correct. Neither does he advocate location outside the government system:

> The cases studied do not indicate that there is a single appropriate location, nor that location close to the centre of power in a developmental system automatically generates enabling and functional linkages.[13]

Given the volatile nature of most developing countries, it would not necessarily be safe to be located within the national governmental system. An appropriate location today may not necessarily be appropriate tomorrow if there are changes in the environment. Relocation can also be impossible and a training institution would need to have a very high level of versatility and adaptive capability, as well as the capacity to evolve new

strategies and linkages in order to maintain its innovative thrust, relevance and therefore effectiveness. Regrettably, such high levels of versatility do not easily obtain among most of the MTIs in developing countries.

In addition to the advantages mentioned earlier, of having a public service training institution located within the national administrative system, other advantages are also given for this preference as opposed to location in a university faculty or independent institute. In fact Rougevin-Baville argues that the creation of training institutions within the administrative system facilitates solutions to the problems that arise as a result of attempting to have university affiliated institutes training public servants. He writes:

> A school or institute of this type can be set up
> even in the smaller countries; it will find it
> easier to recruit teaching staff, especially
> from among serving public officials and foreign
> technicians; it will have more flexible
> conditions of admission; and, finally, it will
> provide instruction more closely related to the
> actual conditions of the civil service.[14]

These and several other apparent advantages must have formed the cornerstone of the 'raison d'etre' for locating most MTIs in the national governmental system. There is, however, the danger of overlooking such drawbacks as the fact that these institutions run the risk of "lower-quality teaching".[15] At any rate, not all civil servants and foreign technical "experts" are good teachers. Also largely ignored is the vital function of an MTI - research. Public servants are rarely, if ever, notable for

their research tendencies and expertise. An MTI which
fails to effectively execute the research function can
hardly hope to be relevant to environmental needs nor
innovative.

On this very issue of research, R.E. Wraith,
writing about training institutions in Africa states:

> . . . institutes with a university connection
> are better able to initiate research, or to
> publish suggestions which might arise from an
> academic study of some aspect of administration,
> to an extent that is difficult for one which is
> virtually a sub-department of a Ministry, taking
> whom it is required to take and teaching what is
> ordained. Such studies can have an important
> influence on the policy of governments which
> themselves have little time for reflection, or
> for systematic study of the problems they must
> solve.[16]

It is also possible for a government training institution
to develop adequate functional linkages with local
universities and related institutions in its environment,
to the extent that its major functions - teaching,
research and consultancy - can be enhanced. In other
words, association with the local universities is not a
preserve of non-government training institutions.
Regrettably, as will be shown later, government training
institutions are usually so structured that association
with non-governmental institutions in the same environment
is minimal. Such minimal relations do not facilitate
adequate free flow of new ideas and the exchanging of
notes between related institutions. This in turn, has a
limiting effect upon the impact that the training
institution can have upon its environment.

A training institution which fails to develop an effective network of functional linkages with related institutions in its environment rapidly ossifies and loses touch with reality. It runs the risk of lagging so far behind society that it may even become more of a liability than a benefit to the environment it is supposed to serve. Wraith observes:

> A government training institute becomes a very narrow world, and its staff have a lot to gain from wider connections, professionally, intellectually and socially. Few men of any calibre can work for many years teaching short, repetitive courses without flagging mentally and becoming frustrated - or indeed without losing touch with the subject they are teaching.[17]

Such interaction between institutions of different locations also has advantages for non-governmental institutions such as universities and their affiliated training institutions. For example, a government training institution which has good working relations with the university can effectively facilitate harmonious and co-operative relations between the government and the university.

In addition to the earlier problems of locating training institutions in university faculties is the problem of leadership. As was noted with regard to foreign technical assistance in Chapter 5, the leadership of a training institution is crucial to its performance of the innovative and pro-active role. D.C. Stone, a notable contributor to management training studies, writes:

> There is, however, a major obstacle to establishing educational programmes of stature in most countries: traditional university organization. Innovation is often blocked both

> by inadequate provision for institutional
> leadership and by the manner in which academic
> power is distributed. The absence of responsible
> policy and programme leadership destroys
> initiative and encourages control by self-
> serving minorities. To assume that effective
> administrative and programme development with
> final decision-making can be vested entirely in
> faculty boards and senates is to create
> paralysis. Of greatest damage to innovation and
> modernization is the frequent practice of giving
> senates or faculty councils budget allocating
> authority.[18]

Thus, dynamic forms of leadership and administration are
required if a university-affiliated training institution
is to be able to have the freedom to structure itself and
organize its operations in such a way that there will be
adequate opportunity for faculty participation and
participation of elements in the training institution's
environment.

Stone bemoans this situation in universities, to
which he attributes the establishment of MTIs outside the
university framework:

> While this arrangement provides freedom from
> control and suppression by disinterested if not
> antagonistic academic coalitions, it denies the
> prestige and educational resources which
> affiliation with a first-class university would
> offer.[19]

This response to the problem of university leadership and
traditional organization - i.e. by creating non-university
affiliated training institutions - can also be over-done
or taken to undesirable and ineffective extremes. It would
not be in the national interest of development, for
example to have each ministry or department creating its
own training institution, or to have separate institutions
for purposes of pre-service and in-service training.

Fragmentation of the training effort weakens the total effectiveness of training as a tool for inducing, directing and managing change and development. Such fragmentation can also lead to the frustration of integrated development efforts in a developing country.

Stone also suggests that, as a way of avoiding the problems mentioned above:

> Perhaps the solution is to develop schools and institutes independently and then combine them later under a university umbrella with distinctive statutes[20] to facilitate their continued development.

Unfortunately, these sentiments can rarely be acceptable to those who will have vested interests in the continued existence of these institutions as separate entities. Groups of elements in the environment who could resist such moves would include bureaucratic elites who may feel threatened should the training institutions become part and parcel of a non-governmental yet powerful institution; political leaders who may suspect that the radicalism with which universities are allegedly associated might be imparted to the the public servants; and, foreign technical agencies who may prefer that the training institution has closer relations with universities in donor countries than with the local university.

The final problem that often arises as a consequence of locating an MTI within a university faculty is the rigidity and almost fanatic adherence to highly departmentalised structures of university faculties. Management training for development, to be meaningful and effective, has to be multi-disciplinary. Whatever faculty

the training institution may be located in, it necessarily must be able to solicit and employ the expertise of all relevant disciplines irrespective of established organizational structures. Stone advises:

> Faculties of public administration must be so organized as to avoid domination by any single academic discipline . . . curricula and instruction must draw freely upon many disciplines, professions, and technologies.[21]

The effect of internal organization and structure on the effectiveness of a training institution will be discussed in detail in Chapter 10 of this study. Suffice it to say here that highly departmentalised structures tend to retard and restrict the innovative potential and capacity of a training institution, thereby reducing its overall effectiveness and impact upon its environment.

So far location of a training institution has been discussed in systemic considerations. It is, however, also essential to briefly mention that the geographic location of a training institution can, and indeed does, have an effect upon the level of impact the institution is able to exert upon the administrative and development systems. Here again, two major schools of thought emerge. One school advocates the location of a training institution far away from the national or provincial capital city so as to ensure that once participants go for courses they are not distracted by such things as their normal duties in their offices. That should enable them not only to take a needed break from the daily office routines, but should also enable them to concentrate on the training courses that they are attending.

The other school of thought argues that such a remote location can be unproductive. Commenting on the unproductive nature of locating training institutions outside an urban area, Stone writes:

> This removes them from supporting infrastructure, makes them inaccessible for part-time study, and removes faculty members from making a maximum impact on society.[22]

Whatever the geographic location, it must be borne in mind that the larger the clientele of the training institution the better are its chances of achieving high levels of effectiveness and influence upon its environment.

## Conclusion:

For any MTI, location is of unquestionable significance because it greatly affects or determines such factors as institutional autonomy, linkages, internal structure and organization. An attempt has been made in this chapter to highlight the various ways in which the location of a training institution may ultimately affect the effectiveness of the institution. The discussion in this chapter should, therefore, be seen as part and parcel of the discussions in the rest of Part II. The reason for this is the obvious relatedness of the factors mentioned above which, this study argues, determine a training institution's capability.

From the discussion of the various possible locations of a training institution as in this chapter, it is clear that every location has its advantages and disadvantages. It is, however, clear that the decision as

to where to locate an MTI must be based on the mission, doctrine, goals and objectives of the institution. Such a decision must also take into account the specific and peculiar circumstances and conditions of the country. The various constraints that usually accompany a given location must be analysed, and ways of reducing the effects of such constraints worked out and implemented. In most cases such safe-guards will involve far-reaching policy decisions, but such decisions may indeed be the only way to ensure that MTIs are given the opportunity to become viable and effective agencies for change and development.

It may indeed be asked: if this chapter does not recommend one location as the ideal one, how then can it claim that institutional location is a determinant factor for institutional capability? The correct and only answer to this question is that, in spite of the impossibility of recommending one location as opposed to another, this study still considers institutional location as a key factor in institutional effectiveness, because it is inseparably linked with such other factors as autonomy, linkages, training needs identification and leadership. These are all crucial factors in the determination of a training institution's capability.

References and Notes - Chapter 6

1. United Nations, <u>Handbook of Training in the Public Service</u>, United Nations Publication, Sales No.66.11.H.1, United Nations, New York, 1966, p.149.

2. Ibid., p.150.

3. Samuel Paul, <u>Training for Public Administration and Management in Developing Countries: A Review</u>, World Bank Staff Working Papers, No.584, World Bank, Washington, 1983, p.41.

4. Michel Rougevin-Baville, "The Organization and Content of Training for Public Administration in Africa" in <u>Jn. of Administration Overseas</u>, Vol.2, No.3, 1963, pp.123-136, (126).
   This study does not subscribe to Rougen-Baville's racist and somewhat eurocentric remarks with regard to African students as expressed and implied in this article, pp.130-136.

5. Ibid.

6. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization Through Management Training: A Study of 22 Training Institutions in Asia" in Inayatullah, (ed.) <u>Management Training for Development: The Asian Experience</u>, Asia Centre for Development Administration, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1975, pp.17-87, (29).

7. Rougevin-Baville, "Organization and Content of Training", p.126.

8. Ibid.

9. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization", pp.50-51.
   He also notes that, because they are not always fully convinced of the utility of an MTI, ". . . parent ministries tend to slash down budgets of training institutions rather arbitrarily whenever the demand for budgetary economy presses", pp.51-52.

10. S.S. Richardson, "Reflections on Ditchley", <u>IRAS</u>, Vol.32, No.3, 1966, pp.242-246, (243).

11. A.P. Saxena, "The Choice of Training Methodologies" in Commonwealth Secretariat, <u>Effective Use of Training Methodologies Report and Recommendations of an Expert Group</u>, Commonwealth Secretariat Touraine, Canada, 1979, Technical Paper VI, pp.155-164, (157).
    This relationship and its effects will be elaborated upon in Chapter 10 of this study.

12. H.S. Wanasinghe, "Some Issues Relating to Institution Building for Management Development" in Inayatullah, (ed.), <u>Management Training for Development</u>, pp.89-119, (95).

13. Ibid., p.97.

14. Rougevin-Baville, "Organization and Content of Training", p.127.

15. Ibid.

16. R.E. Wraith, "Institutional Training in Africa: The Institutes" in <u>Jn. of Administration Overseas</u>, Vol.4, No.1, 1965, pp.27-37, (36).

17. Ibid.

18. Donald C. Stone, "Guide Lines for Training development Administrators" in <u>Jn. of Administration Overseas</u>, Vol.5, No.4, 1966, pp.229-242, (237).
    See also a slightly modified version of the same article but titled, "Tasks, Precedents and Approaches to Education for Development Administration" in <u>Education for Development Administration: A Symposium</u>, IIAS Brussels, 1966, pp.13-17.

19. Ibid., p.238.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., p.235.
    See case study on INTAN in Chapter 11 of this study for a possible operational strategy for an MTI.

22. Ibid., p.238.

Chapter 7

## The Effect of Linkages on an MTI's Capability

In a complex society, organizations cannot operate effectively in isolation or in a vacuum. They have to interact with other organizations and other elements in the environment for resources, outlets for their goods and services, and support for their activities and programmes. They must, therefore, establish complementarities with other organizations, induce them and encourage them to take up and incorporate their innovations into their activities and programmes. This will enable the innovations to become part of the society and to be valued and eventually institutionalized. The level which an organization is able to achieve in bringing this about largely determines the impact that the organization may have on its environment. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the linkages that an MTI needs to forge and manage in its environment in order to enhance its effectiveness in influencing the processes of change and development in a developing country. Within the broader assumption of the second hypothesis of this study, this chapter bases its discussion on the premise that the level to which a train- ing institution is able to develop linkages with other organizations and elements in its environment has a signi- ficant bearing on the training institution's effectiveness and capability as an agent of change and development.

Thus, as an organization, an MTI finds itself in a complex environment in which there are other organizations with which it has to interact in one way or another. The organizations with which the training institution may

establish links have their own perceived interests which may either be hospitable, hostile or indifferent to the innovations and programmes of the training institution. As shall be shown later, the training institution's leadership has the task of forging and managing each linkage. However, because of uncertainties and unexpected changes in the environment, plans that the leadership may set in motion for linkage management often go awry. There is, therefore, need to continuously monitor and modify the plans.

Further, conflicts of interests may develop among organizations sharing an environment. To manage or resolve such conflicts may require that the institutional leadership choose among accommodative tactics, to seek allies, to push ahead with innovative activities, or to trade off, sacrifice, or defer some innovations in order to salvage others. The training institution, as an organization, finds itself in need of adequate capacity to participate in the political processes of its environment. This means that the training institution needs to have a clearly defined ideology. This ideology must be effectively propagated to other institutions in the environment. Thus linkage management, with its learning and political features, permits innovators to make the most of their resources in the struggle both to survive and to innovate.

The environment of a training institution thus contains other organizations, some of which may be supportive to the training institution while others

compete with it for the same scarce resources. Linkages with relevant institutions in the environment are essential for the training institution so that it can have adequate access to resources; so that it can recruit those inputs into its activities that are both appropriate and adequate; and so that it can successfully sell its outputs to elements in the environment. Effectively managed and appropriate linkages are therefore a crucial factor in the determination of the levels of acceptance, relevance and utilization the training institution will be able to attain. In short, institutional linkages significantly affect a training institution's effectiveness. Institutional linkages can thus be viewed as a training institution's instruments for forging ahead with its intended activities as well as defensive weapons to protect it from potential institutional insecurity.

Considering the issue of evaluation of an MTI, W.J. Siffin makes use of Chart 7.1 to illustrate some of the key linkages that such an institution may need to develop in its environment. [1]

CHART 7.1
Illustrative Sketch of Key Linkages
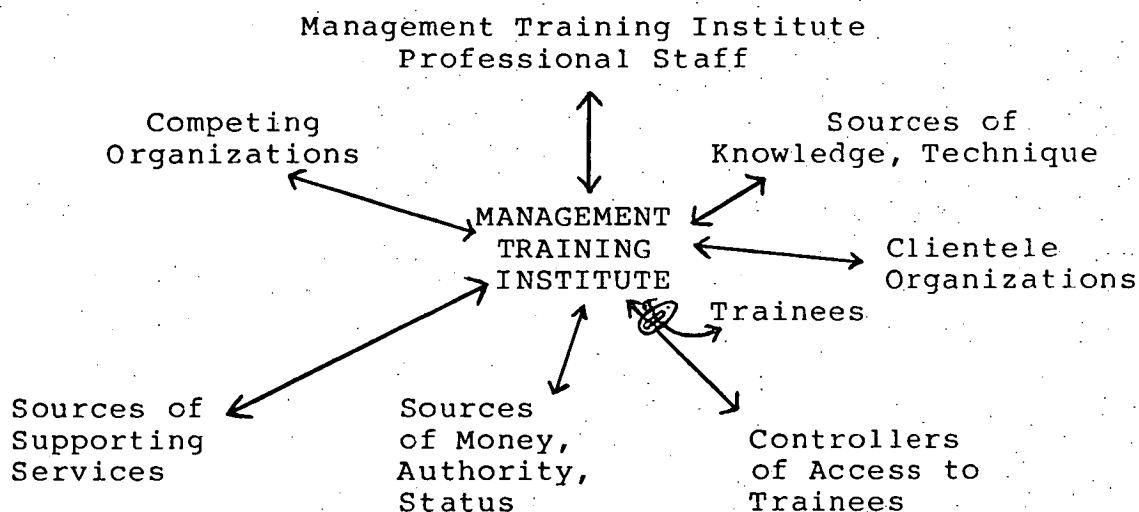
Management Training Institute
Professional Staff

Competing
Organizations

Sources of
Knowledge, Technique

MANAGEMENT
TRAINING
INSTITUTE

Clientele
Organizations

Trainees

Sources of
Supporting
Services

Sources
of Money,
Authority,
Status

Controllers
of Access to
Trainees

Source: "Factors Involved in the Evaluation of Management Training Institutions" by William J. Siffin in Inayatalluh (ed.) Management Training for Development: the Asian Experience. ACDA, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. 1975, p. 268.

This sketch is obviously representative of a simple environment in which the MTI is at the centre of all other elements, and in which the other elements do not have their own linkages which are independent of the linkages they have with the MTI. Such an environment is obviously unrealistic. The real environment of a training institution is, as stated earlier, complex. The other institutions in the environment also have their own linkages amongst themselves; these linkages are interactive and interdependent.[2] the picture which is more likely to develop is as illustrated in Chart 7.2. This is an important consideration since it means that changes in the MTI's linkages with any of the other elements may considerably affect other linkages. Siffin writes:

. . . the individual linkages of the institute
are not separate and independent. They are
interdependent. A change in the state of one
linkage is likely to affect the future state of
one or more other linkages. A decision to modify
one linkage must be informed by awareness that
changes here will probably produce changes
elsewhere.[3]

CHART 7.2
Illustration of
Some Possible Linkages Within the Environment of a
Management Training Institute
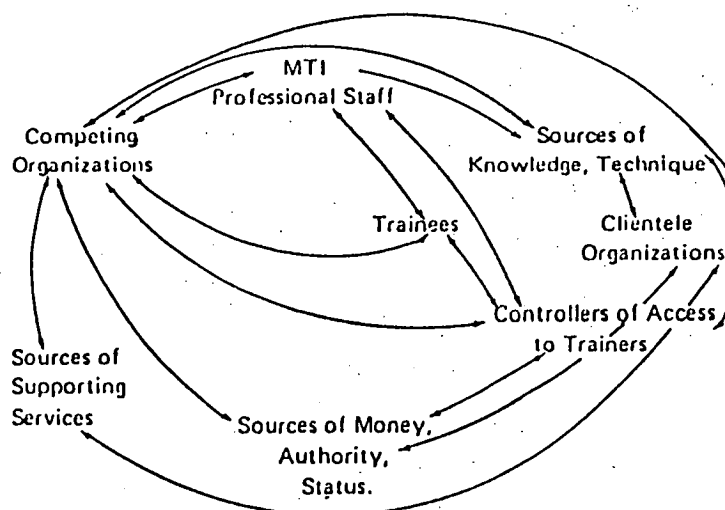


Source: "Factors Involved in the Evaluation of Management
Training Institutions" by William J. Siffin in
Inayatalluh (ed.) Management Training for
Development: the Asian Experience. ACDA, Kuala
Lumpur, Malaysia. 1975, p. 269.

Within the concept of institution building, Blaise

defines linkages as: "the interdependencies which exist

between an institution and other relevant parts of the

society".[4] He identifies four types of linkages as

follows:

- Enabling linkages - the linkages with organizations

    and social groups which control the allocation of

    authority and resources needed by the institution to

    function.

- Functional linkages - the linkages with those organizations performing functions and services which are complementary in a production sense, which supply the inputs, and which use the outputs of the institution.

- Normative linkages - the linkages with institutions which incorporate norms and values which are relevant to the doctrine and program of the institution.

- Diffused linkages - public opinion and relation with the public, not reflected in formal organization.[5]

No attempt will be made to discuss in any detail these various types of linkages. It is, however, pertinent to point out the importance of these linkages to the training institution's effectiveness in its environment. Thus, in evaluating the performance of a training institution it would not be conclusive to consider only some of the linkages to the exclusion of others. The fact that there are qualitative and functional differences between the linkages further compounds the earlier noted interactive and interdependent nature of these linkages, thus making evaluation of an MTI a difficult, if not impossible task.

An MTI needs to develop linkages with as many institutions and groups in its environment as it can manage effectively. Inayatullah suggests that for an institution located in the public sector linkages should be established with:

- the highest political authorities in the country;
- the establishing ministry;
- the institute's governing council;

- the mass media;

- appropriate political groups; and

- its own clientele organizations.[6]

He argues that the greater the variety of linkages the greater the institute's capacity to adapt to new or changed circumstances and the greater its chances for survival.[7] Effectively managed linkages provide support for the training institution in various ways: provision of material resources, legitimation of the institute's purpose, freedom to innovate and advise an appropriate national structure and appropriate personnel policies, as well as freedom to experiment with new ideas. Siffin writes:

> Together, the properties of the organization and its relations with its environment will determine - or at least limit - the extent to which the action system will achieve its intended goals.[8]

This study is of the view that the elements with which a government training institution needs to develop should be more than those identified by Inayatullah above. For example, it would be beneficial for such a training institution to have linkages with local professional and academic institutions and associations. Government training institutions will particularly benefit from functional linkages with local universities and colleges. It may even be possible to utilize such functional linkages to facilitate the entry of university and college lecturers into the institute to conduct training in their specialized areas. This will make possible the cross-

fertilization of ideas which is vital for the innovative role of a training institution.

Wanasinghe's study of six training institutions provides a good example of the importance of broad based institutional linkages for the survival of a training institution in changed environmental circumstances:

> The case of the Academy of Administrative Studies of Sri Lanka is interesting in that, the replacement of the original politico-administrative elites by different groups about 3-4 years later affected the enabling and support linkages. For a period of almost 2 years the institution had to be, as it were, 'in the doldrums', seeking new linkages as well as an identity and a role. This had a demoralizing effect upon the faculty which evidenced itself in the quality of the programmes offered.[9]

A development of this nature is obviously related to the training institution's genesis. As stated in Chapter 5 of this study, the wider the participation of elements in the environment in the initial phases of the creation and development of a training institution, the easier will be the task of establishing enabling linkages with a diversity of elements in the environment, to the extent that when changes occur in the environment the training institution will still be able to maintain most of its enabling and supporting linkages, since it will not be easily or readily identified with one group of actors.

In countries where training institutions were created with the assistance of foreign aid, it is common practice for these institutions to establish linkages with foreign institutions such as universities and IPAs in developed countries. In fact some of these training institutions develop closer links with these foreign

institutions than with institutions in their immediate environment. This is an unfortunate situation since it does not enable the training institution to effectively deal with development problems peculiar to its environment. It is also likely that when the aid contract expires and linkages with foreign institutions weaken or disappear, such a training institution may find itself in the same "doldrums" that the Sri Lanka Academy cited above found itself in.

There are, however, some advantages that emanate from linkages with foreign institutions in developed countries. One such advantage is the prestige of the foreign institution which, in turn, lends to the local training institution a professional image. Another advantage is that the staff of the training institution can receive further training in the foreign institution and usually at little or no direct cost to the local institution. Whether such training is appropriate, desirable or beneficial to the local training institution is, of course, debatable. A third advantage is that most foreign institutions, especially universities, place significant emphasis on the all-important and often neglected function of research in management training. Here again it must be stated that the benefits of such research are either mutual to both institutions or more beneficial to the foreign institution than to the local one. The assumed benevolence of foreign technical assistance is, regrettably, not without its ulterior motives.[10]

Linkages with foreign institutions can also be dysfunctional for the local training institution. As noted in Chapter 5, the local training institution may be regarded as alien to the local environment and therefore lacking in authority, self-steering capacity, and relevance to local development problems. The local institution can also become so dependent on the foreign institutions as to lack intellectual originality and realism. This will result in the local institution's loss of the capacity to see problems in their true and local perspective. A further dysfunction is that the local institution can be used (or misused) merely as an instrument for transferring the doctrines, ideologies and technologies of the foreign institution regardless of the appropriateness and desirability of such doctrines, ideologies and technologies to the local institution's environment. This will eventually blunt the local training institution's inventiveness, responsiveness, relevance and acceptance and therefore its effectiveness.

With reference to the 22 training institutions studied in the Asian region, Inayatullah observes:

> The training institutions' acceptance of the basic assumptions and goals of administrative modernization, through imported knowledge, considerably constrained their innovative potentiality . . . they could not by themselves define the role of training in administrative change and question the basic assumptions and goals of the prevailing strategies. This is evident from the fact that rarely did a training institution analyse the implications of the prevailing strategy of administrative reform. In most cases any critique of these strategies developed outside rather than inside the training institutions.[11]

For any MTI in a developing country, therefore, linkages with foreign institutions need to be carefully thought out and critically analysed to ensure that they do not cause the local training institution to compromise its relevance, responsiveness and effectiveness to its environment in both the short and the long run. As indicated in earlier sections of this study, several factors do exist which militate against training institutions' capacity to make their own decisions, particularly where powerful foreign aid agencies are involved. In all fairness, however, it must be admitted that while some of these factors are external to the environment of the training institution, others are indeed internally-based. Decisions made at high politico-administrative levels may, indeed, have crippling effects on a training institution's subsequent development. This is more so if such decisions determine the linkages that the institution will develop and manage.

The training provided by an MTI is only an intermediate product, the end-product of which is the increased competence of the trainees as exhibited in the improved performance of their organizations and of the administrative system as a whole. Thus in the planning and designing of training programmes, not only the needs as identified by the training institution and their objectives, are important, but equally (some authorities argue that more) important are the needs and objectives as identified and articulated by clientele organizations.

Careful attention should therefore be paid to the functional linkages with the clientele organizations:

> Training institutes may want to have an
> innovative thrust that goes beyond what the
> client organizations perceive as their most
> immediate needs, but they are likely to be
> ineffectual unless they are also, if not
> primarily, responsive to the client
> organizations. A training institute that limits
> itself to the design and execution of training
> programs without developing more continuous
> relationships with its client organizations will
> thereby limit the potential for having an impact
> on the organizations that constitute its
> clientele.[12]

A possible strategy for developing effective linkages with client organizations is for the training institution and its staff to develop intimate knowledge of the client organizations' problems and needs. Effective functional linkages can be developed by establishing on-going consultative relationships with client organizations:

> If, and to the extent that, the training
> institute is able to provide consultative
> services in addition to training services to its
> client organizations, its ability to supply
> relevant training programmes will be enhanced
> and opportunities for effecting change in other
> organizations will be increased
> significantly.[13]

The training institution, through its enabling linkages, must not only be able and willing to give advice, but to receive it as well. Proper management of linkages should lead to mutual benefits for the institution and the environment. Establishment of effective and appropriate linkages with client organizations through the provision of consultative services will eventually lead an institute to develop into

"an institution with an innovative and normative impact on its environment".[14]

Another strategy for developing effective linkages is for the training institution to ensure that the trainees continue to receive support from the institution after training. The training institution must build the relevant institutional mechanisms and methods for continuing guidance to participants after they return to their jobs. Follow-up activities could be used to provide the participants with the support they need from the training institution, if they are to effectively put into practice what they will have learnt at the training institution. Such linkages should therefore enhance the impact made by the training institution upon its clientele organizations.

Conclusion:

The thrust of this chapter is based on the need for a training institution in a developing country to interact with other institutions in its environment and, to some extent, with external institutions. The impact that a training institution can make on its environment is significantly dependent upon the linkages that the training institution has with key elements in its environment. The dangers of ineffective and inadequate linkages have been highlighted and the advantages that accrue from well managed and appropriate linkages identified. The factor of institutional linkages is virtually inseparable from such other factors of

institutional capability as location, genesis, autonomy and support mobilisation. Consequently, other dimensions of the importance of linkages will emerge as some of these other factors are discussed in later chapters of this work. It is, however, expedient to note here that the genesis and location of an MTI both affect the institutional linkages that the institution will be able to establish.

As already stated earlier, a training institution which comes into existence as a result of external conception of its need tends to develop closer linkages with foreign institutions, particularly those that were instrumental in its creation. Such an institution may have difficulty in forging appropriate linkages in its environment, and this in turn may adversely affect its performance and the impact it will have upon its environment. On the other hand, a training institution which is created as a result of widespread participation of national groups will be better able to establish enabling and supporting linkages with organizations in its environment; this will significantly enhance the institution's capability. This is obviously an oversimplified assumption of what actually happens in reality. The above statements can only be true if all the other factors and conditions of institutional capability are at the appropriate levels of effectiveness and suitability.

With regard to institutional location, it has been noted that a government training institution is not likely

to develop any meaningful linkages with non-government institutions in its environment. This is unfortunate since it also means that there will be a wastage of scarce resources, as there will be duplication of services, poor co-ordination and poor integration of the national development efforts. Further, a government training institution is usually dependent on government financially and with regard to the acquisition of clientele organizations. The institution may therefore not be readily motivated to develop linkages with non-governmental institutions and groups in the environment. Thus, the training institution in the administrative system receives its major resources - funds and trainees - as a matter of established government policy and practice. The development of enabling linkages is still a necessary activity if the training institution so located is to be innovative. It will need to interact with other institutions of a complementary nature in the environment so as to receive new ideas and exchange notes with such institutions. It will need to develop more appropriate methods of training, research and consultancy. The linkages with non-governmental organizations are thus crucial for institutional effectiveness.

This chapter has also noted the importance of appropriate institutional linkages for the training institution's survival under changed environmental circumstances. It has been argued that a narrow range of linkages tends to the training institution being identified with narrow self-interested groups who, when

they lose power, may lead to the fall of the training institution as well. This contrasts sharply with an institution with broad-based and diversified linkages. Such an institution seems better able to weather the storms of environmental change than an institution which is narrowly linked to specially selected (usually elitist) groups in the environment.

It must, however, be explained here that the fact that a training institution, however located, which survives under changed circumstances does not do so necessarily because it is deemed to be effective nor is it innovative. There is a host of reasons why the training institution will survive in spite of its inability to innovate or indeed to have a desirable impact upon its environment. Some of these reasons will be dealt with later in this study. It is, however, pertinent to note the role played by institutional linkages in continued survival of training institutions under changed circumstances.

That institutional linkages are an important factor in the determination of a training institution has been amply demonstrated in this chapter. The level to which the various linkages are developed by the institution is an important consideration for any institution which aspires to be an actor in the dynamic process of national development. Societal dynamism necessarily implies high levels of interaction and various forms of transactions among all the participants in the society. The ultimate results of such transactions and

interactions depend on the effectiveness and appropriateness of the linkages that exist between the actors.

References and Notes - Chapter 7

1. William J. Siffin, "Factors Involved in the Evaluation of Management Training Institutions" in Inayatullah, (ed.), Management Training for Development: The Asian Experience, Asian Centre for Development Administration, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1975, pp.251-283.

2. Ibid., p.269.

3. Ibid.

4. H.C. Blaise, "Analysis of Selected Strategies of Institution Building for Public Service" in Inayatullah, (ed.), Management Training for Development, pp.285-299, (290).

5. Ibid.
   A fifth category is what he calls the "competitive linkages", which are linkages with those institutions and groups which compete with the institution for resources.

6. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization Through Management Training: A Study of 22 Training Institutions in Asia" in Inayatullah, (ed.), Management Training for Development, pp.17-87, (50). This study takes the view that in addition to linkages with all the elements mentioned in this quotation, an MTI in the public sector also needs to have linkages with other related institutions such as universities and colleges in the country. It also needs to have linkages with other MTIs in other developing countries.

7. Ibid., p.49.

8. Siffin, "Factors Involved in Evaluation", p.272.

9. H.S. Wanasinghe, "Some Issues Relating to Institution Building for Management Development" in Inayatullah, (ed.), Management Training for Development, pp.89-119, (94).

10. For a good discussion of some of these motives see Bernard Schaffer, (ed.), Administrative Training and Development, especially the Introduction.

11. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization", p.74.

12. Blaise, "Strategies of Institution Building", p.295. See also Carlos P. Ramos, "Identifying Training Needs and Methods in Context of Management Development" in Inayatullah, (ed.), Management Training for Development, pp.233-250.

13. Ibid., p.296.

14. Ibid.

## Chapter 8

## Institutional Autonomy as a Factor for a Training Institution's Capability

A training institution's ability to innovate and develop new ideas, methods and procedures is closely related to the extent to which its environment permits it adequate autonomy. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the various ways in which institutional autonomy affects the level of performance that a training institution can attain. The basic premise of this chapter is that the greater the autonomy granted to a training institution the greater is its potential to achieve a high impact upon its environment and therefore upon the processes of change and development. It must, however, be borne in mind that being granted institutional autonomy and exercising that autonomy are two different things.

Institutional autonomy or functional autonomy is the freedom, authority and power that a training institution has and is able to exercise in determining its programmes and other activities, as well as in deciding on its doctrine, functions and initiatives, without external interference, pressure or threats to its resource base. The concept of institutional autonomy implies that the training institution has confidence that the resources it gets from the environment will not be withdrawn when the institute exercises such autonomy.[1] For their own effectiveness, training institutions are usually anxious to have enough freedom of action to make it possible for them to realise their mission. Such freedom is essential

if the institution is to promote change and administrative improvement in the country in which it is located.

The training institution must be free to advocate administrative changes and propose specific reforms without fear of adverse consequences, such as a reduction in financial assistance or dismissal of outspoken members of its staff. Institutional autonomy also implies that the institution is free to plan its own teaching or training programmes, as well as determine the content of the instruction to be offered. It also implies that trainers and researchers are not held individually responsible or accountable for opinions or conclusions expressed in the process of carrying out their designated tasks, as long as they do so according to generally accepted academic traditions.[2]

Institutional autonomy should also cover such aspects of the training process as methods to be used in training and in conducting research. Some control is certainly desirable with regard to what to conduct research on, especially in developing countries. The methods to be used in the research process should, however, be left to the training institution to decide. Also related to this, is the freedom for the training institution to decide what books, journals and other training material it needs to acquire for its purposes [3] and what kinds of publications it should disseminate to its clientele organizations and to society at large.

The institutional autonomy of a training institution is largely dependent on its location in the

developmental system, and its status. Samuel Paul presents

three possible approaches to considering  the relationship

between institutional location and autonomy:

> .  .  .  when  a government sets up  a  training
> institution  and  manages it departmentally, the
> normal  tendency  is  to  transfer  government's
> administrative system and practices  to  the new
> organization.  Thus,  recruitment  of  trainees,
> distribution  of  authority,  decision-making
> processes,  and  financial  regulations  may  be
> based  on  government's which  may  be  quite
> inappropriate to the  institution concerned. The
> establishment  of such practices  and systems in
> the  early  stages have a  long-term  impact on the
> way the institution will be managed. [4]

The limitation  on autonomy of the training institution so

located  can,  and  often  does,  militate  against  that

institution  deviating  to  any  recognisable degree  from

established  government  policies  and  procedures.  This

obviously has a constraining effect upon the generation of

innovations  by the training institution.  The institution

will  be  expected,  if  not  required,  to  conform  to

ministerial  or  departmental  directives since it will be

perceived  as just like any other government department or

division. At best, such a situation can only  lead  to the

training  institution performing  the maintenance role for

the administrative system,  and  scarcely,  if  ever,  the

innovative  and  pro-active role.  This  has  a  retarding

effect on change  and development since it tends to merely

strengthen and fortify the status quo.

The  second approach presented by Samuel Paul  is

that of a university faculty based training institution:

> .  .  .  the operating  culture of the university
> casts a dominant  influence on the institution's
> management. If the  university itself is  highly
> bureaucratic and  centralised in its management,

> it is unlikely that the new department will be
> given any autonomy or allowed to experiment with
> new ways of planning and organization. The poor
> performance of some university departments of
> administration can be attributed to the
> inadequacies of their approaches to
> institutional development in their formative
> years.[5]

The UN Handbook of Training notes that " . . . the reason

for the university affiliation is to give a school or an

institute a degree of autonomy similar to that

traditionally enjoyed by universities".[6] But as Samuel

Paul notes, this does not always mean that the training

institution will obtain such a degree of autonomy, nor

does it necessarily mean that such autonomy will be

exercised to the extent of energising the innovative and

pro-active role. In some countries national universities

fall under the direct supervision of a government official

or ministry [7], in which case the university-affiliated

training institution, although a step away from government

control, may in effect be doubly constrained. The UN

Handbook of Training rightly observes: "In such a case,

the university affiliation of the training institution may

not seem to be much different from an official status".[8]

University affiliation is generally divided into

two different possibilities. The training institution may

be established as part of a university faculty or

department; or it may be created as an independent faculty

or department of the university: "The latter position has

been favoured in some cases as contributing to a greater

degree of autonomy for the training institution".[9] This

leads into the third approach of institutional location as it pertains to institutional autonomy. Samuel Paul writes:

> Evidence of the third approach is found in the establishment of several autonomous institutions. Whether established under public or private auspices, these institutions show a more sensitive understanding of the management systems and practices required for their proper functioning even though, at times, the concept of autonomy has remained nominal.[10]

Thus, while it appears logically correct to assume that independent training institutions would have the highest possible levels of autonomy, it is, however, also true that such autonomy may not necessarily be easy to exercise. In some cases it may even be counter-productive to exercise it.

Whether a training institution is granted adequate autonomy is thus one question; whether and to what extent it is going to exercise such autonomy in its operations is another question. In terms of potentialities, however, independent training institutions seem to be considerably ahead of both government training institutions and university affiliated institutions. Assuming all other factors to be constant and equal, the picture which seems to emerge on a graph is as expressed in Chart 8.1.

Chart 8.1

Relationship between institutional location and autonomy

Potential
level of
autonomy
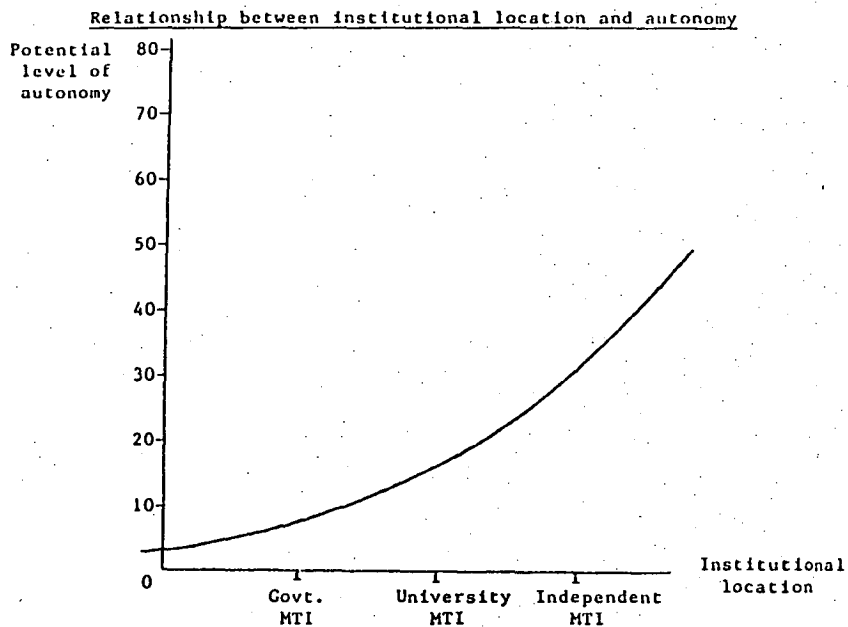
Chart 8.1 obviously paints a simplistic and unrealistic picture. The sole purpose of Chart 8.1 is to show the relationship between institutional location and autonomy. This is important in the sense that it significantly affects the level of performance or effectiveness that the training institution will be able to attain. This again is meant in potential terms, since it would not be correct to state that a highly autonomous training institution will necessarily be an innovative and effective institution.

Effective exercise of institutional autonomy depends upon several other factors. One such factor is financial viability or financial dependence. It was noted in an earlier chapter that training institutions that are financially dependent on their governments tend to have limited or restricted functional autonomy. The various forms of control, characteristic of bureaucratic organizations, are not appropriate for an innovative

training institution. Given that the majority of MTIs in developing countries are government controlled, it should come as no surprise that these institutions have largely been ineffective in bringing about meaningful guided change to their societies. The restricted nature of their assumed institutional autonomy militates against their playing the innovative and pro-active role in the administrative and development systems of these countries. This is more so where change is perceived as likely to threaten the vested interests of those in power, whether they be politicians or administrative elites.

Table 8.1 below shows the patterns of governance of the 22 training institutions studied by Inayatullah in the Asian region.

TABLE 8.1
Patterns of Governance of 22 Training Institutions

|  | Names of institutions | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| The institution has an autonomous status and/or governing council which formulates its policies and programmes | AASC | (Australia) |
|  | ASCI | (India) |
|  | ASC | (New Zealand) |
|  | ASC | (Pakistan) |
|  | ASC | (Papua New Guinea) |
|  | CEDA | (Nepal) |
|  | IIPA | (India) |
|  | NIDA | (Thailand) |
|  | NIPA | (Bangladesh) |
|  | NIPA | (Karachi, Pakistan) |
|  | NSA | (Vietnam) |
| The institution lacks autonomous status and is directly run by the government through a central ministry | AAS | (Sri Lanka) |
|  | COTI | (Korea) |
|  | IPA | (Japan) |
|  | NAA | (India) |
|  | NIA | (Indonesia) |
|  | INTAN | (Malaysia) |
|  | SMTC | (Iran) |
|  | STI | (Singapore) |
| Part of a university, school of public administration or a separate unit directly controlled by the university board of regents. | ACAD | (Korea) |
|  | PEA | (Philippines) |

Source: Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization", p. 54

At a glance, it appears as if non-government training institutions form the biggest of the three groups as shown in Table 8.1. Close study, however, reveals that Inayatullah groups together all training institutions, public and private or independent, which are controlled by a board of governors or some such allegedly autonomous controlling body or council, in the first and largest group. He points out that some training institutions, although created by governments and funded from government funds do have a corporate status in law. These institutions are under governing bodies which frame the training and other policies as well as make the major

decisions with regard to the programmes and activities of these institutions.[11] In some cases these institutions have a regular membership whose responsibility is, inter alia, to elect, at regular intervals, the members of the boards of governors. For other institutions in this broad group the board of governors is composed of ministerial appointees, some of whom may indeed be serving civil servants representing the various ministries of government.

Whether a government training institution which has corporate status is able to attain higher levels of institutional autonomy than a university affiliated or a government training institution under an establishing ministry depends on several other factors. Such factors as the quality of the board members; the quality and outlook of the institutional leaders and staff; and the mission, doctrine, ideology and linkages all play a part. Some of these factors will be dealt with later in this study. What may be necessary to point out at this stage is that a governing council which consists mainly of serving and former civil servants is not very likely to encourage the training institution along the innovative path. There is likely to be more of conformity with, rather than departures from, established government procedures and practices in the institution's programmes. Inayatullah aptly observes:

> Frequently, most members of these councils are government servants, who naturally seek consistency between the policies and programmes of the training institutions and the requirements of their ministries and general

government policies. Thus, autonomy for these
institutions is defined within this framework.
Consequently, in the event of a conflict between
the imperatives of innovation and those of
consistency and conformity with government
policies and programmes,[12] the dictates of
conformity usually prevail.

This situation is exacerbated by the fact that in
some cases, the directors and staff of the training
institutions are appointed, promoted or transferred, not
by these governing councils, but by the establishing
ministries. They are therefore more accountable and
responsive to the whims and directives of parent
ministries:

This creates a disposition towards conformity
with ministerial directives and towards the
avoidance of risking their necks by advocating
the cause of institutional autonomy. As a
consequence of these constraints, most training
institutions tend to act as government
departments even when nominally they have
autonomous corporate status.[13]

The issue of institutional leadership and staff
will be dealt with in the next chapter of this study. It
is, however, necessary to briefly note at this stage, that
the exercise of institutional autonomy by government
institutions tends to be regarded by the leaders of these
institutions as dangerous for their careers, in spite of
the corporate status of the institutions. It is also
timely to restate the central view of this study at this
point: that a management training institution in a
post-colonial situation, to be appropriately effective,
and to have a significant impact upon its environment,
must, of necessity, be able to perform the innovative and
pro-active role. It must also be realised that the

situation described above is also partly due to inappropriate government personnel policies which, it may be argued, are not entirely the responsibility of training institutions. The fact remains, however, that this situation tends to cause training institutions to remain largely ineffective as agents of change and development in their societies. Inayatullah writes:

> This type of relationship with the government tends to impart the training institutions with an orientation of pragmatic adaptation to the dominant milieu rather than of reshaping the environment in the light of institutional doctrine and professional norms.[14]

The undesirability of this situation is also echoed by Blaise:

> Nothing would be more dysfunctional for public service improvement than a public service training institute that develops rigid routines, techniques and approaches, that loses its capacity to innovate. A training institute that does not constantly search for and adapt itself to new knowledge, new techniques, and new environmental conditions has a retarding rather than an innovative effect of government and public service development.[15]

It was pointed out in Chapter 5 of this study that some MTIs in developing countries were created with the assistance of foreign aid. It was also noted in Chapter 7 that some of the aided training institutions developed close links with related foreign institutions, to the extent that some of these aided institutions were staffed (or partly staffed) with foreign technical "experts". It would therefore appear that this strong foreign technical assistance may in one way or another affect the institutional autonomy of an aided training institution in a developing country.

Zoe Allen gives a detailed account of the relationships that do sometimes exist between aid agencies and trainers in the field in developing countries.[16] The major aspect of these relations, which concerns this present chapter is the way the trainers are heavily dependent upon the aid agency for support of various forms. The dependency is such that the trainers find themselves with little option but to compromise their professional position. The trainers tend to have difficulties in establishing areas of operational autonomy [17], largely because of this relationship with the aid agency. Zoe Allen writes:

> . . . the existence of a contract from the aid agency to an American university did not protect the trainers from accountability in relatively trivial practical matters . . . In practice, the contracting universities often felt themselves so tied down by reporting and clearance procedures that they wondered whether the term 'private contract' was a misnomer.[18]

It must, however, be explained that this situation usually develops in cases where tied aid was used to assist a developing country. Zoe Allen continues:

> . . . there was always the consideration that, except in the very short term, the material existence of a particular training effort and the resources for its housekeeping were dependent on the fiat of the aid agency. Its control of the purse-strings imposed a short time horizon on the local training, and renewals of contract could not be taken for granted. That this was felt as a constraint is clear from the frequency of appeals for less tied financial allocations.[19]

This dependency relationship directly affected the field-based foreign trainers and also indirectly and adversely affected the training institutions at which they

were based. It was pointed out earlier in this chapter
that total dependence for financial resources on one
source tends to lead to limited autonomy for a training
institution. The case of foreign technical assistance is
also worsened by the fact that the trainers in the field
may also have to depend on the aid agency and diplomatic
officials for political contacts in the very countries in
which they were based:

> It was most often the case that the trainers
> lacked political contacts of their own, and so
> were forced to rely on diplomatic or aid agency
> channels for establishing such links.[20]

This is a rather interesting demonstration of the
relationships between institutional genesis, linkages and
autonomy. Thus, while the foreign "experts", and therefore
the training institutions at which they were based, had
the semblance of virtually unlimited autonomy, as far as
the local environment was concerned, they became distant
from, if not over-insulated against, the very environment
they sought to benefit. One could almost say, as far as
their environments were concerned, these institutions were
"a necessary evil". This certainly reinforces what was
stated about the need for maximum participation at the
formative stage of a training institution, and also what
was cautioned against with regard to the forging of
functional and enabling linkages with foreign technical
institutions, and the neglect of equivalent if not much
stronger ties with elements in the institution's
environment.

In relation to the aid agency or agencies, however, the reverse of the above seems to have been the case. The "experts" and their institutions had such restricted autonomy that there were not only threats to their resource bases, but attempts were also made to influence or interfere with their professional activities:

> In the case of the Vietnam Institute of Public Administration, founded under a contract to Michigan State University, there was a confrontation over the teaching of economics in 1960. A member of the Institute staff refused to pursue the current official line and to advise Vietnamese devaluation in a class of which the Vice-President was a member. The United States Operations Mission threatened as a result to cancel the contract.[21]

Intervention of this nature by forces "external" to the training institution constitutes what may be termed "institutional bullying" or "institutional intimidation".[22] By definition, however, the situation described above clearly demonstrates that these training institutions lacked genuine autonomy largely because of their genesis; their weak linkages with their local environments; and their heavy dependence on aid agencies for finance and other forms of support. Zoe Allen accurately observes:

> The particular nature of all immediate problems faced by trainers can be related to a single characteristic of training in technical assistance: its structural isolation from the public service at which it is aimed. Each problem thus becomes a problem of access and linkage.[23]

Finally, a situation where a technically assisted training institution fails to have any meaningful impact upon its environment becomes easier to understand when

some of the conditions or terms of the aid packages are considered. For example, some donor agencies make the acceptance of administrative assistance by a developing state a prerequisite for other forms of aid.[24] When such administrative assistance comes in the form of a training institution or "expert" trainers, it is quite possible that the political and administrative elites in the recipient country may well ignore, if not be subtly hostile to, such an institution and its foreign staff. This, obviously, has far-reaching implications for the training institution's autonomy and its overall impact upon the processes of change and development in the recipient country.

Conclusion:

This chapter has analysed the various ways in which institutional autonomy affects the performance of a training institution in a developing country. The level of autonomy determines the level of academic freedom that a training institution will be at liberty to exercise without interference from the environment, or threats to withdraw the various forms of resources and support it needs. Autonomy is, however, closely related to such other institutional factors as genesis, location, linkages and dynamics of support mobilisation. It has been argued that the lower the institutional autonomy of a training institution, the more limited is likely to be its impact on its environment. Freedom to experiment with new ideas, to develop new methods and procedures, and to depart from

current administrative practice and procedures, is essential if a training institution is to adequately and effectively perform the innovative and pro-active role. While foreign technical assistance can benefit a training institution in a post-colonial developing state, it can also be manipulated to create serious dependency and impose limitations on the institution's autonomy. The tendency to closely link foreign technical aid with the donor's foreign policy often results in the MTIs being left in the cold, as it were, by the very politico-administrative systems they are created to service and improve. It also leads to what has been termed here "institutional bullying" of the foreign "experts" by those who foot the bill for their activities in the recipient country. The importance of genuine institutional autonomy for maximum institutional effectiveness cannot be over-emphasized.

<u>References and Notes - Chapter 8</u>

1. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization Through
   Management Training: A Study of 22 Training
   Institutions in Asia" in Inayatullah, (ed.),
   <u>Management Training for Development: The Asian</u>
   <u>Experience</u>, Asia Centre for Development
   Administration, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1975,
   pp.17-87, (52).

2. United Nations, <u>Handbook of Training in the Public</u>
   <u>Service</u>, United Nations Publication, Sales
   No.66.11.H.1, United Nations, New York, 1966, p.151.

3. Ibid., p.152.

4. Samuel Paul, <u>Training for Public Administration and</u>
   <u>Management in Developing Countries: A Review</u>, World
   Bank Staff Working Papers, No.584, World Bank,
   Washington, 1983, p.67.
   An interesting exception is the INTAN case (Chapter
   11), where the training institution is provided with
   adequate autonomy to deviate from normal civil
   service regulations and procedures and is also
   allowed to operate its own budget.

5. Ibid., p.68.

6. United Nations, <u>Handbook of Training</u>, p.154.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., p.155.
   See pp.157-162 of this source for a discussion of the
   advantages and disadvantages of university
   affiliation for an MTI.

10. Samuel Paul, <u>Training for Public Administration</u>,
    p.68.

11. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization", p.52.

12. Ibid., p.53.

13. Ibid., pp.53-54.

14. Ibid., p.55.

15. H.C. Blaise, "Analysis of Selected Strategies of
    Institution Building for Public Service" in
    Inayatullah, (ed.), <u>Management Training for</u>
    <u>Development</u>, pp.285-299, (297).

16. Zoe Allen, "From Shirt-Sleeve Diplomacy and
    Localization to Aid for Development Administration:

The Foreign Support Element" in Bernard Schaffer, (ed.), _Administrative Training and Development: A Comparative Study of East Africa, Zambia, Pakistan and India_, Praeger, New York, 1974, pp.69-123, (70).

17. Ibid., pp.74-75.

18. Ibid., p.75.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., p.76.

21. Ibid.

22. My own coinage; institutional intimidation may be defined as external interference with the professional activities of an MTI for political and/or other reasons.

23. Zoe Allen, "The Foreign Support Element", p.91. In some cases it can also be a problem of over-insulation of the MTI from its task environment. See also Bernard Schaffer, "The Situations of Training" in Schaffer, (ed.), _Administrative Training and Development_, pp.383-445.

24. Ibid., p.80.

Chapter 9

Institutional Leadership as a Factor for the Capability of a Management Training Institution

In a post-colonial situation, institution building is a strategy of planned and guided change. This change is deliberately induced by either introducing reforms to existing structures and organizations, or by creating new organizations. The formal organization is, therefore, a central feature of the concept of institution building. It is the formal organization which aggregates the technical skills that are required to perform innovative services and the commitments needed to promote, protect and guide innovations in an indifferent and sometimes hostile environment. The formal organization is able to do this through its leadership and personnel. It is the contention of this study that the degree to which a training institution, as a formal organization, is able to have a positive and desirable impact upon its environment depends to a considerable extent upon its leadership. Institutional leadership, for the purpose of this study, is taken to include the national political leaders, the administrative elites, the technical experts and other personnel - directors and trainers - who form the staff of a training institution.

The formal organization requires competent and committed leadership, at all levels, which is essential for building a viable organization and for managing its external relations or linkages. This leadership constitutes the core of change agents which has the task of formulating and deploying the organization's doctrine,

(i.e. a group of themes designed to achieve a shared sense of purpose and cohesion within the organization) and to project a favourable image to the external environment. The doctrine of the organization, as spelt out by the leadership, forms the organization's programme, which, in essence, is an operational expression of its doctrine.

The purpose of the choice of programmes for the organization - in this instance the training institution - should be to enhance access to resources, which in turn reduces the cost to the organization, of achieving change objectives. As has been noted in earlier chapters, the training institution's environment contains several other organizations which compete with it for the same resources. The organization's leadership is therefore continually confronted with the temptation to facilitate its access to scarce resources by forms of compromise with, or accommodation to, the status quo. This has the effect of sacrificing, or at least deferring, the organization's innovative purposes.

It is also the responsibility of the formal organization's leadership to develop its internal structure so that it may have the requisite technical ability, communications capacities, and the authority systems for the production and delivery of services, and, as was stated earlier, to enable the organization to interact effectively with its external environment. In the context of the concept of institution building, Blaise defines leadership of an MTI as:

> The group of persons who are actively engaged in
> the formulation of the doctrine and program of
> the institution and who direct its operation and
> relationships with the environment.[1]

Thus, the leaders of a training institution act as a vital
link between the MTI and its environment. They mobilise
support for the MTI's activities and also articulate and
propagate its objectives, doctrine and ideology.[2] As has
been noted above, and will be dealt with in a later
chapter, they also have the crucial task of determining
the appropriate organizational structure of the training
institution and decide on its operational strategy.

The leadership should be committed to the
nationally defined development objectives and to the
objectives and doctrine of the training institution. This
commitment must be genuine and authentic, and never
doubtful or shaky, if the institution is to be effective.
The task of identifying the role and then charting its
functions is not an easy one. The leadership must
therefore take into careful consideration the
environment's or the government's development and
administrative reform strategies, cultural norms and
values, as well as the politicians' perceived and
articulated direction in which society should move.
Careful and accurate consideration of these factors is
essential for accurate formulation and articulation of the
training institution's mission, doctrine, goals,
objectives and programmes. These are among the key factors
that can enhance the training institution's relevance,
acceptability and therefore its effectiveness.

Continuity of leadership is one of the more important variables in the process of institution building. According to Wanasinghe, continuity of effective institutional leadership enhances the capability of a training institution to:

- gain acceptance from the environment;

- strengthen enabling and functional linkages and mobilise support from the environment;

- enhance the real autonomy of the institution;

- set goals;

- develop organization structures, etc. which are consistent with institutional goals;

- attract and retain staff of high quality.[3]

A high turn-over of leadership, especially effective leadership, is unhealthy for a training institution since it tends to disrupt the factors listed above.

The UN Handbook of Training in the Public Service suggests:

> The direction of a school or an institute should be confided to an officer of sufficiently high rank to reflect the prestige of the institution, and to enable him to communicate on an equal plane with the heads of the elements of the administration which are served by the school or institute.[4]

This is important because the degree of rapport between leadership and the institutional environment, the level of acceptance of the leadership by the client organizations, as well as the responsiveness of the staff to the institutional goals set by the leadership, have a correlation with several independent leadership variables.

The degree of rapport with the environment is influenced by the level of professionalism of the leader. It is also influenced by the level of respect accorded the leader by society because of his achievements both in the field of management and in other fields of activity. In most cases client organizations, or the environment may hold traditional values of achievement. In such instances, mere technical competence on the part of the training institution's leadership is not considered to be adequate to positively influence the rapport that the institution will have with its environment. On the other hand, seniority alone, without recognized technical or professional competence is also considered to be undesirable and indeed, unproductive. Wanasinghe rightly notes:

> One of the important elements in the institution
> building process, therefore, would be the task
> of balancing the need for acceptable technical
> competence with the need for a certain level of
> seniority in the selection of institutional
> leaders.[5]

In determining the suitability of a training institution's leadership it must be borne in mind that acceptable and effective leadership must be able to develop appropriate relations with three major groups in the institution building process. The groups are the environment, the client systems and the staff of the institution. Interpersonal skills contribute to the enhancement of all three groups of relationships.[6] In addition to this, the executive officer, principal or director, of a training institution should have adequate

political sensitivity and adaptability to political changes. These qualities will enable the training institution to attain continuing rapport with its staff and all the relevant publics in its environment. This in turn will enhance the institution's image and level of impact upon the developmental processes of its society.

A controversial aspect of the question of a training institution's leader is whether the incumbent should be an outstanding academician or an experienced senior civil servant. Most university-affiliated training institutions tend to be headed by a leading academic such as a professor. Critics of this arrangement are quick to point out that an academic tends to adopt a theoretical and somewhat unrealistic attitude in dealing with development and administrative problems. He would therefore not be suitable for the training of practising development administrators. On the other hand, a senior civil servant of long standing could be criticised as less research-inclined than an academic and conservative in his approach to training, and therefore unsuitable for an institution intended to play an innovative role. It is argued that a senior civil servant is unlikely to encourage the staff of the training institution to initiate possible changes for national administration; he would rather they train participants in the established administrative practices and procedures with which he is familiar. This would only further enhance the status quo rather than lead to progressive change and development.

An ideal individual would probably be one with both academic excellence and a good measure of administrative experience. Regrettably, however, in most developing countries such individuals are a scarce resource. The location of a training institution does have a bearing on the calibre or orientation of its leadership. As stated earlier, university-affiliated MTIs tend to have academics as directors. The usual practice for government training institutions is to have an experienced senior civil servant as director of the institution. Autonomous training institutions are largely more flexible, preferring to have the training institution headed by a competent all-rounder. Foreign technically assisted institutions also tend to be headed by so-called experts and, as will be shown later, this arrangement does have its advantages and disadvantages.

A further factor which comes into play with regard to institutional leadership is the factor of the overall personnel policies which affect or govern the training institution. For most government training institutions the personnel of the institution fall within the national civil service personnel field, and this has implications for the training institution. The senior civil servant turned director tends to feel accountable to the institution's establishing ministry rather than to the governing body or to the clientele organizations, thus limiting the training institution's autonomy, as noted in the previous chapter.

> This creates a disposition towards conformity
> with ministerial directives and towards the
> avoidance of risking their necks by advocating
> the cause of institutional autonomy.

That this has a constraining effect on the training
institution's effectiveness was demonstrated in the
previous chapter.

One of the stated tasks of leadership is that of
designing the organizational structure and operations of
the training institution. If the director of the
institution is a senior civil servant, the chances are
that he will structure the institution hierarchically,
obviously in conformity with what he is used to in
government ministries. This has implications for the
effectiveness of the training institution, as Inayatullah
observes:

> The determining effect of the leadership role
> increases when organizational structure is
> highly centralized and the autonomy of other
> roles in the organization is restricted, as
> under such conditions, the perceptions,
> attitudes, and ideas of the leader exercise
> great influence on the policies and work of the
> institutions.[8]

The training institution may thus end up operating, and
will be regarded by client organizations, as just another
government department, with no more right nor capacity to
induce or suggest changes than other departments. The
training institution's efforts at bringing about reforms
may, therefore, be frustrated.

Thus the status quo and bureaucratic orientation
of the leader can be an obstacle to a training
institution's potential to effectively perform the

innovative and pro-active role for its environment. Inayatullah writes:

> As most training institutions lack participative ideology and function like government departments, the leadership function is usually concentrated at the top of the administrative hierarchy from where ideas, initiative, directives, and commands flow downward to the rest of the organization. Intermediate roles of leadership are either non-existent or weak. Consequently administrative[9] paralysis usually prevails at the extremities.

Another consideration that requires careful attention when deciding on a training institution's leadership is that of academic qualifications. In most developing states directors of these institutions are usually university graduates. A few institutions are headed by individuals who hold such higher degrees as MA or PhD. Depending on the genesis and location of the institution the choice of the type of leadership again indicates a preference for graduate civil servants or former civil servants. Inayatullah found this to be true in his study of 22 training institutions in Asia:

> A survey of the professional background of the 18 heads of the training institutions included in this study shows that in 13 institutions the director came from regular government services. In the remaining five institutions they were either members of a university service or were retired civil servants.[10]

That a civil servant or former civil servant director is inclined to be more practical in his approach to the training of civil servants is not disputed in this study. What is, however, at issue here is the ultimate level of performance of the training institution as a

change agent given the dynamic nature of the post-colonial situation. Inayatullah continues:

> While this (the fact that the institutions were headed by civil servants and former civil servants) in certain cases raised to a certain degree government support for the training institutions, it also strengthened their status quo orientation, and limited their freedom to develop an innovative role.[11]

Paper qualification is also important because it has significant bearing on the prestige that a training institution will be accorded by its task environment. It also has a bearing on the leadership's attitude towards such functions of the training institution as research and consultancy - functions which are vital for institutional relevance, acceptability and for the effective execution of the innovative and pro-active role. As shall be shown later in this chapter, the director's academic qualifications and general outlook do influence the training institution's ability to attract and, more importantly retain, suitably qualified and experienced staff.

The pattern of leadership recruitment also has implications for the aspect of continuity referred to earlier. Noting, in his study of 6 training institutions, that institutions which have relied for leadership on regular civil service personnel have tended to have high turn-overs in leadership, Wanasinghe cautions:

> The experience of the institutions studied raises a doubt in one's mind as to the advisability of adopting the practice of depending on the regular civil service for the directors of management development institutions.[12]

Table 9.1 below summarizes Wanasinghe's findings with
regard to continuity in the six institutions. To remedy

TABLE 9.1
Extent of Continuity of Leadership in Six Institutions

| | No. of years in existence | No. of Directors | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| N.I.P.A., Dacca | 13 years | 11 | 7 Directors since May 1970 |
| Academy of Administrative Studies Sri Lanka | 7 " | 4 | 3 Directors since May 1971 |
| National Institute of Management Sri Lanka | 7 " | 2 | Without a permanent Director for the last year |
| A.S.C.I., India | 14 " | 3 | - |
| B.A.R.D., Bangladesh | 14 " | 3 | - |
| A.R.T.I., Sri Lanka | 4 " | 3 | 2 |

Source: "Issues Relating to Institution Building",
Wanasinghe, H.S., p. 98.

this problem of high turnover, Wanasinghe suggests that
recruitment be based on contract terms:

> . . . the specific recruitment of directors, on
> a contract period which provides an adequate
> time-span for carrying through a programme,
> would appear to be an impelling factor in the
> process of institution building, and could with
> advantage, be adopted - depending on the
> situation - by institution builders.[13]

This seems to be a possible way of ensuring that
for a pre-determined period the training institution can
be assured of continuity of leadership. That is, of
course, assuming that no drastic changes take place in the
institution's environment during the period of the

contract, something which cannot be readily guaranteed in most developing countries. The major obstacle to the implementation of this solution is, however, the implications it levels at national administrative personnel policies, particularly with the career advancement of would-be director civil servants. Unless careful specific arrangements are made to ensure that while on a five-year directorship stint, a senior civil servant does not miss out on his normal or regular advancement in the service, many a suitable civil servant would be wary of being party to the directorship contract mentioned above.

Wanasinghe's proposed solution has the advantage of facilitating a reasonable measure of finding out the level of performance of the training institution in relation to the contracted leadership for that period. The fact that the evaluation of training and of the impact of training institutions is fraught with indeterminacies and serious difficulties, however, means that this advantage can indeed be elusive. Thus, unless there are carefully thought-out built-in career safeguards and methods of performance evaluation, the solution is likely to result in little more than a fair amount of leadership continuity. Whether the other benefits which normally accrue to the MTI as a result of this continuity would follow is not only difficult to ascertain, but may also be dependent on several other variables, some of which may indeed be external to the field of training. The fact that

continuity of leadership is crucial to the effectiveness
of a training institution is, however, not disputed.

In addition to the various qualifications
discussed in this chapter, the leader of a training
institution also needs to have what may be regarded as
appropriate personal qualities which should enhance his
role of leadership. He needs to have high levels of
interpersonal skills if he is to effectively foster
cohesion among the training staff and co-operation from
the environment. Secondly, he needs to have personal
commitment to the goals and objectives of the training
institution. Wanasinghe argues that:

> Available evidence also suggests that the
> charismatic ability of a founder leader to
> innovate, change existing routines, be creative
> and thereby capture the imagination of both
> institutional team and society at large could
> make a major contribution towards the process of
> institution building.[14]

Thirdly, the leader must be committed to the participative
ideology. This commitment should be radiated to all
members of the training institution staff so that they can
feel free to take full part in decision-making processes
and in suggesting new ways of furthering the objectives of
the institution. Commitment to the participative ideology
and its exercise, however, does not mean abdication for
the leader. He must remain at the helm of institutional
authority and guide the institution along the optimum
pathway to achieve its stated goals and objectives. These
personal qualities play a significant role in the style of
leadership that will result, and therefore affect the

level of effectiveness that the training institution will
achieve. Wanasinghe concludes:

> The tendency which is reflected in some
> development administration systems to treat the
> role of institution leader as one that can be
> performed by any available member of a higher
> civil service is one which has to be guarded
> against if the efforts at institution building
> are to succeed.[15]

In the final analysis, it must be accepted that
the level of acceptability of a training institution and
the level of support it gets from elements depends heavily
on the leadership's formal and non-formal relations with
society's leaders. In any society, the national political
leaders and the administrative leaders are the major
elements that the training institution's leadership must
have effective functional linkages with. These relations
will enable the training institution to accurately
identify its role as well as the administrative system's
training needs:

> Functioning in the concrete setting of a society
> and political system, training institutions
> cannot totally define their own role. Nor can
> they create the ideal conditions for their
> optimal functioning. The various constraints
> emanating from society, the political and
> administrative system set the limits within
> which their role is defined and conditions for
> effective functioning become available.[16]

Effective linkages with the political and
administrative leaders should further facilitate accurate
identification of national development strategies by the
training institution. The role of leadership in forging
and managing these linkages is crucial to the overall
effectiveness and relevance of the institution. Care must,
however, be taken to ensure that these linkages do not

eventually lead to the training institution's autonomy
being threatened. It is the responsibility of
institutional leadership to protect and exercise the
autonomy of the training institution:

> In countries where distribution of power is
> highly centralised, and the elite is oriented to
> the preservation of the status quo, the
> functional autonomy of training institutions
> would be limited as an autonomous training
> institution could foster changes in
> administration incompatible with the orientation
> of the regime in power. In such countries, the
> learning capacity of the training institutions
> would be weak, to the extent that their contact
> with social reality is restricted to officially
> approved channels of information.[11]

Striking the balance between appropriate linkages and
sacrificing institutional autonomy, thus, becomes an
essential leadership skill. It is a skill which can enable
the training institution to participate in formulation of
national development policies, goals and objectives. It is
a skill which can facilitate the introduction of
appropriate changes to existing administrative structures,
practices and procedures:

> The degree to which the institution, its
> leadership and staff, participate in the process
> of national (as well as sectoral and regional)
> developmental policy formulation is an important
> factor . . . "[18]
>     It is expedient at this juncture to make a few

observations with regard to foreign "experts" as
institutional leaders. It was noted in Part I that
effective performance of the innovative role requires a
substantive leadership role. It was also pointed out that
an expatriate expert may have considerable difficulty in
playing this leadership role in a developing country.
Samuel Paul writes:

> . . . when donor agencies collaborate with local
> institutions they tend to influence the latter's
> design and management . . . the basic question
> to ask is whether the approach selected will
> contribute to institution uilding. An
> inappropriate institutional culture can be
> transferred by appointing persons from other
> working cultures with different values.[19]

So-called foreign experts commonly occupy positions of

leadership at public training institutions in developing

countries; this often leads to a transfer of values and

techniques that may not be appropriate for the developing

country. Consequently the relevance of the institution and

its acceptance by the environment may be jeopardized.

It has also been pointed out that foreign

"experts" often lack appropriate political contacts in the

countries in which the training institutions are based.

What was noted in this chapter about the need for the

institutional leadership to develop a high level of

rapport with its environment, and particularly with the

national political and administrative elites, becomes an

impossible task for the foreign "expert" heading a

training institution. Zoe Allen rightly observes:

> . . . the more common pattern was that, whatever
> the rhetoric, governments were content to
> tolerate training rather than actively to
> support or make use of it.[20]

This situation usually develops where the foreign

technical assistance to the training institution is

donated as a prerequisite for other more desirable aid.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the training

institution's effectiveness is going to be seriously

restricted. As noted in Part I, the other dysfunctional

consequences of foreign advisers at training institutions

in developing countries include: that the institution tends to have the image of an alien institution "lacking authenticity and local roots"[21]; that the disproportionate influence of foreign "experts" on the policy making and decision-making processes leads to "loss of self-steering capacity as well as to a lack of relevance"[22]; that this often leads to "overwhelming of the intellectual originality and realism engendering indiscriminate imitativeness and loss of capacity to see problems in their true perspective".[23] These dysfunctional consequences, although they might not all be evident or applicable at all aided training institutions, certainly mean that the choice of a foreign expert as a leader of a public training institution should be made as a last resort and only after these consequences have been considered. This situation also applies to the appointment of foreign advisers to other staff positions at training institutions, not just to leadership positions.

The appointment of a foreign "expert" as a leader of a training institution in a developing country does not, however, always result in weak linkages with the local political and administrative elites. In cases where such appointment is made at the request of the recipient country it is usually the case that the foreign adviser is able to develop very close and strong linkages with the seat of power in the recipient country. His advice may

even be valued more than the advice of national trainers, in which case he should enable the training institution to have a high level of influence on what goes on in government and in administrative circles. Whether the training institution will, as a result, be able to introduce into the administrative system, appropriate reforms, is questionable. for one thing, it is very doubtful whether the foreign adviser is competent or qualified enough to know what is best or appropriate for the recipient country, given the adviser's own pre-conceived ideas of what constitutes a good public administrator, as opposed to the indigenous people's conception of the administrator as per local values, norms and aspirations. the view of this study is that, in the main, the foreign adviser is usually not knowledgeable enough on local conditions and circumstances to do more than ease, for the recipient country, the obvious acculturation process that will result.

There is a further way in which the close relations that a foreign leader can develop with those in political power can have adverse effects on the training institution's performance. Extremely close links with national political leadership can lead to interference with the activities, functions, doctrine and professional standards of the training institution. Zoe Allen cites the case of Vietnam where an institute under a government agency was staffed with foreign trainers. The institute had close links with the then President, Diem:

> . . . the close link with the President laid the public administration team open to undue interference from him. Disagreement also arose about the definition of the training function. Diem apparently wanted graduates to be acquainted with the existing laws and ordinances. The trainers saw their function as that of "producing effective high level civil servants", which was best assured by offering a broad general training . . . the close presidential link cut the institute off from other contacts, particularly academic circles, other government agencies, and the lower levels of the administration. It also meant that the Institute was subject to more or less explicit censorship. The final confrontation came when the rector of the Institute wanted to remove from the library copies of journals containing criticisms of the Diem government.[24]

It has already been argued that when the political circumstances change in the environment of a training institution so closely linked to the present regime, the chances of that institution's continued acceptance and survival are very slim. The dynamic nature of the post-colonial society, with its heightened political awareness and suspicion of everything alien makes the role of the foreign technical adviser more detrimental than beneficial to the effectiveness of the training institution in bringing about desirable change and development in the recipient country. Zoe Allen writes:

> . . . there has been the suggestion that the major constraint is the very role of the technical assistance expert since 'the process by which outside agents attempt to introduce technical change in a less-developed country is obviously based on a relationship of superiors to inferiors', likely to be greeted today by 'outright resistance and loud accusations of imperialism or neo-colonialism'.[25]

The practice of appointing foreign "experts" as directors of training institutions in developing countries is less common now than it was in the heyday of foreign

technical assistance. The inclusion of foreign "experts"
as part of the professional staff of these institutions
is, however, still common even though the numbers of these
foreign personnel are much lower now than in the period
immediately after independence. It is to the issue of
staff that this chapter now turns.

The UN Handbook of Training in the Public Service
notes:

> The professionally trained persons needed in the
> operation of a school or an institute include
> teachers, research workers, organization and
> methods specialists, and representatives of
> other specialities within the field of public
> administration.[26]

Training institutions differ in their approaches to the
issue of staffing. Staff is a resource which is a variable
dependent on the goals originally set for the institution.
It is also dependent upon the stature of the institute and
the availability of suitably qualified persons to match
the resultant staff requirements.

> In turn, the quality of the staff resource in
> terms of skill, motivation, recognition by the
> environment, nature and intensity of its own
> interactions acts as an independent variable
> which influences the acceptability of the
> institution to the environment.[27]

Some MTIs recruit their staff on a permanent basis, others
on a contract basis, and yet others obtain their staff
through deputation (secondment), mainly from the national
public service. Government training institutions tend to
use mainly this latter method while non-government
institutions prefer to employ staff on contract terms for
specified periods of time. As is shown in Table 9.2
below, some training institutions do not employ full-time

staff. Instead they rely on personnel working for other institutions to come in from time to time and conduct training.

TABLE 9.2
Patterns of Recruitment of Professional Staff
in 21 Training Institutions

|  | Name of Institutions | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Those institutions which do not have regular instructional staff and which rely on the part-time staff of other institutions | ASC | New Zealand) |
|  | IPA | (Japan) |
|  | NIA | (Indonesia) |
|  | COTI | (Korea) |
| Institutions which obtain their instructional staff primarily from regular government services | AAS | (Sri Lanka) |
|  | COTI | (Korea) |
|  | INTAN | (Malaysia) |
|  | STI | (Singapore) |
| Institutions which recruit most of their instructional staff directly | ASCI | (India) |
|  | ASC | (Pakistan) |
|  | ASC | (Papua New Guinea) |
|  | CEDA | (Nepal) |
|  | IIPA | (India) |
|  | NAA | (India) |
|  | NIDA | (Thailand) |
|  | NIPA | (Bangladesh) |
|  | NIPA | (Karachi, Pakistan) |
|  | NIPA | (Lahore, Pakistan) |
|  | NSA | (Vietnam) |
|  | PEA | (Philippines) |
|  | SMTC | (Iran) |

Source: "Administrative Modernization", Inayatullah, p. 64

As in the selection of institutional leadership, it would appear that the role that a training institution is created to perform influences the type of staff it is going to seek. The institution's location in the environment also seems to play a part. Government training institutions tend to recruit their staff through the regular civil service procedures, and the recruited staff are usually people who are working or have worked in the

civil service for some time. In the case of university affiliated institutions the tendency seems to be to recruit direct from the open market. The common practice is to seek people with some higher degree or other, and also with government service experience.

With regard to the role of the training institution it would appear that government institutions which perceive their role as largely that of conventional or maintenance training for the civil service's short-term needs tend to recruit lower percentages of individuals who hold higher degrees. Autonomous and semi-autonomous institutions, on the other hand, perceive their role as that of an innovative and pro-active nature with a long-term outlook. Consequently, they tend to seek highly qualified staff, such as Ph.D. holders, with proven research abilities. Table 9.3 below shows the results of a survey conducted by Inayatullah in his study of 22 training institutions in Asia.

TABLE 9.3
Percentage of Ph.Ds in the
staff of 13 Training Institutions

|  | Name of Institution | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Institutions in which more than 50% of staff members have a Ph.D. | IIPA | (India) |
|  | NIDA | (Thailand) |
|  | NSA | (Vietnam) |
|  | SMTC | (Iran) |
| Institutions in which 20% to 50% of staff members have a Ph.D. | AAS | (Sri Lanka) |
|  | CEDA | (Nepal) |
|  | NAA | (India) |
|  | NIPA | (Karachi,Pakistan) |
| Institutions in which less than 20% of staff members have a Ph.D. | ASC | (India) |
|  | NIPA | (Bangladesh) |
|  | INTAN | (Malaysia) |
|  | STI | (Singapore) |

(Total number of respondents = 232)

Source: "Administrative Modernization", Inayatullah, p. 66

It is interesting to note that all four institutions in which more than 50% of the staff have a Ph.D. recruit their staff directly on the market, according to Table 9.2. Three of the four in which 20% to 50% of the staff have a Ph.D. are also institutions which recruit their staff directly.

While no definite judgements can be made with regard to the effect of staff recruitment patterns and calibre of staff on the ultimate effectiveness of a training institution, several generalizations can however be drawn. Of crucial importance to the effective operation of a training institution is the issue of how to retain good quality members of staff. A high turn-over of staff is just as disruptive and harmful to institutional continuity as a high turn-over of leadership. According to

Inayatullah, an institution's ability to retain staff is related to various factors:

> To a great extent retention of staff is related to the relative prestige of the line positions, vis-a-vis staff positions, quality of leadership in the institution, the prestige it enjoys compared with other institutions which compete with it for scarce staff, and finally opportunities of further growth and development which it could offer to its staff.[28]

Especially in the cases of those institutions which recruit staff through regular government procedures, where line positions enjoy greater prestige and power than staff positions, seconded persons tend to move to line positions as soon as they get the opportunity to do so. This causes these training institutions to have higher turn-overs than in situations where both categories have equal status.

Low staff turn-overs and, therefore, a high degree of continuity leads, inter alia, to:

> better possibilities for developing team approaches; enhanced knowledgeability enabling greater participation in decision making; a better image in the eyes of the environment in terms of institutional stability.[29]

These are elements which greatly enhance the capability of the training institution. Institutions which have attained recognition and prestige nationally and internationally also seem to have fewer problems in retaining staff members of high calibre. Closely related to this is the "availability of opportunities to participate in prestigious activities outside the institution, such as policy analysis groups, foreign consultancy assignments"[30]; this enables the institution to attract and retain personnel of high calibre.

Another factor which affects a training institution's ability to retain staff is whether it has an effective participative ideology. Members of staff tend to be easily frustrated by policies and procedures which exclude them from the decision-making process of the training institution. They also resent rigid hierarchical structures in the internal organization, since these severely restrict constructive interaction among staff members across departmental lines. As shall be argued in the next chapter such restrictions have a negative effect upon the generation of innovations in the training institution.

Terms and conditions of employment play an important part in determining the quality of staff a training institution will be able to attract and retain. Wanasinghe suggests:

> In order to be sufficiently attractive to retain staff, the emoluments and other conditions of employment would need, at least in the case of the senior professional staff, to be on a par with senior decision making levels within the client organizations and with the senior profes-sional levels in academic institutions. [31]

But to be able to attain this level requires that the training institution develops highly effective enabling linkages to facilitate adequate levels of resources and other supports. This, in turn, depends on the institutional leadership's competence and skill in forging and managing such linkages, as was argued earlier.

Institutional leadership is itself a crucial factor in the attraction and retention of appropriate staff for a training institution:

> Another factor which has been referred to is the role which the stature of the leadership of institutions plays in attracting and retaining high level professional staff. Evidence exists in the cases examined, in which this factor has been able to outweigh many of the impeding factors, and where a change from prestigious leadership to non-prestigious leadership has led to movement of staff away from such institutions.[32]

Thus this factor of leadership is indeed part and parcel of what constitutes an MTI's prestige. It must be a sort of privilege to be part of the staff of a prestigious training institution. It must be just as attractive to serve under a prestigious leader. Finally, an MTI has to have, as part of its overall personnel policies, attractive staff development programmes to enable the staff to engage in self advancement to the mutual benefit of the institution and the members of staff themselves. This enhances considerably the performance of the MTI, and its impact upon the environment is bound to be high.

Conclusion:

The role that the leadership of a training institution plays in determining the institution's capability has been highlighted in this chapter. It has been argued that the professional standing of a leader goes a long way in determining the sorts of relations the institution is going to have with its environment, the types and levels of resources and other supports that the

institution will be accorded by its environment, and the types and calibre of staff the training institution will be able to attract and retain. Continuity of both leadership and staff has been projected as an essential ingredient of institutional capability. The advantages and disadvantages of having training institutions headed by so-called foreign technical experts have been discussed with an obvious and deliberate bias against the appointment of such "experts" to leadership and staff positions in these institutions. In the context of the basic premise of Part I this study upholds the contention that the degree to which a training institution is able to have a positive and appropriate impact upon the processes of change and development in its environment depends, inter alia, on its leadership and staff.

References and Notes - Chapter 9

1. H.C. Blaise, "Analysis of Selected Strategies of Institution Building for Public Service" in Inayatullah, (ed.) Management Training for Development: The Asian Experience, Asian Centre for Development Administration, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1975, pp.285-299, (289).

2. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization Through Management Training: A Study of 22 Training Institutions in Asia" in Inayatullah, (ed.), Management Training for Development, pp.17-87, (61).

3. H.S. Wanasinghe, "Some Issues Relating to Institution Building for Management Development" in Inayatullan, (ed.), Management Training for Development, pp.89-119, (98).

4. United Nations, Handbook of Training in the Public Service, UN Publications, Sales No.66.11.H.1, United Nations, New York, 1966, p.166.

5. Wanasinghe, "Issues Relating to Institution Building", p.100.

6. Ibid., 101.

7. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization", p.54.

8. Ibid., p.61.
See the INTAN case study in Chapter 11 of this study in relation to the aspects of leadership and organizational structure.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p.62.

11. Ibid.
He identifies four adverse effects on an MTI's development which emanate from the policy of recruiting leadership from the civil service: "It bars the professional staff in the institution from rising to higher positions . . . the elite service does not consider appointment to the directorship . . . a prestigious position . . . (it) deprives these institutions from benefiting from the leadership qualities of those outside the government service . . . regular, civil servant directors get transferred frequently".

12. Wanasinghe, "Issues Relating to Institution Building", p.99.

13. Ibid.
    Malaysia's INTAN makes use of this method and, as the case study in Chapter 11 argues, the results are very encouraging.

14. Ibid., p.101.

15. Ibid., p.116.

16. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization", p.20.

17. Ibid., p.22.

18. Wanasinghe, "Issues Relating to Institution Building", p.102.

19. Samuel Paul, (ed.),<u>Training for Public Administration and Management in Developing Countries - A Review</u>, World Bank Staff Working Papers No.584, The World Bank, Washington, 1983, p.68.

20. Zoe Allen, "From Shirt-Sleeve Diplomacy and Localization to Aid for Development Administration: The Foreign Support Element" in Bernard Schaffer, (ed.), <u>Administrative Training and Development: A Comparative Study of East Africa, Zambia, Pakistan and India</u>, Praeger, New York, 1974, pp.69-123, (91).

21. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization", p.56.

22. Ibid., pp.56-57.

23. Ibid., p.57.
    What is even more unfortunate is that even long after the foreign "experts" and other foreign aid have departed, the MTI continues to be viewed as alien and irrelevant to national manpower needs.

24. Zoe Allen, "The Foreign Support Element", pp.92-93.
    Obviously another example of institutional intimidation, this time with the co-operation of the institution's leader. Thus institutional intimidation can also be carried out by elements internal to the MTI.

25. Ibid., p.102.

26. United Nations, <u>Handbook of Training</u>, p.170.

27. Wanasinghe, "Issues Relating to Institution Building", p.107.
    See also Siffin, "Factors Involved in Evaluation" on the aspect of acceptability of an MTI.

28. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization", p.67.

29. Wanasinghe, "Issues Relating to Institution Building", p.107.
   The INTAN case study demonstrates the validity of this statement to a considerable extent.

30. Ibid., p.109.
   See also John Morris, "Reflections on Management Education in Britain" in Quarterly Jn. of Administration, Vol.X, No.1, 1975, pp.13-23.

31. Ibid., p.110.

32. Ibid..

## Chapter 10

### The Effect of the Internal Structure and Organization of an MTI upon its Capability

In the previous chapter mention was made of the fact that the leadership of an organization has the responsibility of determining the internal structure and operations of the organization. It is the contention of this chapter that this is a crucial factor to the performance of a training institution. The obvious purpose of a training institution in a developing country should be to promote and facilitate the learning of new skills, ideas and attitudes. The internal structure and organization of a training institution should, therefore, be such that the power hierarchy does not debilitate its learning capacity:

> The manner in which the training institute is structured also has an effect on the degree of continuing innovation. A strictly departmentalized organizational structure in a training institute, with staff assignments on a long-term basis with detailed job descriptions militates against innovative behaviour.[1]

Thus, a strictly hierarchical structure in the Weberian sense is counter-productive for an institution seeking to promote the participative ideology in the administrative system. A training institution which seeks to effectively perform the innovative role must recognize that its structure must be such as to allow the free flow of ideas, a high degree of participation by professional staff in organizational affairs, and minimum use of authority as well as a great deal of encouragement for self-regulation.

Given that the majority of training institutions in developing countries are government-controlled and

role and respond adequately to the needs of its environment:

> The relative rigidity or flexibility of the internal organization structures of the institution and the nature of the communication channels within the institution also play an important role in determining the degree of openness of an institution to its environment.[4]

Thus, the greater the rate of interaction of the staff, the greater the possibility of relevant feedback from the environment to permeate throughout the institution and influence the subsequent design and planning of further courses and other activities. As a result of this the training institution becomes better able to respond adequately and appropriately to such feedback, and to develop an adequate level of "institutional adaptiveness enabling it to continue to be relevant to the changing needs of the environment".[5] This internal flexibility of organization and structure must thus be reflected in the training institution's linkages with the environment. The resultant interactions and transactions are therefore not merely among the members of the institution's various departments, but between them and elements external to the institution, i.e. in the environment.

The internal organization and structure of a training institution significantly affects the strategy of operation that the institution will employ. The strategy should therefore be designed to ensure that the institution's departments are complementary to each other and to the clientele organizations, whether it be in

obtaining feedback, or in supporting former trainees, or in consultancy activities. Complementarity will, in turn, enhance the integration of the training institution's various functions, an aspect which the institution should strive to see its clientele organizations practise as well. Omar cites INTAN (Malaysia) as an example of an organization employing this strategy.

Omar identifies the focus of INTAN as being on training, development and the implementation of new concepts and approaches to management.[6] He argues that:

> Although the public administration system comprises government organizations, ministries, departments and statutory bodies, it must operate within the integrated socio-cultural, economic and political systems. In this context, INTAN aims at providing linkages between these two systems so as to ensure that training is relevant to the real problems confronted by governmental agencies and is an integral part of the national development process.[7]

Within the training institution itself, however, he observes:

> A great deal of interdependence among the schools may be expected and consequently a mechanism of co-operation and mutual consultation among the operating units within INTAN is institutionalized.[8]

A task-oriented organizational structure for a training institution can result in the availability of multi-directional communication channels within the institution, a relatively uninterrupted flow of innovative ideas, a high level of consultation within the professional groups in arriving at decisions, and a greater commitment by the staff to the decisions arrived

at, the goals that have been set, and the strategies that have evolved.[9] In addition to enhancing an institution's acceptability and image in the environment, a task-oriented organizational structure also heightens the level of impact that the institution will have upon the administrative and developmental systems in its environment.

Several factors seem to influence the type of internal organizational structure that may prevail in a training institution at any given period of time. Firstly, as was noted earlier, the orientation of the institutional leadership does determine whether authority and power are so centralised as to make participation in decision-making by lower levels impossible, and a manifestation of limited inter-departmental communication, or whether there is genuine commitment to effective maximum participation in the operations of the institution. Secondly, the leadership's ability to protect and, indeed, exercise the training institution's autonomy means that deviation from established, obsolete, and usually inappropriate structures and modes of operation can be undertaken without the institution incurring the wrath of its creators and supporters. A third factor is the relationship that the institution has with its super-ordinate organizations. This third factor is most evident in government training institutions. Wanasinghe observes:

> Aspects of organization structure such as its flexibility, the degree of interaction within the institution . . . have been shown by the studies to be enhanced by the multi-functional deployment of staff (for management development,

consultancy and research as circumstances
warrant) and the absence of rigid departmentali-
zation within the institution.[10]

There must, therefore, be a conscious and deliberate
effort, on the part of the leadership and staff of a
training institution, to create a flexible, well
integrated and task-oriented organizational structure,
even if it amounts to a radical departure from what may be
normal practice in the eyes of super-ordinate
organizations. Herein lies the essence of innovative
potential.

Nothing would be more dysfunctional for public
service improvement than a training institution that
develops and maintains a rigid structure, rigid
operational techniques, routines and approaches. Such an
institution will inevitably lose its capacity to innovate.

A training institute that does not constantly
search for and adapt itself to new knowledge,
new techniques, and new environmental conditions
has a retarding rather than an innovative effect
of government and public service
development.[11]

Lack of innovations leads to rapid ossification of the
institution. Continuous innovation must therefore be the
prime mission of the training institution if ossification
and status quo orientation are to be averted. There must
be continuous rotation of staff and calculated addition of
new members with new ideas and new approaches to ensure
that the training institution maintains its dynamism and
innovative thrust.

The close link between internal organizational
structure and institutional autonomy often means that a

training institution, whatever its location, will tend to be structured in accordance with the level of freedom that it is given by its environment or by its creators. For example, the Kenya Institute of Administration (KIA), a government institution, adopted bureaucratic principles for its internal organization, and as Colin Leys notes:

> This reduced the degree of participation of the staff and tended to prevent the emergence of collective intellectual interests and a shared professional ethic among them, reducing the likelihood that they would make a heavy commitment to research. It also seemed to foster the growth of departmentalism, which in turn curtailed the level of internal communications . . . [12]

Thus in relation to its autonomy the KIA operated as any other government agency. That bureaucratic principles were employed in designing its internal structure and organization is evidence enough that its institutional autonomy was severely limited. But not all government training institutions are necessarily equally constrained. Samuel Paul correctly observes:

> The usual stereo-type that government run institutions are rigid in their staffing patterns and approaches to training, plagued by instability in leadership, and consequent neglect of their internal management does not fit INTAN (Malaysia) . . . Though controlled by the government INTAN was given an autonomous status by the government not only in operating its own budget, but in planning and managing its activities. [13]

He also notes with reference to the KIA:

> The recent Committee of Review into the Kenya Institute of Administration (KIA), for example, has emphasized the need for giving KIA 'the widest possible latitude in its operations' and argued for strengthening its 'contacts and relations with client organizations'. [14]

Thus adequate genuine institutional autonomy should enable the leadership of a training institution to be free to design the internal organization and structure of the institution in such a way as to avoid fragmented approaches to administrative training, often brought about by high and strict departmentalization. It is vital that the training institution should adopt an holistic view and inter-disciplinary approach to management training for development. To this end, the UN Handbook of Training recommends:

> . . . the internal organization of a school or an institute should be kept as simple as possible. There is nothing to be gained, and much to be lost, in the multiplication of internal departments, divisions, or sections, each with its head or other chief officer.[15]

For a training institution to be able to encourage all members of staff to participate in the affairs of the institution requires that its internal organization and operating cultures be different from the traditional university and government bureaucratic organizations. Decision-making in the training institution should be participatory, and organizational structures should be horizontal rather than vertical.[16] This should create a working environment "where innovative ideas may prosper, where in fact, bosses seek out and respect the ideas of their subordinates throughout the organization".[17]

In a post-colonial setting, a public training institution is expected to spearhead the all-important processes of change and development. The training institutions are thus expected to be exemplary in their

own internal organization and operations. They have to
demonstrate to their clients, and to society at large, the
benefits that result from simpler, less hierarchical and
more democratic organizational structures and other
arrangements. The UN <u>Handbook of Training</u> urges:

> Since these institutions are intended as forces
> for the improvement of administration in the
> countries in which they are located, it is
> highly important that they themselves represent
> the best in modern ideas of organization and
> administrative procedures. If the internal
> organization is streamlined and efficient, if
> the offices and classrooms are examples of good
> modern layout and planning . . . the school may
> serve as something of a model or demonstration
> of good administrative practice. The school or
> institute should practise what it preaches, that
> is, good administration; and there is no better
> way for it to teach this lesson than to stand as
> a good example of an institution well-organized
> and well-run.[18]

For a public training institution, and indeed for
an organization involved in change and development, this
"modern" or "good" administration must include, among
other things, the creation of an effective learning
community; a community which is free and, indeed, keen to
try out new ideas and methods of improving the management
of change and development. It should be a community which
encourages debate, team work and critical analysis of
established practices and procedures; a community
constantly in search of more appropriate relevant and
effective solutions to the many problems of development
administration in the country. It is the contention of
this chapter that such a dynamic learning community can be
brought about if a training institution adopts a simple,
horizontal, flexible and less departmentalized

organizational structure; if it has more flexible job-specifications and assignments for its staff at all levels; and if it adopts a task-oriented and integrated approach to the execution of its various activities and the generation of innovations. Its own example may eventually succeed in encouraging clientele and other organizations to follow suit and be dynamic and innovative themselves.

The Regional Seminar on Curriculum Development and Management Training (in Rural Development) held in Seoul, Korea in April, 1980 [19] drew up a wide range of prerequisites for effective functioning of training centres, some of which are relevant to the internal structure and organization of MTIs. With regard to the philosophy of training, the participants at the seminar suggested:

> Training centres for rural development, be they
> under the auspices of the universities or
> non-university institutions, should function on
> a sound philosophical base, translating human
> development into living reality by creating a
> climate for diverse professional points of view
> and establishing a mechanism for participatory
> democracy for the staff and the trainees. [20]

Such a training philosophy should lead to the adoption of appropriate strategies of operations, which should be geared to ensure that all the major functions of the training institution - teaching, research and consultancy - are carried out in a way that clearly demonstrates complementarity and unity of purpose. The free flow of ideas, the monitoring of feedback from the environment, and the utilization of this feedback in designing future

programmes and other activities should lead to high levels of effectiveness, relevance and acceptance of the training institution.

The seminar participants also identified the following prerequisites:

(a) The training institutes should have a considerable amount of financial and administrative autonomy.

(b) Their administration should be of the bottom-up type and the staff members should be involved in the decision-making process to create an appropriate psychological atmosphere which could contribute towards the growth and development of the staff as a whole.

(c) A sound link of communication should be established with the field agencies and relevant academic institutions.

(d) The training programs ought to be carefully formulated. Specifically, in-service training institutes should adopt a task-focused approach to the training of rural development functionaries as well as volunteers and decision-makers at the grass-roots level.[21]

These prerequisites have been quoted here in full because they serve to confirm what has been argued for in this chapter in relation to MTIs. What may need to be re-emphasized is that these prerequisites indicate that their being met by training institutions greatly affects what goes on in the field, i.e. at the front line of the battle for development. What is implied here is that the

nature of a training institution's internal structure and organization has a significant bearing on the institution's capability and effectiveness as an agency for change and development.

Conclusion:

This chapter has attempted to indicate the role played by a training institution's internal structure and organization in determining its effectiveness in its environment. It has been argued that a strictly hierarchical and departmentalized structure is not appropriate for the smooth operations of the institution. The reasons for this include the fact that there is often limited interdepartmental communication and limited staff participation in the policy- and decision-making processes of the training institution. There is also the tendency to have an up-down flow of information typical of government ministries and departments. Such organizational arrangements, it was argued in this section, militate against the generation and pursuit of innovations. They also lead to a fragmented approach to training and development problems to the detriment of integration and multi-disciplinary approaches. Flexibility in the internal organization of a training institution is proposed in this chapter as essential for more effective procedures of assignment allocation. A task-oriented approach with teams consisting of members of staff from all relevant departments is proposed, with such teams disbanding after the task has been completed and new ones being formed.

Further, the nature of the internal structure and organization of a training institution should be such that the linkages with various elements in the environment are appropriately developed and managed for the purpose of obtaining a higher degree of co-operation between the institution and the clientele organizations, and encourage the clientele organizations themselves to operate in unity of purpose in the execution of national development activities. The institution will, therefore, be able to obtain a more wholesome picture of national administrative and developmental problems, and so effectively design appropriate and relevant possible solutions which may either be incorporated into training programmes or conveyed to the relevant institutions in the environment through consultative channels.

The role of the training institution's leadership in determining the internal structure and organization has been highlighted in this chapter. Of greatest importance is the fact that the leadership's willingness to facilitate and encourage maximum participation by the staff is a significant factor in determining the ability of the institution to attract and retain high calibre members of staff. This, in turn, does affect the prestige that may be accorded the training institution by its environment, and therefore provide a much better chance of acceptability by that environment. Related to this is the level of autonomy that the institution has. It has been pointed out that limited institutional autonomy tends to mean, inter alia, that the training institution may lack

the authority to design its internal affairs in a way that is at variance with what its super-ordinate organizations consider to be established patterns. Conversely, adequate levels of institutional autonomy enable the leadership of the institution to have the freedom to arrange the internal structure and operations of the institution more appropriately, and so lead to more effectiveness.

Finally, it was pointed out that training institutions should be exemplary in their internal structure and organizations. They should demonstrate good management to client organizations by practising it themselves. This can be an effective way of inducing appropriate change and innovation into clientele organizations. The internal structure and organization of a training institution is thus identified in this chapter as one of the factors that determine an MTI's effectiveness as an agency for change and development in a developing country.

References and Notes - Chapter 10

1. H.C. Blaise, "Analysis of Selected Strategies of Institution Building for Public Service" in Inayatullah, (ed.), Management Training for Development: The Asian Experience, Asian Centre for Development Administration, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1975, pp.285-299, (298).

2. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization Through Management Training: A Study of 22 Training Institutions in Asia" in Inayatullah, (ed.), Management Training for Development: The Asian Experience, Asia Centre for Development Administration, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1975, pp.17-87, (59).

3. Blaise, "Strategies of Institution Building", pp.298-299.
He adds: "It is not only futuristic writers like Alvin Toffler who speak of the emerging need for management by project, the coming about of the temporary organization or 'ad-hocracy'. Organizations with a built-in capacity for continuous restructuring and flexible staff assignments are already in evidence"., p.298.

4. H.S. Wanasinghe, "Some Issues Relating to Institution Building for Management Development" in Inayatullah, (ed.), Management Training for Development, pp.89-119, (105).

5. Ibid., p.106.

6. Elyas B. Omar, "National Institute of Public Administration, Malaysia" in Inayatullah, (ed.), Management Training for Development, pp.121-155, (130).
See also INTAN case study in Chapter 11 of this study.

7. Ibid., p.128.

8. Ibid., p.124.

9. Wanasinghe, "Issues Relating to Institution Building", p.111.
The examples he gives of MTIs which have employed this structure are the Administrative Staff College of India and the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development.

10. Ibid., p.112.

11. Blaise, "Strategies of Institution Building", p.297.

12. Colin Leys, "Administrative Training in Kenya" in Bernard Schaffer, (ed.), Administrative Training and Development: A Comparative Study of East Africa, Zambia, Pakistan and India, Praeger, New York, 1974, pp.161-210, (189).

13. Samuel Paul, (ed.),Training for Public Administration and Management in Developing Countries - A Review, World Bank Staff Working Papers No.584, The World Bank, Washington, 1983, p.71.

14. Ibid., p.72.

15. United Nations, Handbook of Training in the Public Service UN Publications Sales, No.66.11.H.1, United Nations, New York, 1966, p.170.

16. Kamla Chowdhry, "Strategies for Institutionalising Public Management Education" in L.D. Stiffel et al., Education and Training for Public Sector Managemnt in Developing Countries, Rockefeller Foundation, 1977. pp.101-110, (108).

17. Detchard Vongkomolshet, "Innovation: The Task of the Civil Servants" in Report on Regional Seminar on Development, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1968, pp.27-31, (28).

18. United Nations, Handbook of Training, p.166.
More importantly, perhaps, an MTI can be exemplary in the way it encourages multi-directional flow of information, participation in decision making, and in the way it rewards officers who manage to come up with useful innovations.

19. Regional Seminar on Curriculum Development and Management Training in Rural Development in Selected Countries of Asia, Seoul, Korea, Social Welfare and Development Centre for Asia and the Pacific, Manila, 1980.

20. Ibid., p.19.

21. Ibid., pp.19-20.

Conclusions to Part II

Part II has proposed six institutional factors to be the major determinants of an MTI's effectiveness or capability in a post-colonial situation. The first of these factors - institutional genesis - has been argued to significantly affect the later development of an MTI. It has been argued that when local rather than foreign groups identify and articulate the need for an MTI in a developing country; and where the MTI is created as a result of wider political participation by elements within the country and those outside, in the design and shaping of the MTI, then the MTI will be able to forge effective linkages which will in turn enable it to acquire the requisite resources and support from its environment. This, it has been urged in Chapter 5, will greatly enhance the level of impact that the MTI will be able to attain upon its environment and therefore upon the processes of change and development.

The second factor of the institutional capability of an MTI was identified in Chapter 6 as that of institutional location. Chapter 6 has discussed the various aspects of locating an MTI within the national administrative system and/or locating it outside the administrative system, either attached to a university faculty or setting it up as an autonomous or semi-autonomous institution. Although the chapter does not recommend a specific location to the exclusion of others, it however demonstrates the importance of an MTI's location in relation to the MIT's role, mission and

functions as well as to the autonomy, linkages and internal structure and organization of the MTI. Thus, institutional location is a significant determinant of an MTI's capability by virtue of its effect upon these other characteristics of an MTI.

Thus, depending on an MTI's genesis and location, the third factor of institutional capability - institutional linkages - was discussed in Chapter 7. It was argued that an MTI does not operate in a vacuum; it needs to interact with other institutions and organizations in its environment and outside it as well. The linkages an MTI is able to forge and effectively manage significantly determine the quality and levels of the resources, support and other inputs that it will be able to obtain for its purposes. Linkages also determine the success the MTI will have in influencing the pattern and pace of change and development in the administrative system and in the larger society. To that extent insti- tutional linkages have been identified as a factor which significantly determines an MTI's effectiveness as an agency of change and development in a post-colonial situation.

In Chapter 8 the fourth factor was identified as that of institutional autonomy. It has been pointed out that autonomy is closely related to an MTI's genesis, location and linkages; so that the initial conception of an MTI influences the level of autonomy the MTI will be accorded, while its location within or outside the administrative system also affects the level of autonomy the MTI will attain and its eventual exercise of that

autonomy. Within the definition of institutional autonomy

given in this chapter, it was further argued that while an

MTI may indeed have a certain level of institutional

autonomy, the MTI's leadership has the responsibility of

exercising that autonomy to the advantage of the MTI,

depending on the circumstances surrounding that exercise

of institutional autonomy. It was, thus, argued that to

the extent that an MTI's institutional autonomy determines

the freedom with which the MTI can deviate from

established policies, procedures and structures, without

loss of support and acceptance by its environment, it

(autonomy) is a significant factor in the determination of

an MTI's potential to be innovative and pro-active in its

activities. This, in turn, largely influences an MTI's

capability and effectiveness.

Institutional leadership and staff was discussed

in Chapter 9 as the fifth factor in the determination of

an MTI's capability. The various roles of an MTI's

leadership in identifying its role, functions, mission and

doctrine; in forging and managing its linkages with its

environment; and in defending and exercising its autonomy,

were discussed and highlighted. Chapter 9 also pointed out

that the technical qualifi- cations of an MTI leader need

to be enhanced by desirable personal attributes which in

turn will enable the leader to have effective non-formal

relations with the nation's political leadership whose

support is vital for the successful introduction of

changes into the administrative and developmental systems.

These qualities, it has been argued, should also enable

the leader of an MTI to appropriately design the internal structure and organi- zation of the MTI so as to encourage and facilitate the generation of innovations and the full participation of all staff in the decision-making processes and other activities of the MTI. Apart from enabling the MTI to attract and retain high calibre professional staff, a competent and democratic leader is also able to provide the MTI with a prestigious image, thereby improving its effectiveness potential in the environment.

With regard to the political leadership of an MTI in a developing country Chapter 9 has pointed out that an MTI will do well to work hand-in-hand with the national political leadership, who will not only facilitate its access to scarce resources, but will also be crucial determinants of the national strategies of development and administrative reforms. Close relations between an MTI and the national political leadership can also enable the MTI to participate in the formulation and design of national policies, procedures and organizational structures. This, in turn, enables the MTI to have a considerable input into the development administration system of the country, thereby enhancing its impact on the environment.

The discussion of the staff of an MTI emphasized that appropriate and attractive personnel policies are essential for the attraction and retention of high calibre staff. The importance of continuity of both leadership and staff was also underlined and shown to have an influence upon the MTI's ultimate effectiveness. It was also argued

that a less rigid and less hierarchical organizational structure, coupled with more flexible systems of assignment allocation would lead to the free-flow of new ideas and information throughout the MTI; and would facilitate higher levels of staff participation in MTI activities and programmes. These factors would, in turn, lead to the creation of an atmosphere which is more conducive to the generation of innovations; they also facilitate attractive conditions which may enable staff to desire to continue serving the MTI. All these factors have been shown in this Part to influence to a considerable extent the capability of an MTI in a developing state as an effective agency for change and development.

In Chapter 10 the internal structure and organization of an MTI was shown to have significant bearing on the MTI's capability. It was urged that the leadership of the MTI should desist from mimicking governmental ministries and departments in the design of their internal structure and organization. A highly departmentalized and hierarchical structure has been shown to be inappropriate for an MTI, since it tends to lead to a top-down flow of ideas and information, thus seriously inhibiting maximum participation of MTI staff in the activities of the institution. Chapter 10 also argued that a highly departmentalized structure tends to fragmen-tation of the learning process, whereas developmental studies require holistic and integrative approaches. The chapter advocated a more horizontal organizational structure and flexible systems of assigning tasks to

multi-disciplinary task-forces or teams, which are formed for specific tasks and disbanded once the tasks have been adequately dealt with. This approach has been argued to lead to higher levels of staff participation, and to cross-fertilization of ideas across departmental lines. This is essential for the generation of ideas and innovations which not only enhance the MTI as a dynamic change agent, but can also enable the MTI to adequately perform the pro-active role of pre-empting and forestalling potential developmental and administrative problems for its clientele organizations and for its environment. Finally it has been indicated that MTIs need to be exemplary in their internal structure and organization in order to demonstrate to their clients that flexibility in operations and democratic approaches to organizational management pay dividends of insti- tutional capability.

In the light of the discussion of the six factors of the institutional capability of an MTI in this Part, the second hypothesis of this study will be adopted and deemed to be valid. The hypothesis states that: the level of institutional capability which an MTI in a developing country can attain as a change and development agency largely depends on the nature of its genesis, location, autonomy, leadership, internal structure and organization. These factors must be of certain qualities or standards if institutional capability is to be attained at all by an MTI. While the desired or viable level or standard is difficult to quantitatively determine, it is however

possible, as has been attempted in this Part, to identify
the various qualitative characteristics of benefits that
obtain once that standard is reached; it is also possible
to identify the major problems and deficiencies that
result from an MTI's failure to reach that standard or
level in its institutional characteristics.

To further validate this argument, Part III of
this study will discuss two selected MTIs in developing
countries making use of some of the major points of the
criteria outlined and discussed in this Part. It may be
necessary to point out at this stage that this study does
not disregard such institutional factors as support
mobilization, identification of training needs, etc. as
important for an MTI's capability. The importance of these
characteristics is unquestioned. This study is, however,
of the view that these other factors are largely dependent
on the six factors discussed in Part II. Thus, this study
would argue that if an MTI is able to attain the optimum
levels of capability with regard to the six factors
mentioned above, it should necessarily be able to conduct
appropriate training needs identification activities, or
to employ appropriate measures to mobilize support. It is
hoped that the case evidence presented in Part III will,
in addition to testing the criteria outlined above, also
serve to confirm this assertion.

PART III


ANALYSIS OF TWO MTIs IN TWO DEVELOPING STATES


Introduction

The first two Parts of this study have examined the many issues involved in institutional administrative training for development in developing countries. The strengths and weaknesses of MTIs as agents of change and development have been discussed in some detail and six specific institutional characteristics of an MTI were selected and discussed in relation to their effect upon the capability of an MTI in a developing setting. Part III purposes to present some case evidence to validate some of the claims and proposals made in Parts I and II. In other words, the intention of this Part is to put to the test the criteria proposed in Part II of this study.

This Part consists of one chapter which is divided into two sections. The first section will present and discuss case evidence on a Malaysian MTI which is claimed to have attained what may be termed acceptable levels of effectiveness in its environment. The case evidence presented in this section will be based on two major sources, namely: Samuel Paul, Training for Public Administration and Management in Developing Countries[1], and Elyas B. Omar, "National Institute of Public Administration, Malaysia"[2]. Reference will also be made to other sources for the purpose of emphasis and comparison. Only the evidence pertaining to selected

aspects of the six factors outlined in Part II of this study will be presented and discussed in this chapter. The purpose of this Malaysian case study is to demonstrate that MTIs in developing countries can in fact go a long way to attain reasonable levels of effectiveness and achieve higher levels of impact upon their environments.

The second section of this present chapter will present case evidence on a Zimbabwean MTI. This is case evidence collected by this author during a field study visit to Zimbabwe in 1983/84. The evidence was gathered through interviews, observations and by studying some of the materials which the author obtained while on field work in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwe MTI is purposed to show how deficiencies in some of the factors outlined in Part II can lead to serious institutional ineffectiveness of an MTI in a developing country. This study will attempt to compare the two MTIs discussed in these two sections on a point-by-point basis, although the two countries in which these MTIs are located are considerably different. The comparative element will be limited to the desirable aspects of institutional capability as outlined earlier in this study vis-a-vis the situation obtaining in each of the two MTIs and their environments. This comparison will be undertaken in the conclusion to Part III.

## Chapter 11

### 11.1 INTAN - Malaysia: the Case of an Effective MTI

The selection of the Malaysian National Institute of Public Administration (INTAN)[3] as a sort of model MTI is based more on the availability of literature on this institute relative to that on other MTIs which may probably have more colourful success stories.

### 11.1.1 Genesis and location of INTAN

In September 1972, and as part of a wide-ranging administrative reform, the Government of Malaysia formally established INTAN. Omar notes that INTAN is an example of one institutional concept borne of another institutional concept. According to Omar, INTAN came about as a result of the reform-oriented Development Administration Unit (DAU) which, on being created in 1966, conducted a survey of training needs within the public sector.[4] The establishment of INTAN is also seen by Samuel Paul as a result of "growing political dissatisfaction with the bureaucracy's performance in managing the increasingly complex socio-economic development programs of the country".[5] One of the major recommendations made by DAU in its report was for the creation of a national training institute, and this recommendation was approved by the Malaysian Cabinet. Samuel Paul writes:

> It was the prompt acceptance of this recommendation by the Cabinet that led to the creation of INTAN. Given the fragmented and rudimentary training infrastructure that existed in this relatively small country, the decision to establish a large-scale, central public service training institution based largely on indigenous resources, both financial and human, was a major leap forward and a testimony to the

political commitment at the highest level to
human resources development in the public
sector.[6]

INTAN was, therefore, conceived and created by
both the political and bureaucratic elites of Malaysia and
it was located within the bureaucratic system. Omar argues
that INTAN was thus created and located in response to a
number of pressures that were generated within the
administrative system itself and also as a result of the
politicians' dissatisfaction with the performance of
bureaucracy as noted by Samuel Paul. Omar observes that:

> . . . there was a growing awareness within the
> bureaucracy that the close rapport between the
> political and administrative elites had imposed
> upon it the increasingly inescapable and
> exclusive role as an agent of change in the last
> decade during which development programmes
> gained momentum . . . Training was then
> conceived of in terms of both reducing
> administrative lag as well as preparing the
> bureaucracy for the more direct leadership
> function.[7]

The second source of pressures emanated from the fact that
the Home and Foreign Service elite was undergoing a role
and identity crisis and a steady reduction in its power
and status.[8] The intricacies and complexities of
development planning and administration were too straining
on its law-and-order orientation, and its capacity for
action was becoming visibly limited. Competition from
emergent local politicians, business administrators,
professionals and technocrats for the same resources only
exacerbated the problem for this elite. Thus Omar argues:

> The training report and its proposal for a
> systematic and planned training and career
> development was seen as an immediate solution to
> the identity and role crisis of the MHFS. The
> critical role of the National Institute of

Public Administration in this process of rejuyenating the elite cadre was clearly spelled out.

It is also important to note that the recommendations of the DAU's report were strongly supported and endorsed by the Malaysian National Development Planning Committee - "an advisory body to the Cabinet, comprising all the top-most civil servants".[10] Further, there was no public discussion of the proposal to set up INTAN, neither did the local press comment on or take an interest in it. These observations, Omar argues:

> . . indicated that the training programmes as envisaged and the creation of INTAN were regarded as purely internal management's problems, well within the competence of the administrative system.[11]

While accepting that the conception of INTAN was by national rather than foreign elements, it must also be realized that this lack of a wider range of participation in the conception of INTAN can indeed lead to its being associated with an administrative elite anxious to consolidate its status and power base, as was pointed out in Part II of this study.

In fact, Inayatullah presents a slightly different view with regard to the conception of INTAN and the part that foreign technical assistance played. He notes that:

> In the case of Malaysia, though INTAN did not receive any financial assistance, its establishment was prompted by a report on administrative reform by foreign technical advisors and since its establishment it has received a small amount of foreign technical and financial assistance.[12]

It would thus appear that the DAU consisted of both nationals and foreign experts. It is, therefore, clearly

evident that the interests of both the foreign and national elements converged as regards the conception of INTAN. The fact that foreign technical and financial assistance played a lower role than that played by the political and administrative elites may perhaps explain the success and effectiveness attributed to INTAN as an MTI.

The rationale for locating INTAN within the national administrative system seems to have been based on the role and functions that INTAN was created to undertake. Omar argues that INTAN was envisaged as an institution that was to be development-oriented, in which case it would need to have training programmes that are directly relevant to the ongoing management problems of government agencies.[13] In addition, as Omar notes, INTAN was also expected to achieve two other basic purposes:

> Firstly, it must be able to foster innovative behaviour and to transform progressive ideas into action. Secondly, it must be able to function as a conduit through which governmental policies and programmes can reach their ultimate beneficiaries.[14]

Unquestionably, these aims, particularly the second one, could not be expected or required of an MTI located outside the administrative system it is intended to serve. Here again the relationship between genesis and location and its effect upon the institution's assigned role confirms what was asserted in Part II of this study. Obviously, thus located and purposed to bring about administrative improvement, INTAN's objectives, organizational structure, course contents, training

strategy, approach and methodology had to be geared to the attainment of these aims.[15] The extent to which it would achieve institutional capability, however, depended on this and several other factors as will be shown later.

## 11.1.2  Organizational structure, role and functions

The foregoing discussion thus categorizes INTAN as the training arm of the Malaysian Government. To that extent INTAN has to perform three "mutually reinforcing roles".[16] Firstly, it conducts various management and administration training courses for civil servants at all levels of government. Table 11.1 below summarizes the basic features in INTAN' programmes.

### TABLE 11.1
### Basic Features in INTAN's Programs

| Level | Focus and Content | Duration |
|---|---|---|
| Top administrators | Policy oriented seminars, workshops on new developments and managerial aids | 2-4 days |
| Senior officers | Advanced general management training; refresher courses on new developments | 1-4 weeks |
| Middle-level officers | Specialized programs in functions such as finance, personnel, new management systems and tools | 1-6 months 1 year for degree programs |
| New recruits to Malaysian Civil & Diplomatic Service | General induction, training in public administration & management with emphasis on field work & specific functions | 1 year (leading to a diploma); shorter programs up to 6 months |
| Lower-level employees (common to all ministries) | Work skills & knowledge of procedures & functions | 2-3 weeks |

Source:  Samuel  Paul, Training for Public Administration p.102.

Secondly, INTAN also carries out the functions of research
and consultancy. Its third role is to carry out these
three major functions on a decentralised basis, i.e. to
the seven regional centres in different parts of Malaysia.
These functions and roles are carried out in such a way as
to fulfil INTAN's objectives which Omar lists as follows:

1. To increase the capacity for action of the
   administrative system in terms of the latter's
   ability to develop and implement national policies
   and programmes.

2. To enhance the civil servants' knowledge, skill and
   understanding of the processes in the management of
   public policies and programmes.

3. To promote a deeper understanding of the inter-
   relationship between the government and the
   political, economic and social environment, and of
   the implications of governmental action on the
   nation's socio-political system.

4. To develop among civil servants the progressive
   approaches and attitudes vital in performing their
   leadership role as the primary agents of change in
   Malaysia's multi-racial society.[17]

These objectives were, according to Samuel Paul, derived
from the Malaysian Government Training Policy Statement of
1970 which in part declared that training had the
objective of improving the capability and efficiency of
civil servants "in achieving progressive public service,
maximum effectiveness, proficiency and economy".[18] This
training policy also provided INTAN with broad guidelines

on such aspects as: categories of personnel to be trained; training needs assessment; types of training to be offered; linkages between training and career development; roles and responsibilities of agencies in training; and the financing and evaluation of training.[19] These guidelines also provided for continuous review of policy implementation and allowed for the modification of policy when the need arose.

While the provision of such elaborate guidelines tends to be regarded as excessive "spoon-feeding", in the sense that it leaves an MTI with little to do in the all-important task of accurately identifying and interpreting the government's national development and administrative strategies, it nevertheless is equally true to say that for an MTI located within the administrative system, such guidelines are vital if the MTI is not to endlessly grope in the dark and search for these strategies. It is, however, also true that unless carefully thought out measures are built into the MTI's charter or establishing statute, such guidelines can significantly limit an MTI's innovative potential.

With regard to its internal organization structure INTAN is organized in terms of four functional departments[20] as shown in Chart 11.1 below.

## Chart 11.1

ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
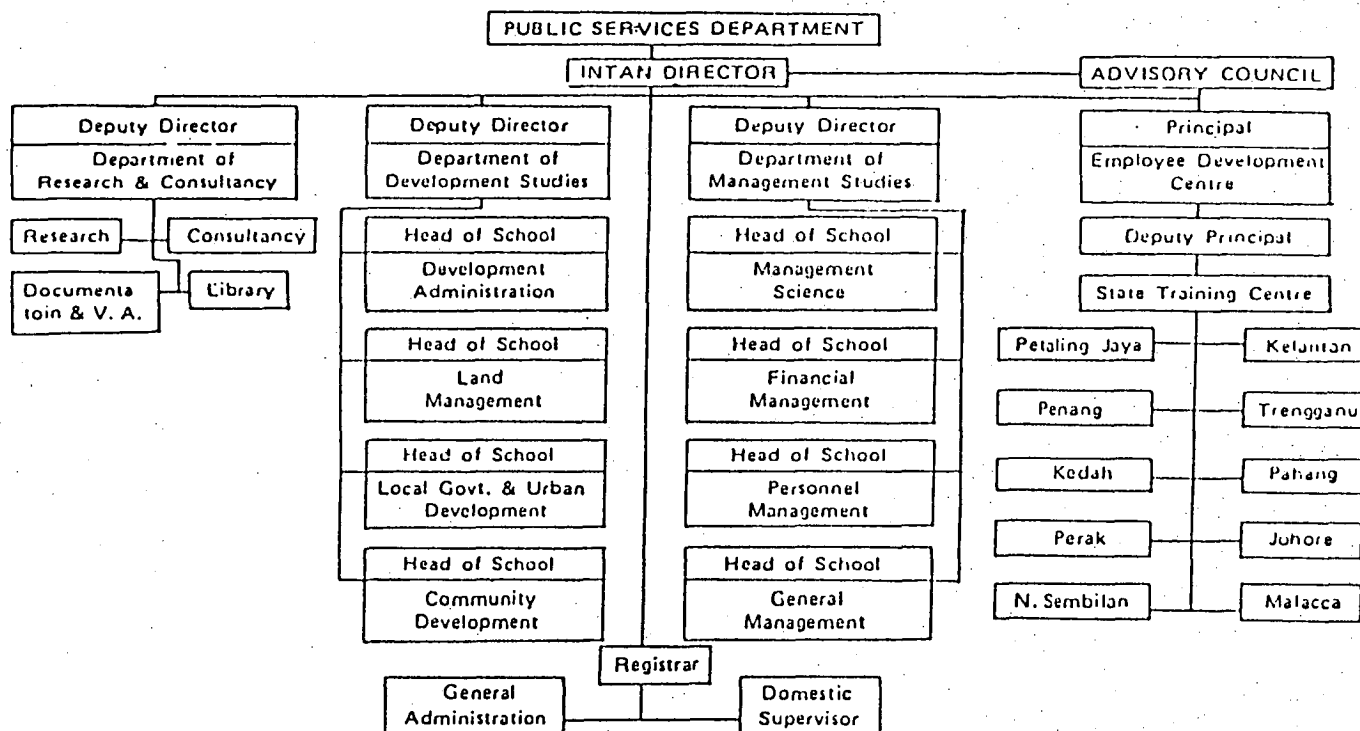


Source: Omar "National Institute - Malaysia", p.127.

Departments of Management Studies and Development Studies, Omar says, consist of various schools of studies[21] as shown in Chart 11.1. The Research and Consultancy Department consists of such specialised divisions as the Library and Documentation Section. Each department is headed by a Deputy Director while the Employee Development centre is headed by a Principal. The Registrar's division provides INTAN with the necessary supportive and administrative services.[22]

Chart 11.1 clearly reflects that INTAN has a rather highly departmentalized and hierarchical internal organizational structure. It has been argued in Parts I

and II of this study that such a structure tends to have a constraining effect upon an MTI's innovative potential. In the case of INTAN, however, that adverse effect seems to have been reduced by the adoption of a rather flexible and appropriate operational strategy as will be shown shortly below. Chart 11.1 however does confirm the claim made in earlier chapters of this study, that an MTI which is located within the administrative system tends to adopt an organizational structure which is patterned along the government or bureaucratic lines, i.e. hierarchical and highly departmentalized.

### 11.1.3 Operational strategy of INTAN

One interesting feature of INTAN's role and functions outlined above is the importance attached to the functions of consultancy and research. It was stated in Part I of this study that most MTIs in developing states pay little attention, resources and importance to these vital functions. Well, INTAN seems to be the exception to this general observation. Samuel Paul reveals that:

> INTAN's training officers spend a third of their time on consulting and research activities which bring them close to client organizations and real-field problems.[23]

This is of significance since, as was argued in Part I, these functions of an MTI facilitate more effective and appropriate execution of the training function, and lead to more accurate identification of training needs and the design of relevant training programmes. In short, they

linkages between these two systems "so as to ensure that training is relevant to the real problems confronted by governmental agencies . . ."[26] This attempt at providing these requisite linkages for total and wholesome organizational effectiveness and environmental development is carried out by all the departments of INTAN and at all levels. Omar states that at the training level, the Department of Management Studies conducts process-oriented courses which are aimed at improving civil servants' capability to utilize modern management methods and tools of decision-making.[27] The Department of Development Studies for its part, conducts programme and policy-oriented courses which purpose to enrich civil servants' understanding of the "context and content of public policies and programmes and their implications on economic growth and national integration".[28] At the development and application level, Omar argues, the Department of Research and Consultancy provides insight into problems of administering public policies, "as well as assessing the impact of INTAN's training programmes".[29] This department also facilitates the generation and trial of new effective methods and processes of management and administration; this is done by making recommendations on the basis of feedback. These new methods and processes can thus be experimented with and introduced at the training level. This arrangement reinforces the integrated nature of the three major functions of an MTI as stated in the earlier chapters of this study. The Research and Consultancy Department, Omar says, also assists other government

agencies "in instituting new management systems and methods as well as in analysing and resolving administrative problems".[30] This is done either at the request of these agencies or as a matter of course in INTAN's training and research activities. The fact that this strategy is carried out at all the relevant levels of INTAN's operations greatly enhances its effectiveness. Omar writes:

> In accordance with INTAN's strategy of maintaining institutional linkages with the environment, namely with central agencies, operating ministries and departments and grass-roots institutions, each school of studies is encouraged to devise its own system of putting this philosophy into effect, appropriate to the nature of that particular school's own training programmes and approaches.[31]

This operational strategy of INTAN is schematically presented in Chart 11.2 below.

Chart 11.2

STRATEGY OF INTAN FROM 1974

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PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION AND
IMPLEMENTATION (DEVELOPMENT PLANS)

INTERNAL          EXTERNAL

Organisations
Systems and
Procedures

Environment;
Political
Socio-cultural
Economic

Feedback through
training techniques
and approaches

Department of
Management Studies &
Employee Development
Centre

Complementarity
and
Integration

Department of
Development Studies

Process Oriented
Training Programmes

Programme/Policy-
oriented Training
Programmes

Department of
Research & Consultancy

Research

Department
Research & Consultancy

Consultancy

←————→ indicates inter-relationship.

Source: Omar, "National Institute - Malaysia", p.130

What seems to be clearly evident in INTAN's
strategy is the important factor of flexibility with
regard to its operations, so that there is little
adherence to departmentalism such as is typical in most
hierarchically structured MTIs. The basis of the strategy

also confirms the assertions made in Part II of this study with regard to institutional linkages and the need to adopt integrative and holistic approaches to training for development and change in a post-colonial setting. Samuel Paul's concluding remarks on this present subject probably best illustrate the effectiveness that INTAN has so far achieved as a result of employing this strategy. Paul writes:

> INTAN's new strategy has led to a significant expansion in the training of public servants in Malaysia. It has a professional staff of seventy persons. As against a total of 2300 in 1972, nearly 9000 underwent training in 1981 under INTAN's auspices, its target for 1983-84 was 15000 persons. Even this ambitious target, however, will reach only 8% of the total number of federal and state employees. A more important feature of this expansion is that the quality and relevance of training have improved remarkably. INTAN's focus on meeting client needs and forging linkages with user ministries, its experimentation with different methods of training have contributed to this qualitative change and a growing response of ministries to its training activities.[32]

Obviously, the effectiveness of an MTI cannot be adequately evaluated by mere comparisons of figures. All the same, the fact that the results indicated above were attained at all indicates that it can safely be assumed that the less determinately quantifiable aspects of the impact of INTAN would also reflect positively on its impact on its clientele organizations and environment. Compared to other MTIs in developing countries, however, the achievements of INTAN as reflected in the foregoing, are still considerably impressive although there is always room for improvement.

11.1.4 Staffing and staff development policies of INTAN

Reference to Tables 9.2 and 9.3 reveals that INTAN is one of the Asian MTIs which obtain their instructional staff mainly from regular government services; and that it is one of the MTIs which has less than 20% of the staff who hold Ph.D. qualifications. Inayatullah points out that although INTAN is a research- oriented MTI, it has few Ph.Ds for two reasons, namely: lack of available Ph.D. holders in the country and "the government policy of maintaining ethnic balance in recruiting staff".[33] Arguing that there is a need at INTAN for persons on the staff who possess practical experience in administration and also who are knowledgeable in special fields, Omar points out that INTAN's Advisory Council approved the following measures with regard to staffing:

(i) Positions at INTAN may be advertised amongst all officers in the Administrative and Diplomatic Service (ADS) so as to provide the widest opportunities to those officers who are interested in teaching and who possess the necessary qualifications to apply.

(ii) A rotation system will be established whereby officers in the public service, especially those in the ADS who have been sent by the government for higher degrees, can be posted for a spell of at least 2 years at INTAN once during their future tenure of office in the Service.

(iii) A number of posts at INTAN may be declared "open posts" which will enable INTAN to obtain the services of talented teachers from within the country or from overseas by means of either contract arrangements or secondment. Special consideration will also be given to suitably qualified officers from the professional group in the filling of open posts through the process of secondment to INTAN.

(iv) The present and anticipated arrangement of obtaining foreign technical assistance through various international agencies and foreign governments takes the form of persons with special expertise. The purpose is not to create in INTAN a state of dependence on external assistance, but rather to maintain institutional linkages with other international institutions of higher learning and management training.

(v) In order to retain the services of instructional staff of the right calibre and experience, certain incentives are attached to service at INTAN. An example is the present practice of promoting INTAN staff on a personal-to-holder basis where no established posts exist in the higher grade.[34]

The problems associated with location within the administrative system and recruiting instructional staff from the civil service have been dealt with in detail in Chapter 9 of this study. The situation of INTAN does in effect confirm some of these problems, such as the problem of attracting and retaining high calibre staff who have

both administrative experience and appropriate academic
qualifications. A further problem which INTAN seems to be
taking account of is that of incentives for trainers who
may be left out, as it were, of the normal advancement
procedures once they leave the regular Service to
undertake training. It would appear, however, from Omar's
article, that most of the measures outlined above are
aimed mainly at attracting and retaining serving public
servants rather than at increasing the possibilities of
non-public servants participating in training and research
for INTAN; nor do they seek to promote the recruiting of
staff from the open market. This may be a flow which could
retard the process of building up a fair-sized and stable
instructional staff complement at INTAN.

The emphasis on staff development, as reflected in
Samuel Paul's case study (1983) indicates that some
measures have already been taken to cater for possible
staff shortages at INTAN. Paul writes:

> INTAN . . . adopted a three-pronged strategy for
> self-development. First an adequate number of
> staff positions was created and funds earmarked
> so that staff shortages did not arise out of a
> lack of sanctioned posts. Second, training
> officers are required to have some years of
> government experience, good educational
> qualifications and knowledge of new developments
> in training. Experienced officers were sent
> abroad for post-graduate training in order to
> better equip themselves to be trainers. Third,
> several posts have been created to attract
> talented persons on contract from outside the
> Government to serve on the faculty. To attract
> competent staff, special incentives such as
> higher grade appointments and gratuity payments
> were provided. Government officers who were
> sponsored for training by INTAN were required to
> complete their tour of duty as originally agreed
> upon. Staff recruitment and development were
> thus tailored to meet INTAN's special needs.[35]

Thus the measures outlined by Omar seem to have had a positive effect on the staff situation at INTAN. Another aspect of INTAN's staff development policy is the arrangement that on returning from further studies, trainers would, at some stage during their service at INTAN, be attached for at least 6 months to government ministries and/or departments related to their areas of specialization. "This would enable them to relate the relevant theories and concepts acquired during the course of training to actual problems and practices."[36] This arrangement is vital for the correct or accurate perception of organizations' management training needs. It also greatly enhances an MTI's research and consultancy functions.

An interesting feature of INTAN's staffing policy is with regard to foreign instructional staff. The fact that INTAN is largely supported by national resources and receives only a little amount of foreign technical assistance enables the institute to decide on which foreign "experts" to recruit for service, from which country and with what qualifications. This is significantly different from a situation where a donor agency makes these decisions, as was argued earlier in this study. It is, however, the view of this study that all efforts must be made to develop national trainers with recruitment of foreigners being carried out only as a last resort. Dependence on foreign trainers is probably the worst thing that can ever happen to an MTI in a developing

country. This is not to say that an MTI in such a country

should not have linkages with international institutions.

Such linkages should, however, be carefully thought out to

avoid excessive transfers of certain models, values and

technologies which may not be necessarily compatible with

or appropriate for the society and developmental system of

the developing country.

Another interesting feature of INTAN's staffing

policy is the way in which the Director is appointed:

> The Director of INTAN is chosen with
> considerable care from among senior civil
> servants. He is responsible to the Director
> General of the Public Services Department and
> has access also to the Chief Secretary to the
> government. The job is perceived to be a
> prestigious one. The Director as well as other
> officers are encouraged to complete their full
> term of five years. As a result, competent and
> stable leadership continues to be a positive
> feature of INTAN.[57]

This confirms the arguments made in Chapter 9 of this

study with regard to the need for competent leadership and

continuity of such leadership for an MTI. That the job is

considered to be prestigious also facilitates the

attraction and retention of high calibre personnel as

directors and staff, an arrangement that enhances an MTI's

capability. The fact that the Director of INTAN has direct

access to both the Director General of Public Services and

the Chief Secretary to the government implies that INTAN

can have the support of top-level civil servants and of

the government as well. This is essential if INTAN is to

be both relevant and acceptable to the rest of the

administration and society.

Also implied in most of what has so far been said about INTAN's staffing and staff development is the close linkage between career development and self-training of its staff. As Samuel Paul notes:

> For some categories of staff, completion of training is stipulated as a condition for further career advancement. There is a positive effort to relate promotion to training as selection for further training is based on the officer's potential for advancement in his career . . . Training at INTAN has been made mandatory for all officers who according to the seniority list are eligible for consideration for promotion when they complete eight years of service.[38]

What is, perhaps, of greatest significance is that these personnel policies are accepted and recognized by the Malaysian Public Service. The importance of this cannot be over-emphasized. Evidence from other MTIs indicates that the lack of this difference in personnel policies of an MTI and the rest of the Service can wreak havoc upon the stability and continuity of an MTI's staff, as well as make self-development less attractive or beneficial than it can be under the conditions expressed above. For INTAN, as Paul observes: "The significant point here is that this policy is being implemented".[39]

11.1.5 Evaluation of performance

This is obviously an ambiguous term. It has to be defined whose performance is being discussed or evaluated - the trainees' or INTAN's? Or is the trainees' or former trainees' performance at work a reflection of INTAN's performance? This study adopts the view that evaluation comprises two parts - measuring and judgement - both of

which are extremely difficult to quantify to any satisfactory degree in management training. Both case studies being employed here, however, do accept that while evaluation of trainees' performance may reflect on the level of performance of INTAN the results of such an evaluation are far from conclusive. It is thus important to realize that like most other MTIs in developing states, INTAN is yet to develop appropriate techniques of evaluating its impact upon its won environment.

With regard to the evaluation of the learning process, however, Omar argues that trainers at INTAN frequently carry out subjective and objective appraisals of the scope and quality of the learning which will have taken place during specific courses in order to know whether knowledge and skills have actually been imparted.[40] The following four approaches are commonly employed for this purpose:

(a) the conducting of examinations or tests;

(b) observation and assessment of performance and behaviour during the training session, e.g. class discussion or syndicate work;

(c) assessment of trainee performance in undertaking research activities and other assignments;

(d) evaluation of attitudinal change through the questionnaire method and a general observation of changes in attitude throughout the course.[41]

Samuel Paul notes that in addition to INTAN's own evaluation, the Training and Career Development Division also carries out its own evaluation of training courses

"by asking each participant to assess the course, its relevance and usefulness".[42] This seems to be a necessary and effective way of, at least having some idea of the performance of INTAN itself. With regard to INTAN's own evaluation of training, Paul seems to be supportive of it as he points out some of its advantages to the training process:

> First, during and after its short-term programs, INTAN attempts a 'managerial' evaluation of their impact on participants. The trainers elicit participant feedback in order to improve and modify their training inputs. Second, for long-term courses, INTAN has a system of conducting formal tests/examinations for younger participants as a basis for awarding diplomas and certificates. This approach makes participants view training more seriously and motivates them towards higher performance. Third, after a year of completing their training, participants and their supervisors are brought together in conference to evaluate the contribution of training to their performance on the job. This is a recent innovation which is yet to be institutionalized.[43]

This last mentioned method should prove interesting since it takes in the supervisors who have daily contact with INTAN's trainees both before and after training. It, however, does not effectively reflect what part of an officer's improved performance is directly attributable to a training course or to training as a whole. Several other factors still have to be taken into consideration. It is, nonetheless, a useful exercise. Also important is the interval between the end of training and the time of the conference for evaluation. This interval is essential for the purpose of exposing the trainee to a wide range of administrative situations in which he may use his newly acquired skills and knowledge, and also to give his

supervisor enough time to make his own evaluation of the former trainee's performance. Unfortunately, the longer this interval the more the contaminants that may interfere thus making the results of such evaluation less attributable to training alone. As Samuel Paul rightly observes:

> As regards evaluating the impact of training on government's overall performance, INTAN has not done much. In fact, given the interdependence of training with many other variables, disentangling the contribution of training to macro level performance is regarded as well nigh impossible.[44]

Omar, writing earlier than Paul, in fact admits that evaluating the impact of INTAN upon its total environment is somewhat beyond INTAN's capacity.[45] This is obviously a situation not peculiar to INTAN alone. In fact social scientists the world over are still trying out rudimentary models of evaluation, none of which have so far attained any notable significance. This is, however, not to say attempts to evaluate an MTI's impact should not be made. On the contrary, and as was argued earlier in this study, developing states cannot afford to commit scarce resources to management training without some way of knowing what value for their money they are presumably getting. Thus, some sort of evaluation needs to be undertaken.

At any rate, evaluation of training has other uses besides that of ascertaining the level of impact such training or an MTI has on its environment. One such benefit is the gathering of feedback which may lead to appropriate design and re-design of future training programmes. Another is that such evaluation can enable

both the MTI and its client organizations to identify an

individual officer's new training needs. Samuel Paul notes

yet another benefit of such evaluation:

> . . . the exercise is important as it conveys to
> the participant a strong message that the
> government is serious about training as an input
> to his career development.[46]

But evaluation which begins and ends with

conferences and questionnaires directed at clientele

organizations trainees and former trainees certainly

leaves a lot to be desired. INTAN goes beyond this stage

and carries out a form of self-evaluation on the part of

the trainers themselves. Obviously the results of the

other evaluation exercises assist in this self-evaluation

as well. Omar writes:

> The training staff are also involved in
> evaluating input. This involves the
> consideration of the training methodology used
> and the resources that the trainer has at his
> disposal and how these have been deployed so as
> to achieve the goals and objectives of the
> training programmes. Some of the criteria used
> to assess the effectiveness of training methods,
> approaches and resources include the relevance
> of the latter to a particular course and its
> participants, timeliness, adequacy and
> practicality.[47]

For any MTI, this is probably the least attractive of all

evaluation exercises. This is so because it can be costly

to have to revamp established methodologies should they be

found ineffective. The fact that the results of such

evaluation may reflect adversely on the performance of the

MTI itself causes most MTIs to be wary of undertaking

self-evaluation which may result in the tarnishing of its

image or the reduction of resources made available to it

by the environment. This is regrettable since this form of

evaluation can lead an MTI to take a look at itself, as it were, and seek for better ways and means to improve upon its performance. It is interesting to note that even though INTAN does carry out this kind of evaluation, it does not go to the extent of having external agents to do this evaluation for it.

Schaffer calls this evaluation by external agents "authoritative evaluation" and points out that MTIs prefer their own evaluation - "official evaluation" to authoritative evaluation:

> 'Official evaluation' means those evaluation processes, either sophisticated or primitive which remain in institutional hands. They become part of the institutional game, and include the reiterated pretence that evaluation of manifest administrative inputs and outputs cannot be done. 'Authoritative evaluation', on the contrary, means evaluation done by others, not within institutional control, and according to processes having enough objectivity to enforce respect . . . We found that training institutes were peculiarly adept at the employment of official evaluation . . . Training is a field where the possibility of any evaluation of the manifest processes is peculiarly susceptible to challenge.[48]

It can be argued, without putting too fine a point on it, that INTAN's official evaluation could be greatly enhanced by the employment of some form of authoritative evaluation. This would go a long way to validate the many claims made by those who have written articles on the success and effectiveness of INTAN. Be that as it may, it can only be fair to accept that INTAN has so far demonstrated that MTIs in developing countries can attain acceptable levels of institutional capability and effectiveness.

It may be appropriate to conclude this INTAN case
study by summarising some of the points Samuel Paul makes
about this MTI. Arguing that the Malaysian Government has
played a significant facilitating role for INTAN, Paul
writes:

> In terms of political commitment, resources and
> appropriate policies, the Government of Malaysia
> has provided substantial support to the work of
> INTAN. Attention to key appointments, career
> development linkages and autonomy of operation
> are important manifestations of this support.[49]

With regard to institutional autonomy it is of
significance that although INTAN is an integral part of
the Public Services Department, it was given an autonomous
status "not only in terms of maintaining and operating its
own budget, but also in setting its directions and
planning its activities".[50] This is a unique achievement,
and can indeed be an important lesson for other MTIs that
are located within the administrative system. Further,
INTAN's autonomy is reinforced by formal and informal
relations that its leadership maintains with clientele
organizations.

In addition to the impressive staff development
policy and the evaluation of training noted above, INTAN
has "performed exceptionally well"[51] in the areas of
needs assessment and diversity of training methodologies.
With respect to the former, the Training and Career
Development Division requires that departments submit
annually, training bids which indicate their managerial
and training needs. INTAN, for its part, informs all
departments and ministries of its training plan and

receives feedback from the clientele organizations.

Thirdly, INTAN has an Advisory Committee "consisting of

senior officers of the central and operating agencies,

University of Malaysia, and selected private sector

individuals to advise its Director . . . "[52] This

committee advises on types of training required and the

objectives and curricula of such training. Most

importantly:

> INTAN plays a pro-active role at the micro level
> by testing new training ideas and assessing the
> curricular requirements of specific programmes.
> The matching of the two is an iterative and
> continuous process in which both these agencies
> (i.e. INTAN and the Training and Career
> Development Division) actively collaborate.[53]

This kind of concerted effort is vital for the accurate

identification of training needs and the development of

appropriate training programmes by INTAN.

    With regard to training methodologies, Samuel Paul

notes that INTAN has an openness to new ideas which

enables it to adopt an experimental approach towards

questions of content and pedagogy:

> The changing environment and evolving national
> development tasks necessitate the induction of
> new concepts, tools and methods of learning.
> INTAN's experiments with action training testify
> to its openness to new ideas. In rural- and
> people-oriented programs, conventional
> classroom-oriented training was found to be
> relatively ineffective. INTAN responded by
> designing a new plan that combined formal
> classroom work with action interventions in the
> field . . . Equally important is INTAN's modular
> approach to training which permits participants
> to go through a set of modules relevant to them
> but spread over a longer stretch of time. This,
> again, was a response to the problem faced by
> agencies releasing officers for long periods of
> training.[54]

This adaptiveness is obviously essential for an MTI in a developing country where so many changes are taking place. This is the kind of adaptiveness that enables an MTI to determine the most effective methods of conducting training and determining the appropriate content material for the courses that the MTI will mount in response to identified needs in its environment. Thus, this adaptiveness tends to reduce the need for wholesale transfers of foreign models, methods and technologies which may fail to meet the expectations of an MTI's environment. Further, the point that has been expressed above, with regard to the changing conditions and situations in most post-colonial situations is so vital that an MTI which adheres to old and sometimes obsolete and inappropriate methods and techniques can never perform the innovative and pro-active roles for its environment.

Unfortunately for most MTIs in developing countries, this adaptiveness and experimentation is lacking. Samuel Paul writes:

> In many countries, their (MTI's) curricula, training materials, and methods have virtually remained unchanged over long periods . . . very little research and development work has been done to develop indigenous training materials and experiment with new modes and methods of training.[55]

That INTAN has reached the stage where it develops its own training materials and methods suitable for the needs of its specific conditions as indicated by its environment is indeed a significant achievement. However, as stated earlier, even at INTAN there is still plenty of room for improvement. Samuel Paul succinctly concludes:

In spite of its impressive performance, INTAN has many gaps to fill and many challenges ahead. Its activities must expand substantially in order to offer training opportunities to all public servants. Its staff resources are far from adequate. As it decentralises its operations, it may face more complex problems of management. While experimenting with new concepts and approaches, it must strive for a balance between the conceptual and pragmatic dimensions. These problems are in a sense no different from those many training institutions face in other LDCs. INTAN's strategies, processes and experiences in coping with these and other challenges may offer useful insights and lessons for many other LDCs.[56]

## 11.2 <u>PSTC-Zimbabwe the Case of an Ineffective MTI</u>

As was stated in the introduction to Part III, the case evidence on the Zimbabwe Public Service Training Centre (PSTC) was collected during a field research trip to that country by the author. It was not possible resource-wise for this author to carry out similar research in a country other than his own - Zimbabwe. There is also an obvious attempt to make this study adequately pertinent to the author's own country which is still in the thick of searching for directions and answers to problems of nation building and development. The author's personal experience as a trainer in Zimbabwe, albeit not at PSTC, it is hoped, will facilitate an adequately informed account of the situation of the PSTC as an MTI in a developing state.

Because of the special circumstances of Zimbabwe, which at the time of writing this study, has been independent politically for only five years, it is necessary to commence this section by discussing the historical background of Zimbabwe's present setting. This is essential because some of the characteristics of the PSTC and indeed some of its present practices, roles and activities can only be adequately understood from the backdrop of such an analysis.

### 11.2.1 Historical background

The Republic of Zimbabwe became independent on 18 April 1980. It had been under British colonial rule for ninety years, during which time the colonialists and their

Western allies had not only plundered and exploited the natural resources of the country, but had also oppressed, exploited, maimed and even killed a good number of the indigenous people of Zimbabwe. The attainment of independence in Zimbabwe was the result of, inter alia, a long and bitter armed struggle between African liberation armies and their political parties on the one hand, and the white minority, racist, colonial rulers and their state machinery and imperialist supporters on the other. Colin Stoneman writes: "The price of Zimbabwe's independence was paid by over twenty thousand dead and hundreds of thousands of injured Zimbabweans".[57]

During the colonial period, the white minority rulers had maintained a status of dominance and privilege in education, culture, health, the economy and in the administration and politics of the country. Racial segregation was the means used to maintain, perpetuate and protect this white supremacist position.

> The most important forms of segregation (and the attendant discrimination) in property holding and residence, in schooling, welfare provisions, health facilities, and in political rights, were legally entrenched. Many other forms were, however, maintained through social practice and administrative policy: a kind of 'apartheid' by by-law and convention.[58]

Firstly, it was policy that Africans should not rise above certain ranks in the public service, including the district administration. Colin Stoneman notes that although there was no written law to state this, no African could rise above the rank of clerk, even in the district administration.[59] Secondly, wage and salary

levels that obtained in virtually all professional positions were discriminatory, with Africans being paid far less than their white counterparts. Thirdly, racial contact in employment, whether in the public or private sector, tended to be "relatively impersonal and situationally specific".[60] It however took place within the minority rulers' institutional context and on their terms. Stoneman puts it aptly when he writes: "Racial avoidance, the rituals of deference or status degradation, rewards and punishments in the work place, and administrative manipulation all played a role in this".[61] Finally, there was no such thing as administrative training for Africans who were fortunate enough to become civil servants at whatever level. The only exception to this was the training of rural-based field officers such as extension officers, teachers, health assistants and agricultural demonstrators.

Further to these observations is the fact that the colonial era's educational institutions were "major tools for establishing and maintaining the social and economic differences between the black majority and the white minority".[62] Thus, historically there have always been two education systems, one for the minority groups (whites, coloureds and Asians) and the other for the majority Africans. The two systems of education were necessarily qualitatively different, with the system for Africans generally believed to be of low quality. Thus Kadhani and Riddell write: "The education system failed to educate large numbers of people at all, and it failed to

provide enough skills even to expand the existing economic structure, relying instead on the skills of white immigrants".[63]

The observations made above have several implications for the training of civil servants in Zimbabwe. The attainment of political independence in 1980 occurred at a time when at least 90% of the middle and upper levels of the civil service were occupied by white officers. Most of these people were adequately qualified and experienced in running a colonial administration. They were however not suitable for the new socio-economic and administrative order which the new political leaders were interested in. In fact, most of the white colonial administrators were reluctant to work under black "bosses" and so they resigned "en masse". Assurances from political leaders that no white officials would be victimised for past practices and policies were only partially successful. The new government's policy of reconciliation, while considerably successful in preventing whites from stampeding out of the country, was not so successful in keeping them in government service. The majority of white officers either retired early or resigned in order to join the private sector.

The new government on its part considered it politically undesirable to retain too many of the white civil servants after independence. As a result, all civil servants of retiring age were urged to retire and Africans were appointed to replace them. The new government went further and recommended to the President, that Africans

should be appointed and promoted to higher civil service posts at a faster rate than their white counterparts. The President therefore issued what is generally known as the Presidential Directive (PD) in 1980. The PD required that established requirements for entry into and promotion in the civil service be relaxed to allow lateral entry to senior administrative posts of suitably qualified Africans without adequate relevant experience. The purpose of the PD, it was argued, was to redress the gross disparity between the races in the public service.

The results of the post-independence events summarised above are multi-faceted. First, in spite of the policy of reconciliation, the number of white officers and employees in the Zimbabwe Public Service dropped to a level less than half what it was at independence. The national daily newspaper, The Herald, on 12 December 1983, reported that in 1980, when Zimbabwe became independent, there were 7202 white officers and 5609 white employees, giving a total of 12811. By 1981 the numbers had dropped to 5207 officers and 2887 employees. By the end of 1983 the numbers had dropped further, 4144 officers (of which 1500 were expatriates on short-term contracts[64], most, if not all, of whom came after independence), and 1771 employees.

This "exodus" of white personnel from the civil service resulted in what the Zimbabwe Minister of State (Public Service) described as a serious "shortage of trained and experienced staff"[65] in most government departments. He indicated that his ministry was

experiencing difficulties in staffing the civil service because of four reasons:

- The previous government had neglected to provide the necessary training for black Zimbabweans.

- Since independence the public service had expanded with the creation of new ministries and departments.

- Under a so-called 'incentive scheme', numerous white Zimbabweans had left the service.

- The public service was unable to compete with the private sector over salaries and there had been a lot of 'poaching'.[66]

The Minister, however, pointed out that since independence, intensive training had been carried out "to maintain efficiency and make up for the lack of long-term experience by many public servants".[67] He also rightly observed that fully trained and experienced staff cannot be produced overnight. Speaking during debate on the second report of the Committee of Public Accounts the Minister of State (Public Service) announced that, commencing in February 1984 a series of courses for under-secretaries and assistant secretaries would be conducted.[68]

## 11.2.2 Genesis and location of the PSTC

Zimbabwe's PSTC was created by the colonial administration for the purpose of training low and middle level officers and clerical staff for the civil service. The PSTC was therefore located within the administrative system and falls under the Ministry of the Public Service.

The PSTC was also used as a venue for the occasional gathering of senior and top-level civil servants for refresher courses and conferences. The advent of national independence, however, necessitated that the PSTC be re-organized and adequately staffed to enable it to carry out more intensive and higher level training of civil servants. It still conducts training for the same levels of administrators, but there is claimed to be more serious training now than was taking place during the colonial period.

The importance of the PSTC was greatly enhanced by the fact that after independence many new administrators entered government service with little experience in administration. Thus the PSTC was seen at independence as an important institution which could carry out rapid training specifically for the indigenization process. Apart from several staff changes, with more Africans being appointed as trainers, there was little other structural or organizational change that took place at the PSTC. The Centre's location within the administrative system was also seen as necessary since the University of Zimbabwe has no institute of Public Administration. In fact, graduates from the university who enter the civil service have to undergo administrative training at the PSTC within the first two years of their appointment to a public service post.

The Prime Minister of Zimbabwe placed the Ministry of the Public Service within his own Ministry. Thus there is a Minister of State (Public Service) in the Prime

Minister's office. To that extent, the PSTC can claim to have direct access to the seat of power. This arrangement has, however, not been taken advantage of to make the PSTC as dynamic as it should be in a post-revolutionary developing country setting. Instead, the PSTC has largely remained just another government department both to itself and to other divisions of the civil service.

11.2.3 Internal structure and organization

The PSTC is headed by a Principal who is a civil servant with the rank of Under-Secretary (Training) according to the Zimbabwean Public Service ranking system. The Principal of the PSTC reports directly to the Secretary of the Ministry of the Public Service. Chart 11.3 below shows the organizational structure of the PSTC. Below the secretary of the Public service is the Director of Training who is in charge of training at both the national and provincial levels. The Principal of the PSTC liaises with the Director of training but does not report directly to him. The PSTC has a total of thirty trainers of which there are Chief Trainers who head the three major departments of Accounting; Management Training; and Personnel. The position of Chief Trainer is ranked as equivalent to that of assistant secretary in the Ministry of the Public Service. As Chart 11.3 shows the PSTC has two other departments - Typist Training and Registry Training - which are headed by Team Leaders. The sixth department which used to be called the Registry, is currently in the process of being re-organized and will be

Chart 11.3

Structure Chart *

```
                    ┌──────────────────┐
                    │    Secretary     │
                    │  Min. Pub.Serv.  │
                    └──────────────────┘
                             │          ┌──────────────┐
                    ┌────────┴───────┐◄─┤ Director of  │
                    │ Under-Secretary│  │   training   │
                    │   (training)   │  └──────────────┘
                    └────────────────┘
```

| Registrar | Typist Training Team Leader | Registry Training Team Leader | Acounting Chief Trainer | Management Training Chief Trainer | Personnel Chief Trainer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Typist Training Officer | Registry Training Officer | Principal Treiners | Principal Treiners | Principal Treiners |
| | | | Senior Trainers | Senior Trainers | Senior Trainers |
| See Chart 11.4 | | | Trainers | Trainers | Trainers |
| | | | Assistant Treiners | Assistant Treiners | Assistant Treiners |

See Chart 11.4

* As at 06.02.84

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renamed Department of Course Support. It will, however, continue to be headed by the Registrar.

Thus, the PSTC has a highly departmentalized and hierarchical organizational structure. This same structure is virtually identical to the organizational structures employed in all other government ministries and departments. The allocation of assignments and tasks is strictly along departmental lines. Only a few courses, such as induction courses, are ever conducted on a multi-disciplinary team basis. Most of the courses conducted by the PSTC fall within the specific departmental limits; so that it is rare to find a group of say thirty or forty trainees who are undertaking training in courses run by any more than one department at a given time. Further, while all the heads of departments - Chief Trainers and Team Leaders - report directly to the Principal, there is little if any significant interaction of the staff across departmental lines.

This is a regrettable situation, since it necessarily means that the training process is fragmented and not integrated. The author also witnessed the purest form of top-down communication and decision-making while doing research work at PSTC. Whatever participation the staff may have in decision-making is restricted to participation within their respective departments. Naturally, the Principal may consult the Chief Trainers from time to time on PSTC matters, but that is about how far participation will go. As was argued in Part II of this study, this restriction of participation results in an MTI failing to

generate new ideas or innovations from within its own staff; it also tends to restrict the free flow of ideas and their cross-fertilization in dealing with problems of both the MTI and its clientele organizations. Rigidity in operations at PSTC makes it impossible to assign tasks to multi-disciplinary teams formed from combinations of trainers from the various departments. In the final analysis, the effectiveness of the PSTC as an agent of change and development is weakened to the extent that, in the view of this study, the PSTC cannot claim to do more than carry out remedial training for the Civil Service.

Like most other MTIs in developing countries, the PSTC also claims to be carrying out the other two functions of research and consultancy. The Registry Department at the PSTC, the organizational chart of which is shown in Chart 11.4 below, has the responsibility of running the library and procuring relevant training and research material for the Centre. As Chart 11.4 shows, the PSTC does not have a research unit comparable to that of INTAN. Instead, every trainer is expected to carry out research on his own in his own time and, indeed, of his own accord. It is up to him to use whatever data he gathers for training purposes although he or she is urged to consult with the relevant Chief Trainer on that. Indeed the library facilities at the PSTC are indicative of the low priority accorded to research. The so-called library is a tiny room which contains no more than two hundred books, magazines, pamphlets and a selection of government documents. In fact, the same room is also used as a store-

Chart 11.4

## PUBLIC SERVICE TRAINING CENTRE
### Structure Chart for Administrative Support Staff*



```
                        ┌─────────────────┐
                        │ Under-Secretary │
                        │   (Training)    │
                        └────────┬────────┘
                        ┌────────┴────────┐
                        │    Rgistrar     │
                        └────────┬────────┘
```

Ass. Registrar (Training)

Ass. Registrar (finance/personnel)

COURSE SUPPORT

Clerk (Course support)

Typist/ stenographers

Driver I

Technician

Grounds Overseer

Clerical Assistant

Cook III

Snr. Grounds man

Domestic Staff

Grounds Staff

Office Orderly
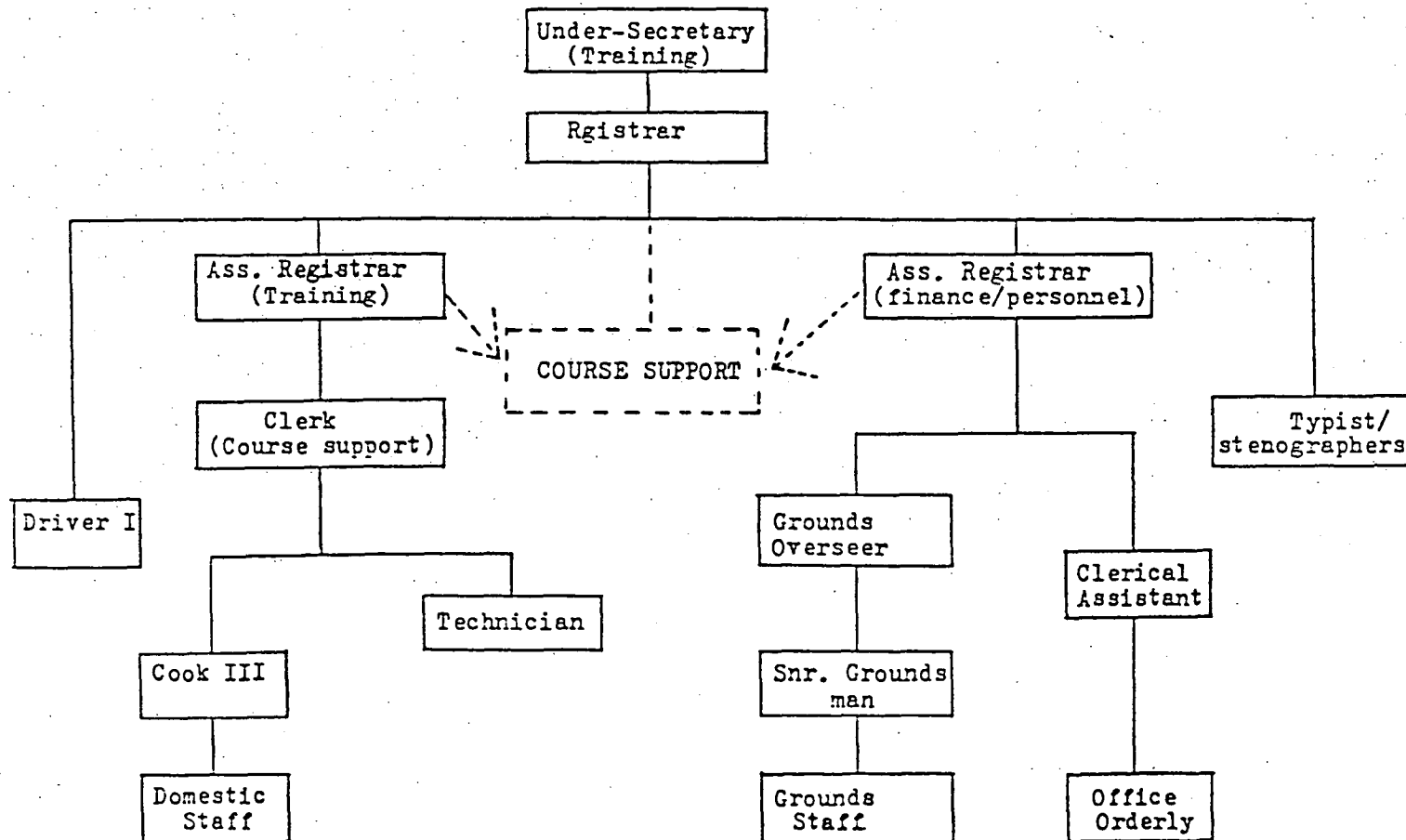
*as at 06/02/84

room for the Centre's stationery and office equipment. This author was struck by the total absence of professional journals and bulletins.

The functions of the other officers shown in Chart 11.4 include caring for audio-visual equipment, registering current and future trainees, and giving general logistical support to instructional staff. It must be pointed out that the audio-visual equipment at the PSTC is of good standard and in excellent repair. The extent to which it is utilized in training, however, leaves much to be desired.

## 11.2.4 Linkages and autonomy

Being a government institution, the PSTC has what may be termed a captive clientele in the form of all government ministries and departments. As such it has never needed to forge and manage its own linkages outside those that exist as a matter of the regular Civil Service practice and procedures. Government is the sole source of funds for the PSTC. Donations from external organizations are only accepted through government, and the PSTC has no authority to undertake fund-raising activities within or outside the country. On the question of its relations with related institutions and non-governmental organizations, the PSTC has virtually no formal linkages with such institutions as the University of Zimbabwe (UZ), the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS), or with the Zimbabwe Institute of Personnel Management (IPM). This last mentioned is a private institute which trains

personnel officers mainly for the private sector, but also for public corporations.

Within the Ministry of the Public Service itself, the PSTC has functional linkages with the Training Management Bureau (TMB), which has charge of all Provincial Training Centres which normally train at a lower level than that at which the PSTC trains. For example, when the PSTC conducts its so-called Decentralized Courses, it usually makes use of the Provincial Training Centres as venues for such courses. The PSTC also trains some of the trainers at the Provincial Training Centres in the same way that it trains for all other government ministries and departments.

Apart from loose relations with a few aid donors, the PSTC does not have formal linkages with international institutions. Those aid donors who may have contributed to the Government's effort at improving its manpower resources sometimes do visit the Centre to see what is going on. The PSTC, however, does not have anything like an exchange programme or a Staff Development Programme with a foreign-based institution, although the staff agrees that such a linkage would be beneficial to the Centre.

The lack of institutional linkages with other related institutions within the country is obviously detrimental to the PSTC. It means that the PSTC cannot invite UZ, IPM or ZIDS lecturers and instructors to participate in its own training activities in their special fields. This is wasteful of scarce resources and

also limits the PSTC from widening its horizons and keeping abreast of developments in the various fields of development and administrative or management training. It also means that the PSTC staff cannot effectively exchange notes with the staffs of other institutions, and this retards the generation of innovations. The lack of linkages with foreign institutions also means that the PSTC will not adequately get informed of situations, developments and solutions that may be taking place in other countries. It further means that facilities for further training for its staff remain unavailable, or available at a high cost. While it can be argued that because of the presence of a captive clientele, the PSTC does not really need to forge its own linkages as a means of obtaining resources - including funds and trainees - it is also important to emphasize that the PSTC's ability to accurately identify its clientele organizations' training needs is gravely blunted by the lack of effective linkages with its clientele organizations. This obviously leads to a low level impact on the administrative system and on the change and development processes.

With regard to the PSTC's institutional autonomy, all that can be said is that as a government training centre, the PSTC has as much autonomy as any other government ministry or department. For an MTI, that is limited autonomy, indeed. The Centre has little authority to make real or significant changes to its structure and operations. While it has the autonomy to decide on what courses it will run, when and for how long, it does not

have the autonomy to introduce new courses without the Secretary of the Public Service's approval. The PSTC also lacks the authority to select potential trainees to attend its courses. Once an employee or officer has acquired his head of department's approval to attend a course, then he attends the course even if the PSTC may consider him to be unsuitable for that course.

Further, except in the case of typing trainees who get to the PSTC for training before they are employed by the Service, the PSTC has little influence in the selection of Government officers. The comments and recommendations the Centre staff make at the end of each course, while being useful for the respective departments' advancement exercises, still do not constitute much in the form of institutional autonomy or authority to select civil servants. In addition to this, the fact that the PSTC gets all its funding from government and is not authorised to manage its own budget means that its autonomy is severely limited.

It was noted in Part II of this study that total financial dependence on the government tends to inhibit an MTI's autonomy. The PSTC cannot decide on its own how much money is to be spent on research activities, for example. This, in turn reduces its potential to become innovative and pro-active. This lack of meaningful autonomy also means that the PSTC cannot dare to be significantly different from other government departments and agencies in its structure, operations, or personnel policies. This in turn means that the PSTC cannot effectively introduce

new structures, procedures and other ideas into the administrative system. Its lack of authority to select its own trainees or to influence the selection of civil servants reflects adversely on its professional status. With this sort of limited institutional autonomy the PSTC can at best perform only the maintenance role for the Zimbabwe Civil Service. For an MTI in a dynamic post-colonial situation, this is indeed a regressive role to play. The close link between institutional location, autonomy and internal structure and organization is clearly demonstrated in the foregoing.

11.2.5 Training programmes

This sub-section will focus on the three major departments of Management Training, Accounts and Personnel. As noted earlier, each of these departments has a Chief Trainer as Head of Department (HOD) and a team of trainers at the various levels of hierarchy as shown in Chart 11.3 above. All three departments are involved in what is regarded as the PSTC's most important course - the Introductory Course. This course is compulsory for all civil service recruits and must be attended within two months of first appointment to the Service. The course, which lasts for two days, is designed to provide an insight into the workings of government and of the Public Service. It also purposes to give the recruits an introduction to the Public Service terms and conditions of service. The course is run on a specially designed time-table which enables trainers from all three

departments to participate in areas related to their departments.

Another course which requires the participation of all three departments is the Administration I Course. This course is designed for members of the Administrative Group. These are usually middle management officers (mainly university graduates) and specialists who have general administrative responsibilities in their ministries and departments. Like the Introductory Course, this course also aims at providing participants with an insight into the workings of government and the Public Service. It is designed to provide a broader view of the Service than that provided by the specific departments from which these participants come.

In addition to these two courses, each department conducts several other courses which are targeted at the relevant officers as indicated in the last column of Table 11.2 below. With the exception of Special Courses, most courses carried out by the PSTC have common conditions of eligibility. All participants of the initial courses such as Administration I, Personnel I and Accounting I, must have their HOD's written approval to attend the courses. Participants intending to attend subsequent courses must have been participants of the courses immediately preceding the one they intend to attend. They must also have the written approval of their HOD. At the end of each course participants are issued with a certificate of attendance. This certificate is given only to participants who have completed the whole course. Finally, there must

be an interval of at least six months between the courses
that an individual officer may attend at the PSTC.

The PSTC's courses have varying durations. The
shortest one runs for only two days and the longest one
for three weeks. At the beginning of each year the PSTC
sends a circular to all government departments and
ministries informing them of the courses the Centre will
be conducting during that year and the dates when the
courses will be conducted. The circular also contains the
governing conditions of each course, such as eligibility
and target populations. The PSTC urges all HODs to ensure
that the curriculum details shown under each course on the
circular are relevant for their purposes before they
approve of an officer's application to attend the course.
As indicated on Table 11.2 the PSTC also conducts
Special Courses for government ministries and departments
on request. Under such arrangements the PSTC leaves the
target group to the requesting department to decide. The
staff of the PSTC will normally travel to the department
requesting Special Courses rather than have the trainees
come to the Centre.

Even a casual glance at Table 11.2 is enough to
impress one that if anything, the PSTC can only train for
induction and maintenance purposes, and not for change
and development. In a country which has only been
independent for three years[69]; a country where the
revolutionary struggle brought into the general populace
high levels of political awareness and a condemnation of
the status quo; a country so much in need of change and

# Table 11.2

## Statistical Returns: January - December 1983
### Trainees who attended PSTC by course, month, total trainees, trainee days end target group

| COURSE | JAN | FEB | MAR | APR | MAY | JUN | JUL | AUG | SEP | OCT | NOV | DEC | TOT | TR/DYS | TARGET GROUP |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Accounting I | 20 | 40 | 40 | 20 | 20 | I8 | 40 | 40 | 60 | 60 | 40 | 40 | 438 | 6570 | All in accounts offices |
| Accounting II | 20 | 20 | - | 20 | I9 | - | I9 | 20 | - | 20 | 20 | 20 | I78 | I780 | Stage II for as in I |
| Accounting III | - | - | I5 | - | - | - | I7 | - | I5 | - | - | - | 47 | 470 | Stage III for as in I but advanced |
| Acc/SAO&SEO's | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | I2 | 8 | I4 | I2 | 46 | 322 | All appointed directly to these grades |
| Admin. I | 20 | 20 | 20 | - | 20 | - | 20 | 30 | 20 | - | 20 | - | I70 | I700 | All in first yr of service |
| Admin. II | - | 20 | - | 20 | - | 20 | - | 22 | - | 20 | 20 | - | I22 | 6I0 | As in Admin I and compulsory |
| Introductory | 70 | 80 | 32 | - | 43 | - | 63 | - | 84 | - | 80 | - | 452 | 904 | Compulsory, all recruits in Harare |
| Interviewing | - | - | - | - | - | I2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | I2 | 60 | All in selection/appraisal interviews |
| Clerical | - | 20 | - | IO | - | 39 | 20 | - | IO | 39 | 20 | 20 | I78 | I780 | All clerical assistants all depts. |
| Legislation | - | - | II | - | - | - | - | - | 22 | - | - | - | 33 | I65 | All who draft subsidiary legislation |
| Tr of Trainers | - | - | II | - | - | - | I4 | - | IO | - | - | IO | 45 | I75 | Dept-based trainers/training officer |
| Personnel I | I2 | 22 | 24 | - | I2 | 24 | I2 | I2 | I3 | 22 | 33 | I2 | I98 | 2970 | All in a personnel function |
| Personnel II | I5 | - | - | I4 | - | I6 | IO | - | I5 | I5 | - | - | 85 | 850 | do, but different subject matter |
| Personnel III | - | - | I2 | - | - | - | - | I8 | - | - | I4 | - | 44 | 440 | do, do. |
| Personnel IV | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 9 | - | - | - | 9 | 45 | do, do. |
| Personnel mod. | - | - | - | - | 7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 7 | 2I | Module for knowledge of I.O.D.D. |
| Public Spkng. | - | - | - | - | - | II | - | - | - | - | - | - | II | 55 | All involved in public speaking |
| Registry Intro | 9 | 8 | I3 | I7 | IO | - | 6 | IO | - | I7 | - | IO | I00 | I00 | All Reg. Clerks in first 2 months |
| Reg./Closed | 25 | - | - | - | 7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 32 | 64 | Reg. clerks in Closed field |
| do- Procedures | 28 | 42 | I4 | 42 | I4 | - | 39 | - | I5 | I6 | I6 | 33 | 259 | 2036 | do, within first yr of service |
| do- Classifers | I4 | - | I4 | - | I4 | I4 | I4 | I4 | 32 | I6 | I6 | - | I48 | I480 | All who advance to Classifiers |
| Sup Management | 35 | 34 | 2I | II | 26 | I9 | 7 | 23 | I7 | 44 | I2 | 22 | 27I | I355 | All in supervisory capacity |
| Management | - | - | I2 | - | - | IO | I2 | - | I3 | - | - | IO | 57 | 275 | SEA's SAO's and above |
| +ALV Accounting | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 20 | - | 20 | 300 | All in accounts offices |
| do. Personnel | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 20 | - | - | 20 | I00 | All in personnel function |
| do. Rec Keep. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | I3 | - | I3 | 26 | All with General Clerical Duties |
| do. Sup Mangnt | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 36 | - | - | - | - | 36 | I80 | All in supervisory capacity |
| ⊼ROW Accounting | 9 | - | IO | - | - | I7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 36 | I08 | All in accounts offices |
| do. Personnel | I3 | IO | I4 | - | II | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 48 | 240 | All in a personnel section |
| do. Rec. Keep. | I2 | I2 | I4 | - | 6 | I7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 6I | I22 | All with General Clerical duties |
| do. Sup Mangnt | II | I8 | I5 | - | 6 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 50 | 250 | All in supervisory capacity |

Special Courses conducted for the following ministries:

| | JAN | FEB | MAR | APR | MAY | JUN | JUL | AUG | SEP | OCT | NOV | DEC | TOT | TR/DYS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| LANDS: Mangnt | - | - | - | - | 30 | - | 3I | - | - | - | - | - | 6I | 6I | Personnel selected by the respec- |
| DEFENCE: Acc | - | - | - | - | - | 23 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 23 | 46 | tive ministry and requiring train- |
| HEALTH: Admin | - | - | - | 8 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 8 | 64 | ing in the particular subject |
| EDUCATION: Admn | 20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 20 | I00 | offered. |
| LOC GVT: Admin | - | 58 | IO | - | IO | - | - | - | - | 20 | - | - | 98 | 98 | |
| FRGN AFFs Mngnt | - | - | - | - | 23 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 23 | 46 | |
| GWEBI CCL Mngnt | - | - | - | - | 36 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 36 | 36 | |
| LABOUR: P/Spkng | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 20 | - | 20 | I00 | |

Grand Totals: 35I4 25604

+ Courses conducted at Alvord Training Centre.

⊼ Courses conducted at Rowa Training Centre.

meaningful development, it is inconceivable that a government training institution would commit vital scarce resources to status quo oriented training programmes. Almost all the courses discussed above point to the fact that the PSTC has the aim of adequately informing the trainees about how this "firm" they have joined and become part of operates, what their terms and conditions of service are and how they should look after the resources of the "firm". This is obviously an exaggerated way of putting it, but the truth is not very far either. To train civil servants in the "nuts and bolts" of administration is not only an expensive and retarding exercise for a supposedly development-oriented administrative system; it also leads to the administrative system lagging behind the rest of the dynamic society and being condemned by the public and politicians as of dubious utility and reactionary.

It is true that training in the general principles and practices of administration, management, personnel and accounts is still important in a developing setting. What is, however, criticised in this study is a situation whereby such training becomes the major if not only concern of an MTI in a developing country such as Zimbabwe. It is the contention of this study that the training programmes of the PSTC, as presented in the course outlines and brochures, reflect a primary concern with established routines and procedures of management rather than with the introduction of new methods and practices, or the simplification of obsolete and

inappropriate methods and practices of a by-gone era and system. The training programmes of the PSTC do not adequately address the problems of development administration that its environment is facing.

11.2.6 Staff and staff development

Like INTAN, the PSTC recruits all its staff from the Civil Service. Trainers from outside the Service can only join the PSTC through the regular Civil Service recruitment procedures. In fact, it is more accurate to say the Civil Service Personnel Section recruits and appoints all staff who join the PSTC as trainers or other staff members. The PSTC, however, does specify to the Personnel Section the qualifications and experiences it requires its staff to have and the Personnel Section endeavours to ensure that all the staff appointed or transferred to the PSTC have the requisite qualifications. The PSTC seems to lay more emphasis on experience in administration and related fields than on such academic qualifications as higher degrees. The Principal of the PSTC indicated that he would prefer to employ an individual who holds an IPM diploma than one with, say, a BA degree in Business Studies or Public Administration. He argued that the individual who holds a diploma is better oriented towards practical approaches than his degree counterpart who may tend to be theoretical in his approach.

As presently constituted, however, about half of the trainers at the PSTC have at least a first degree in

their specialised fields. Three of the trainers also hold a Master's degree, and another three are engaged in post-graduate studies on a part-time basis. None of the staff holds a Ph.D. degree (including the Principal). Most of the trainers have had some experience in their respective fields, either in government service, or in local government, or in the private sector. A few have also had some experience of working outside Zimbabwe.[70]

The PSTC does not seem to have a staff development programme of its own. Instead, instructors are encouraged to undertake self-development study, and are promised that whatever further qualifications they may attain as a result of such study will be taken into account for purposes of career advancement and promotion. This, however, is the policy of the Civil Service as a whole, and not peculiar to the PSTC. As stated earlier, the PSTC does not have arrangements with international or foreign institutions whereby its staff can receive further training or study for a higher degree. The Civil Service may however select one or two officers and grant them scholarships to undertake further studies and/or training outside Zimbabwe. This is also done for all other government ministries and departments.

The staff advancement policy of the PSTC is equivalent to that of the Civil Service. An individual who holds a first degree joins the PSTC at the Assistant Trainer level (see Chart 11.3). After one year and subject to having demonstrated proficiency in some areas, he will be promoted to the level of Trainer. After a

further two years, and having satisfied the Public Service
Inspectorate that he is above average in performance, and
that he is capable of preparing suitable training material
in his field, he will be promoted to the level of Senior
Trainer. A Senior trainer would need to further prove his
capabilities in training and development of junior
officers before he can be considered for further
promotion. After two to four years, and on satisfactorily
attending a Public service Commission interview, he is
promoted to the level of Principal Trainer. A further two
to four years, an interview with the Public service
Commission and the approval of the secretary of the
Ministry of the Public service are required to enable the
Principal Trainer to be promoted to the rank of Chief
Trainer.

As presently constituted, the PSTC has only one
trainer at the Assistant Trainer level. The rest of the
trainers have already moved up the ladder, or they entered
at a higher level than Assistant Trainer level because of
qualifications or experience or both, or as a result of
the Presidential Directive mentioned earlier in this
section.

Recruitment of instructional staff mainly from the
civil service has been shown in this study to have several
drawbacks, some of which are confirmed by the foregoing.
The low priority accorded to the functions of research and
consultancy at the PSTC; the concentration of resources on
courses of a remedial, introductory and maintenance
nature; the lack of linkages and effective interaction

with non-governmental organizations and related institutions; and the dearth of any innovations are all easily attributable to, among other factors, this reliance on civil servants as trainers. While it is true that academically-oriented instructors would not be entirely suitable as development management trainers, it is equally true to say that instructors who are not research-oriented and innovative are just equally unsuitable, since they will not adequately enable the PSTC to experiment with new ideas and methods. They instead, tend to be good at what they are used to, the established methods and practices, the status quo.

At any rate the fact that most of the trainees who attend its courses are graduates who hold at least one degree means that the PSTC needs as many of its staff as possible to hold higher academic qualifications than those held by the trainees if the trainees are to be motivated to learn and to have confidence in their trainers. The lack of an attractive staff development programme also adversely affects the performance of the PSTC. The staff easily slip into a rut and are not motivated to actively seek to become better qualified and more competent in their fields. The lack of a challenge necessarily leads to complacency, a commodity which an MTI in a developing state cannot afford to indulge in. The advancement procedures outlined above clearly indicate the folly of tying the personnel policies of an MTI to those of the rest of the civil service. The emphasis placed on the time dimension rather than on achievement and performance

negates the special circumstances of an MTI as an agent of change and innovation. This leads the PSTC to regard itself, and to be regarded by its clientele organizations, just like any other government department or unit. Its chances of effectively influencing and introducing changes and new ideas and methods into the administrative system are practically nil.

## 11.2.7 Evaluation of performance

According to the Chief Trainers at the PSTC, evaluation of training is intended to find out whether learning has taken place; to assess a trainee's reaction to training; to see what effect training has had on an officer's performance on the job and his behaviour after the training. Different courses have different evaluation methods. In most cases evaluation is carried out throughout the training period. Observation seems to be the most popular method of evaluation at the PSTC. In addition some departments give tests, during or after training. In a few instances trainers hold evaluation sessions with the trainees. This is usually done at the end of a training period, and is intended to enable the participants to collectively indicate to the trainers the strong and weak points of the various aspects of the completed training. In a few selected cases, the trainees - usually from middle level management levels - are asked to complete a questionnaire and submit it to the trainer before they leave the Centre at the end of training.

The trainers also carry out follow-up activities

to evaluate the performance of their former trainees. They usually visit them at their normal work places and conduct interviews with the trainees and their supervisors. In this method the trainers make use of a carefully structured questionnaire (see Appendix A). After such a visit the team which conducted the training compiles a report on its findings. the Management Training team's Report on Follow-up Visits (see Appendix B) indicates that the visits were carried out four months after the trainees had completed training. The interview procedure used is flexible but it generally follows the following pattern:

Ex-trainee is interviewed first, then the ex-trainee and his supervisor are interviewed together; OR

Ex-trainee is interviewed then supervisor is interviewed separately, i.e. in the absence of the ex-trainee.

The Report points out that in most cases the first-mentioned procedure is used, and the second method is only resorted to if the supervisor feels that he would like to say certain things about the ex-trainee which the latter should not hear.

There is generally a low opinion of the pre- and post-test method of evaluation at the PSTC. The argument against this method is that it does not really reflect that learning has taken place, nor does it necessarily prove that the training process has been effective in bringing about the desired level of performance in the trainee. An exception to this view is in the case of Public Speaking. In this course trainees are required to give a two-minute speech to their class before training

commences, and then another two-minute speech at the end of training. The speeches are both video-taped and then discussed and compared by the whole class.

Finally, the Principal of the PSTC pointed out that although the Centre does not have an institution-alised method of evaluating its impact upon the administrative system, it makes use of the general appraisal reports of ministries and departments to find out whether the departments and ministries the Centre conducted some training for have improved their performance or not. The PSTC also makes use of the reports of the Parliamentary Accounts committee for the same purpose and as a way of identifying in general the training needs of ministries and departments. Thus in effect, however, the PSTC, like many other MTIs in developing countries, does not evaluate the effectiveness of its training programmes on its environment.

That the PSTC is allowed to make individual comments on trainees, which comments may be used in determining the career advancement of an officer, is of significant importance. For one thing it makes the trainees take their training more seriously and motivates them to higher levels of interest in the training process. For another, providing that those who make decisions on personnel promotions do take such comments seriously this is one way - a small one maybe - in which the PSTC can claim to have an influence on the personnel policies and practices of the Zimbabwe Civil Service. In the absence of an institutionalized method of evaluation, however, one is

left wondering as to the validity of these comments. With regard to evaluation sessions with participants there is always the problem of lack of frankness and honesty. This is so much so in a situation where the trainer's confidential comments on trainees' performance may influence the trainees' career advancement. It would be unwise to openly criticise the way the training was conducted.

Very little useful information or feedback can be gathered by means of a questionnaire submitted so soon after the training. The trainees will not have had enough time to reflect upon all the new things they will have been exposed to. Worse still, they will not have had the opportunity to try some of these new skills and knowledge in a working situation. Follow-up activities as carried out by the PSTC are probably the Centre's best way of attempting to evaluate both the training itself and the ex-trainee's reaction or performance after the training. As was stated earlier, however, the results of this method of evaluation are not conclusive since several factors other than training can influence such results significantly. It is unfortunate that the report that results from these follow-up activities (see Appendix B) is defective in that it merely gives the interviewees' responses without comment or self-examination on the part of the interviewing team. The procedure outline at the beginning of the report also leaves out that vital information of how many interviewers took part and whether they were all trainers in the course or courses that the

ex-trainee attended. However, the weakest aspect of evaluation at the PSTC is probably the lack of evidence of how the feedback from such evaluation is used in improving - restructuring and redesigning - training programmes.

With regard to making use of the various (external) reports to assess the PSTC's impact on the administrative system all that needs to be stated is that at best the PSTC might be able to identify areas of training needs to some limited extent; but this is certainly not an adequate way of assessing or evaluating its impact on the administration. To assume that if a certain report does not mention a certain problem in a given department or ministry reflects that the training courses that were attended by two or three officers from that department or ministry were effective is to stretch things a little. Admittedly, there are considerable problems or difficulties involved in the evaluation of an MTI's impact upon its environment, but the PSTC's method of dealing with such difficulties is certainly not an appropriate solution.

Looking now at the PSTC as an MTI in a developing country, the first point to note is that the PSTC is an excellent example of an inherited institution which has been superficially reformed to try and make it development oriented and useful. It can be argued that this transformation has not resulted in the PSTC adopting a new role in the administrative and developmental systems. The fact that the PSTC continues to perform the remedial and maintenance roles causes it and the administrative system

to lag behind the rest of the Zimbabwean society in the
pursuit of change and development. The continued survival
of the PSTC after independence attests to the fact that,
like the Government of
like many other developing countries, the Government of
Zimbabwe recognizes the need for institutional training of
civil servants if the administrative system is to be
effective as a force for change and development. It is
also an admission on the part of the government that
deficiencies in manpower requirements exist in the
administrative system. The extent to which the PSTC is
able to fulfil the need for effectiveness and dynamism in
the administrative system is, however, very doubtful.

The contention of this study is that as presently
constituted, the PSTC can only train for continuity rather
than change and development. The PSTC is too status-quo
oriented in its approaches, programmes and other
institutional characteristics to adequately perform the
innovative and pro-active roles for the administrative
system. As has already been argued, the post-independence
era is an era which demands changes in the administration;
changes that are progressive and in tune with the new
socio-politico-economic order and aspirations of the
dynamic society that is typical of a post-colonial
situation. In spite of the numerous changes that have
taken place in Zimbabwe, the PSTC largely remains
unchanged.

The seemingly high turn-over of trainees in a
given year (see Table 11.3) can be interpreted as
indicating a significant impact on the administrative

system. What is at issue, however, is the quality of the impact given the development needs of society. The point is that this development orientation of society needs to be matched by the administrative system. Thus, if it is to appropriately train the civil servants of Zimbabwe, the PSTC has to display and exercise this same orientation in large measure; in its structure, programmes and other activities. One way of ascertaining whether the administrative system is performing its functions adequately is to study the political leaders' and media comments.

There is ample evidence that since independence (1980) the politicians in Zimbabwe have been criticising the civil service for poor performance. Early in 1984 the Prime Minister, who is also in overall charge of the Ministry of the Public Service, had to reshuffle both the ministers and permanent secretaries of certain ministries which were reportedly "not doing well".[71] Some permanent secretaries and their deputies were made redundant and/or re-assigned elsewhere. Other ministries were placed under the Prime Minister's and the Deputy Prime Minister's Offices. As was noted above, The Herald issue of 12 December 1983 reported that the Minister of State (Public Service) in the Prime Minister's Office had come under severe criticism from the Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts which alleged widespread inefficiency and incompetence in the Civil Service.[72] Such criticism coming from the national politicians certainly means that

the administrative system was not adequately meeting the challenge and demands of national development.

The evidence presented in this case study indicates that training the civil servants in order to impart the required skills and techniques for the maintenance of existing procedures and practices will not lead to administrative effectiveness in a country which is battling with the problems of poverty and under-development. In the words of Zimbabwe's Deputy Minister of Manpower, Planning and Development: "Zimbabwe needs to re-examine and restructure its training efforts if it is to be self-sufficient in its manpower needs".[73]

Further evidence of the problems that the administrative system was facing came to light when in February 1984 the Government granted all civil servants a 5% salary increase. In addition, those civil servants with specialist skills and abilities in shortage areas were to be paid an additional 15% special allowance. Asked by an independent Member of Parliament to pin-point the shortage areas, the Minister of State (Public Service) said: ". . . these are in professional, technical and managerial groups".[74] The aim of these measures was to attract these groups into the Service and to retain the existing ones. However, the fact that such measures had to be undertaken attests to the fact that the Civil Service was experien-cing serious problems. Regrettably, these were problems which the PSTC could do very little to alleviate due to its own institutional incapability and ineffectiveness.

The situation of the Zimbabwe PSTC is, however, not unique. In fact, it can be argued that the situation of the PSTC is typical of the majority of MTIs in most developing countries. This case study has however served to demonstrate the various factors that are involved in making an MTI in a developing setting both viable and capable of performing the role of a change and development agency. The absence of such factors in the case of the PSTC can be argued to be the major reason why this MTI is failing to have any reasonable level of impact upon the Zimbabwe administrative system.

## Conclusions to Part III

The case study of INTAN demonstrated the extent to which measures can be taken to ensure that an MTI becomes innovative, effective and relevant to the change and development requirements of a developing country. The fact that the national groups worked hand in hand with foreign groups to create INTAN gave this MTI a good foundation for both acceptability and support by the environment. While INTAN's location - within the administrative system - is one which would normally cause concern, the situation of INTAN once again demonstrates how the political and administrative leadership can adjust and reform normal civil service policies, practices and regulations to suit the needs of a special institution which, nevertheless, remains a government institution. The most significant features of this arrangement are : the special personnel policies that apply to INTAN; the level of autonomy granted to INTAN; and the authority to operate its budget.

For its part, INTAN indicated its dynamism by adopting an internal organizational structure and operational strategy which contains adequate measures for facilitating flexibility, participation and inter - and intra-departmental communication and participation, while also combating the usual constraints that are commonly associated with hierarchial organizational structures. Further, the special arrangements made for staff development and the linking of further training to career development, are clearly measures that only enable

INTAN to attract and retain high calibre personnel, but will also considerably motivate its trainees and potential trainees to accept its programmes. But, as has been argued in this chapter, INTAN also still has a long battle before it. Its development has of necessity, got to continue in the areas of staffing and evaluation of training programmes as well as evaluation of its own performance and impact upon the Malaysian administrative system and society.

The Zimbabwe PSTC contrasts sharply with INTAN in most of the features noted above. Almost the only common feature they share is that they are both government training institutions. Unlike INTAN, the PSTC is an inherited institution which was re-structured and staffed to meet new needs of a new political regime and a development-oriented administrative system. The political and historical setting of Zimbabwe paints the picture of a deeply divided society; with a racial minority which had suddenly lost political power but which still wielded a lot of economic and technical clout; as opposed to the majority Africans who had become the new political chiefs, but who were, and still are faced with the monumental task of learning to govern and develop the country. The revolution prior to independence had imbued the common man with a high level of consciousness about oppression, class differences, exploitation, efficiency, inefficiency, justice, injustice, equality and other items of the revolutionary nomenclature.

Thus the Zimbabwean society is highly dynamic in

nature and quick to criticize government and its employees for any performance below what is expected of a new, socialist and people-oriented regime. The task of the PSTC is not only to ensure that the newcomers to the corridors or power are well equipped to effectively perform their tasks, but also that they are prepared for a much more enlarged role, as agents of change and development. The case study on the PSTC has adequately shown why this institution is failing to perform this over-sized role, given its institutional characteristics.

It operates strictly like any other government ministry or department; has virtually no autonomy to carry out any major specialised or innovative tasks without the full sanction of government; it has virtually no linkages with non-governmental organizations or groups; its training programmes are techniques-oriented and intended clearly to create a non-thinking routines operator, not a development administrator nor a change manager. The lack of a well-planned staff development programme and the fact that no distinction in personnel policies is made between the practitioner civil servant and the civil servant turned trainer necessarily mean that the PSTC can only attract the average individual, and not staff of a high calibre. At any rate, the lack of special incentives ensures that this state of mediocrity will continue to obtain. That the PSTC is not able to seriously evaluate its impact upon the administrative system is characteristic of most MTIs in developing nations. That there are difficulties involved in the process of such

evaluation is accepted. Yet there is a sense in which difficulties turn out to be a relished convenience.

The case study on the PSTC thus serves to illustrate several of the major institutional deficiencies that exist in most MTIs and was viewed from the backdrop of INTAN which reflects several of the positive factors for institutional capability advocated in this study.

References and Notes - Chapter 11

1. Samuel Paul, <u>Training for Public Administration and Management in Developing Countries: A Review</u>, World Bank Staff Working Papers No.584, The World Bank, Washington, 1983, pp.100-105.

2. Elyas B. Omar, "National Institute of Public Administration, Malaysia" in Inayatullah, (ed.), <u>Management Training for Development: The Asian Experience</u>, ACDA, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1975, pp.121-155.

3. INTAN is the Malay acronym for Institut Tadbiran Awam Negara, the National Institute of Public Administration.

4. Omar, "national Institute - Malaysia", p.123.

5. Samuel Paul, <u>Training for Public Administration</u>, p.100.

6. Ibid.

7. Omar, "National Institute - Malaysia", p.124.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., pp.124-125.

10. Ibid., p.125.

11. Ibid.

12. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization Through Management Training: A Study of 22 Training Institutions in Asia" in Inayatullah, (ed.), <u>Management Training for Development</u>, pp.17-87, (30).

13. Omar, "National Institute - Malaysia", p.125.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Samuel Paul, <u>Training for Public Administration</u>, p.101.

17. Omar, "National Institute - Malaysia", pp.125-126.

18. Samuel Paul, <u>Training for Public Administration</u>, p.126.

19. Ibid.

20. Omar says four but Samuel Paul says five departments. Paul includes the Registrar's Department in his analysis.

21. Omar, "National Institute - Malaysia", p.126.

22. Ibid.

23. Samuel Paul, Training for Public Administration, p.102.

24. Ibid.

25. Omar, "National Institute - Malaysia", p.128.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30/ Ibid., p.129.

31. Ibid.

32. Samuel Paul, Training for Public Administration, p.103.

33. Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization", p.67.

34. Omar, "National Institute - Malaysia", pp.132-133. At the time of writing his article, Omar was the Director of INTAN and a member of ADS. His article, understandably, tends to be void of critical analysis, hence the need to use at least two other works on INTAN in this study.

35. Samuel Paul, Training for Public Administration, p.104.

36. Omar, "National Institute - Malaysia", p.134.

37. Samuel Paul, Training for Public Administration, p.105.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Omar, "National Institute - Malaysia", p.151.

41. Ibid., pp.151-152.

42. Samuel Paul, Training for Public Administration, p.104.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Omar, "National Institute - Malaysia", p.151.

46. Samuel Paul, <u>Training for Public Administration</u>, p.105.

47. Omar, "National Institute - Malaysia", p.152.

48. Bernard Schaffer, "The Public Administration Training Research Project" in <u>Institute of Development Studies Bulletin</u>, Vol.6, No.1, 1974, pp.37-54, (40).
For detailed discussion of institutional evaluation see also Bernard Schaffer, "Policy Decisions and Institutional Evaluation", Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Discussion Paper No.25, June 1973.

49. Samuel Paul, <u>Training for Public Administration</u>, p.105.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., p.103.

52 Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., pp.103-104.

55. Ibid., p.4.

56. Ibid., p.105.

57. Colin Stoneman, (ed.), <u>Zimbabwe's Inheritance</u>, MacMillan Press, London, 1981, p.5.
For a detailed account of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe see K. Maxey, <u>The Fight for Zimbabwe: The Armed Conflict in Southern Rhodesia since UDI</u>, Rex Collings, London, 1975.

58. Coenraad Brand, "The Anatomy of an Unequal Society" in Stoneman (ed.), <u>Zimbabwe's Inheritance</u>, pp.36-57, (50).

59. Ibid., p.51.
The District Commissioner, his assistant, Police Member-in-Charge, etc. were all whites. This was done as much to provide jobs for whites as for security reasons.

60. Ibid.
See also M.W. Murphee et al., <u>Education, Race and Employment in Rhodesia</u>, University of Rhodesia, Salisbury, 1975.

61. Ibid.
   For detailed discussion see P. O'Meara, <u>Rhodesia:</u> <u>Racial Conflict or Coexistence?</u>, Ithaca, London, 1975.

62. M. Kadhani & R. Riddell, "Education" in Stoneman, (ed.), <u>Zimbabwe's Inheritance</u>, pp.58-73, (58).
   Racialist aspects of the education systems included: "the lack of access to schools for the majority of blacks in contrast to universal education for whites; far greater government expenditure on the education of white children in comparison with black children; and the minute number of further education places for blacks in contrast to adequate facilities for white students".

63. Ibid., p.69.
   This was compatible with the regime's immigration policies. Because of the liberation war, many whites were leaving the country ('taking the gap') and the regime needed to encourage whites to come (mainly from Europe and South Africa) and live in Rhodesia. Skilled jobs were therefore, reserved and guaranteed for them - by law.

64. <u>The Herald</u> (newspaper), Harare, 12 December 1983, p.1.
   Most whites left government employment for political (or racial) reasons. They could not tolerate working side by side with Africans, or worse still, black bosses.

65. Ibid., p.3.

66. Ibid.
   The term "poaching" is used in Zimbabwe to describe a situation where private companies make use of such incentives as high salaries, company car or house or both, etc., to attract qualified/experienced civil servants to work for them.

67. Ibid.
   Most of the training was aimed at senior and top level civil servants and lasted for one week at most. It is, however, commendable that it was top-down rather than confined to low-level personnel only.

68. <u>The Herald</u>, 19 January 1984, p.7.
   These courses were apparently going to be conducted by trainers from a 'friendly' developed country.

69. The field research material presented in this case study was gathered in 1983/84. It is, however, doubtful whether the training programmes of the PSTC have significantly changed for the better since then.

70. During the liberation struggle (1966-79) a considerable number of Zimbabwean Africans left the country for further studies, military training and employment in neighbouring countries, other African countries, and even overseas countries.

71. The Herald, 18 January 1984, p.1.
    The reshuffle was essential and, in the opinion of most people, long overdue. The reshuffle was ample evidence that all was not well in most government ministries and departments.

72. The Herald, 12 December 1983, p.3.

73. Ibid., p.5.
    What needs to be re-examined and restructured is more than just the training effort. For a detailed discussion see Roger Riddell, "Zimbabwe: A New Nation with Old Problems" in Institute of Development Studies Bulletin, Vol.11, No.4, 1980, pp.59-64.

74. The Herald, 1 February 1984, p.1.
    The 5% salary increase was criticised by the Public Service Association as inadequate. The additional 15% (non-taxable) allowance granted to specialist categories was also estimated to fall short of the salaries and benefits accruing to these categories in the private sector.

PART IV

Chapter 12

CONCLUSION

This final chapter has two purposes: it reviews and summarizes the major external and internal environmental and organizational constraints which militate against the effectiveness of MTIs in most developing countries; it also summarizes the major conclusions of this study. The first section, thus, sets out to test the third hypothesis of this study. It is the view of this study that most of the constraints that MTIs face can be dealt with and removed by the action of national politicians, administrative leaders, and the personnel of the MTIs themselves.

12.1 <u>Major Problems That Confront MTIs In Developing Countries</u>

Much has been mentioned already regarding the various constraints that inhibit institutional effectiveness among MTIs in developing states. This section will attempt to summarize some of the major problems and indicate how they adversely affect an MTI's capability to be responsive to the needs of its environment and clientele, and its performance of the innovative and pro-active roles in its environment. This section will divide the problems faced by MTIs into two main groups - external and internal constraints.

## 12.1.1 External environmental constraints

In most developing countries MTIs are expected to perform the miracle of transforming an inherited conservative, impartial and elitist administrative system into a dynamic, innovative, pro-active and effective force for change and national development. This expectation is largely frustrated due to the fact that, among other things, complementary changes - administrative reforms - and adjustments that are crucial to the success of MTIs efforts rarely, if ever materialize. Colonial structures, practices and attitudes remain unchanged. Those who have suddenly entered the corridors of power and privilege rapidly acquire a stake in the system and resist any real changes that may threaten their cosy position.

For most developing countries, the advent of national independence was characterised by not only heavy demands for expansion of public services but also by fragmented and sometimes warring ethnic groups which made it difficult for the new regimes to effectively overhaul the law and order-oriented colonial bureaucracy they inherited. At the same time, there was little option to the expansion of public services if some demands were to be met. That management training and MTIs were seen as the less costly means of bringing about some improvement in the performance of the national administrations, therefore, comes as no surprise. But to be effective, such training needed to be complemented by appropriate reforms in the administrative systems themselves. Available evidence, however, indicates that appropriate structural,

operational and organizational reforms often did not
accompany management training in most of these countries.
In a study of 22 MTIs in Asia, Inayatullah observes that:

> . . . most Asian countries adopted a strategy of
> reforms in which reorientation of attitudes,
> skills and knowledge became a substitute for
> structural changes. As the new attitudes, skills
> and knowledge were to be imparted through
> training, the need for the creation of training
> institutions increased.[1]

These countries found it difficult to make any radical
departures from the western colonial systems of
administration. Thus while MTIs were expected to train
public servants to become more development-oriented and
effective agents for change, the organizations in which
these administrators were expected to function remained
largely unchanged. Inayatullah cites Braibanti thus:

> Analysis of the bureaucratic systems of India,
> Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, and Malaysia indicates
> that the apparatus and attitude left by the
> British has endured nearly two decades after
> independence and has shown a remarkable quality
> of resilience. In none of the states has there
> been a sharp break with the past, despite
> political denunciations of the administrative
> system established under the British rule.[2]

This same picture is reflected in Adebayo
Adedeji's study of MTIs in the African region. Arguing
that inadequate administrative capacity so prevalent in
African countries is only partially explained by
inadequate development-oriented training programmes,
Adedeji points out that also to blame are the
administrative institutions and systems within which
administrators have to operate:

> They were established during the colonial regime
> to meet conditions which differ greatly from
> those prevailing today. Countries which have

> been independent for a long time also still have
> administrative systems and institutions which
> are suited to a static era when governments were
> interested primarily in the preservation of law
> and order, the collection of taxes and the
> provision of limited government services. The
> present weaknesses in the structure of public
> services in Africa are a legacy of colonialism.
> These services have been patterned after those
> of the former colonial powers with some marginal
> adjustments here and there. For example, the
> hierarchical class structure of the British
> civil service is to be found in all Commonwealth
> African countries. Unfortunately, a public
> service organised hierarchically reduces
> administration to a routine process.³

This lack of appropriate and meaningful administrative

reforms in the administrative systems of developing

countries becomes a constraint on the efforts of MTIs in

these countries in so far as the trained civil servant is

unable, on returning to his job, to put any of the new

knowledge, skills and attitudes to effective use as a

result of the inherent incompatibility that exists between

the "new man" in an old, traditional system - like new

wine in an old wineskin. MTIs' propensity to conform to

their clientele's needs, patterns and systems necessarily

leads to an MTI performing little more than the remedial

and maintenance roles for the administrative system.

Related to this lack of structural reforms in the

administrations of developing countries is the problem of

lack of appropriate policies and procedures for personnel,

development and other activities of government. Backward

personnel policies and practices which do not link career

advancement to training and self-development are

prevalent. National development strategies, goals and

objectives, if any exist at all, are not clearly defined

nor articulated. These are weaknesses which leave an MTI in the dark about the training of public servants. The MTI is left without any guidelines of the kind of administrator required for the effective manning of an effective development bureaucracy. Trainees for their part are not adequately motivated to seek for training nor engage in self-development. Adebayo Adedeji writes:

> A country embarking on development-oriented administrative training should also undertake a most careful study of its administrative structures and practices with a view to instituting reforms simultaneously with the introduction of comprehensive administrative training programmes. Otherwise much of the value of the training would be lost as trainees would have to fit into the mould of an anachronistic system and would find their newly acquired knowledge and skills too advanced and inapplicable. This in turn would affect their attitudes to any future training. Many administrators have complained very bitterly against the systems which prevent them from putting into practice some of the things they have learnt in training courses . . . If African governments are to maximise their investments in administrative training they must link these with administrative reforms.[4]

As was argued in earlier chapters of this study, management training alone, and therefore MTIs, cannot bring about adequate meaningful change to a backward, traditional and under-developed society. At best management training can assist in the directing and speeding up of such change and development. But to do this effectively MTIs in developing societies need the full and continuous support and co-operation of the nation's political and administrative systems and leaders. It is these systems that can facilitate the institutional relevance, acceptability and capability of MTIs by acting

in concert with them; by ensuring that the organizational,
structural and procedural conditions they legislate for or
introduce as reforms are compatible and consistent with
the development and change orientation of their societies;
and that their personnel policies are supportive of the
MTIs in their efforts to improve administration and solve
development problems. A.R. Hoyle argues that training is
only one sub-system within the overall administrative
system of a given country:

> . . . and as all the sub-systems are close
> coupled its ultimate success must depend to a
> large degree upon the provision of other
> suitable sub-systems. Training, no matter how
> inspired its practitioners, can only be
> meaningful and useful if the whole adminis-
> trative system has such elements as an adequate
> goal-seeking sub-system, adequate human inputs,
> conversion sub-systems which are cybernetically
> controlled, etc.[5]

In those countries where MTIs were created within
the administrative system, one of the major constraints of
the MTIs so located is that of inadequacy of institutional
autonomy. The MTI is so bound to the rules, regulations
and procedures of the mainstream of government that it
lacks both the resources and the freedom to deviate to any
meaningful degree from established government practice,
both in its operations and organizational arrangements.
Consequently the MTI is unable to adopt its own, more
appropriate and democratic structures and systems of
operation. It is unable to experiment with new ideas and
systems which, if successful, it could recommend to the
administrative system as a whole. In short, the MTI is
unable to perform to any significant degree the innovative

and pro-active role for the administrative system. As was observed in an earlier chapter, this leads to ossification of the MTI. The efforts of the MTI are thus weakened and in the end it merely operates just like any other government agency. Samuel Paul writes:

> . . . the impact of training is certainly weakened by the inability of governments to link training to career planning and promotion policies. Receptivity to training is greatly hampered by the lack of political and bureaucratic support to strengthen such linkages.[6]

At the other extreme, however, is found a situation where an MTI is given so much autonomy as to be isolated from the very administrative system it is purposed to serve. Thus the other constraint which MTIs in developing states face is that of ineffective institutional linkages with both its clientele organizations and related institutions and groups in its environment. This lack of effective linkages leads to an MTI failing to accurately identify the national development and administrative reform strategies, training needs and present and potential development and administrative problems. This weakens the MTI's relevance and utility, and therefore its impact upon the developmental and administrative systems.

That the onus of forging and effectively managing institutional linkages is on the MTI itself has been adequately emphasized in this study. These linkages, apart from enabling an MTI to mobilise the requisite resources and other inputs for its operations, are also essential for the picking up by the MTI of the relevant signals

which indicate the necessity to change training programmes
and thus be responsive and relevant to the needs of its
clientele organizations. Richardson rightly cautions:

> The price of neglecting to achieve working
> relationships with the civil service, which
> result in progressive responses to Government's
> training needs at an Institute, is slow
> petrification . . . In fact, whether we are to
> admit it or not, our impact on Government is now
> more remote and less immediate.[7]

Yet there is a way in which an MTI, especially one which
is located within the administrative system, fails to
forge any functional linkages with other elements within
its environment because of government policies and
practices. For instance, it was argued earlier in this
study that MTI that are totally dependent on government
for financial resources often see no need to establish
supportive linkages with other institutions and groups
outside government. These MTIs get their financial
resources as a matter of government budgetary practice,
and obtain their trainees as a matter of government
personnel policies. The fact that institutional linkages
are also essential for the bringing in of professionals
other than civil servants to conduct training and research
in the MTI is thus given a low priority. In addition, the
MTI's capacity to keep abreast of developments elsewhere,
research findings and new ideas is severely limited by
this lack of linkages.

One feature of the administrative systems of most
developing states which exacerbates this problem is
excessive centralization. A sense of insecurity and the
need to demonstrate "political sovereignty and

unquestionable supremacy"[8] seem to be the major

motivating factors for administrative over-centralization

in developing countries. The adverse effects of excessive

centralization include: the creation of lags in the

administration of development programmes; restriction of

participation in decision-making; and paralysis in

communication channels. This has adverse implications for

an MTI that is located in the administrative system in the

sense that the MTI's linkages with non-governmental

organizations will tend to be limited to whatever is

sanctioned by government. Further, the MTI itself will

have a difficult time putting across to the trainees the

need for effective co-ordination, communication and

participation for effective development administration.

Hope and Armstrong write:

> . . . the dynamics of management of change, all
> depend for their effectiveness on the
> maintenance of a comprehensive flow of
> communications through the medium of the public
> service to the client society. Administrative
> decentralization promotes participation, access,
> and responsiveness.[9]

Thus the fact that over-centralization remains a common

feature of the administrative systems of most developing

states means that, among other things, the MTIs in these

countries continue to face problems of effectively

introducing and encouraging appropriate changes into these

administrative systems for the effective management of

change and development. The MTI's impact upon the systems

of development and administration thus remains stunted.

In a critical appraisal of post-independence

public administration in Pakistan, M.B.A. Abbas points out

that the efficacy of training has not been realized because of the reasons summarized below:

1. a sole reliance on it (training) to achieve organizational effectiveness;

2. trying to overwrite the engravings of tradition with the message of modernism;

3. not questioning the basic doctrines of the administrative system; and

4. the superimposition of training without foundational lateral or collateral support.[10]

Thus the other external environmental constraints that confront MTIs in developing countries are those of over-expectation of administrative systems that training will alone solve all its problems of incapacity, even without the necessary policy and other supports being provided. There is also, implied in the reasons listed above, the problem of cultural obstacles to change and the implantation of new ideas and practices. MTIs which have relied too much on imported or transferred models and techniques may find some of these to be incompatible with the cultural values and practices of their countries and administrative systems. The problem is compounded by human nature's resistance to change, which the MTI must also fight against in both the individual trainee and the administrative system as a whole.

The foregoing is by no means a comprehensive and conclusive analysis of the external environmental constraints that confront MTIs in developing countries. No claim is made here that any or all of these constraints

apply to all developing countries and MTIs; but it is true
that these constraints are commonly evident in most
countries to varying degrees. MTIs in these countries are
therefore constrained by them and sometimes deal with them
in various ways. The contention of this section is,
however, that these constraints do contribute
significantly to the ineffectiveness of MTIs in developing
countries.

## 12.1.2 Internal constraints of MTIs

Most of the internal constraints have been dealt
with in detail in the earlier chapters of this study. This
section will merely recapitulate on these constraints and
emphasize the adverse effect they have on an MTI's
capability and effectiveness as an agent of change and
development in a developing country. Raul P. de Guzman et
al. cite a UN publication which makes the following
observations about MTIs and training in developing
countries:

1. Training programmes are seldom based on a proper
   diagnosis, analysis and quantification of the kind
   and amount of training still needed for civil
   servants.

2. Training is often given haphazardly without
   establishing essential priorities according to the
   needs of development plans, programs and projects.

3. Since there is no research into or analysis of the
   training, very general courses are given to persons
   who often have no opportunity of applying the

knowledge they acquire.

4. Almost nothing is known about the type of training that should be given to the different levels of public administration.

5. There is often complete ignorance of the difference between academic training in the science of public administration and in-service training. Although both are essential and complementary, it frequently happens that only the second type of training is used to make good the shortage of human resources in administrative development.

6. In-service training also leaves much to be desired. Programs are often organized without considering priorities, and without allocating the resources to the sectors and levels where the best results could be obtained.

7. In-service training has been conducted more on the lines of courses for staff in subordinate positions. The countries have had little or no experience in training executive and supervisory staff, who are so important for national development.[11]

Thus, although these observations were made with specific reference to developing countries in the Latin American region, their relevance to the MTIs in the Asian and African regions is unquestionable. It is, however, necessary to elaborate on some of them as well as add to this list a few more internal constraints of MTIs.

One of the identified pre-requisites for the institutional capability of an MTI is the leadership. The

lack of appropriately qualified and experienced leadership constitutes one type of constraint that causes MTIs in developing states to fail to: adequately exercise their autonomy; forge effective linkages with the relevant groups and institutions in the environment; attract and retain staff of a high calibre; adequately allow staff to participate effectively in the decision-making processes and other activities of the MTI. As has been argued already, the lack of dynamic leadership results in an MTI which becomes contented with merely routine functions of a remedial and maintenance nature.

A related problem is that of political leadership, which can be categorized as an external environmental constraint. The extent to which the national political leaders are willing to support an MTI significantly affects the MTI's level of impact upon the administrative and developmental systems. The unfortunate situation commonly found in developing countries is that management training is accorded a lower priority than that given to other development activities. This necessarily causes an MTI to struggle to motivate administrators to accept training and accept positions of instruction on its faculty. Samuel Paul writes:

> In the public service, if training is perceived to be a 'low status' activity, the motivation to undergo training or to be posted in a training institution will understandably be low. If neither good administrators nor good academics find it attractive to work in a training institution, training quality and effectiveness are bound to suffer.[12]

Thus a further constraint of MTIs as regards their

internal environments is that of lack of suitably qualified staff. Low calibre personnel necessarily results in poor quality of training, research and other activities. These in turn result in low levels of acceptance by the environment, irrelevance and general ineffectiveness of the MTI. Samuel Paul confirms that this is a widespread problem in developing states:

> . . . a critical constraint on the effectiveness of training is attributed to the shortage and low quality of trainers. All countries report this to be a major problem and one which has been aggravated by the hiring practices and incentive structures of the institutions. Most institutions either have academics who are innocent of real world experience and field problems, or practitioners on secondment who have only a short-term interest in the training assignment.[13]

From the constraint of lack of competent leadership flows a further constraint - inappropriate internal structures and organization of an MTI. The role of the MTI's leadership in determining its internal structure and organization has been discussed in detail in an earlier chapter. The extent to which strict, hierarchical and departmentalized structures and rigidities in operations are adhered to considerably serves to explain why an MTI will have problems in staff participation; inter- and intra-departmental communications; and the generation of innovations. It was also noted that such factors as the location of an MTI may influence the organizational structure and operations of an MTI. Another way in which a hierarchical and highly departmentalized organizational structure acts as a constraint to an MTI is reflected in the fragmentation of training, research and

consultancy. As was argued earlier, this negates the integrative nature of development and development administration. Available evidence confirms that the majority of MTIs in developing states still adhere to this archaic and inappropriate structure.

Another internal constraint concerns the neglect of both research and consultancy functions by most MTIs. Considerable emphasis is placed on the one function - training - with little realization of the truism that both research and consultancy would greatly enhance the function and process of administrative training. Neglect of research has particularly been noted to lead to failure of an MTI to: accurately identify training needs as well as present and potential problems; collect feedback from the environment and utilize it for the improvement of future programmes and activities; gather data for experimentation purposes or for developing training materials and professional works for publication. Neglect of the function of consultancy, on the other hand, denies an MTI the vital opportunity of 'selling' some of its outputs to its clientele and of obtaining an insight into the live issues and problems confronting its clientele organizations. This necessarily reduces the MTI's effectiveness, relevance and acceptance.

Calling the lack of research from among Pakistani MTIs, "The Critical Failure", Abbas notes that "research remains the midget consort of training in Pakistan".[14] Decrying the pomp and glamour that goes with training as opposed to the neglect and demeaning of research he

writes:

> The in-service training institutes were originally conceived as institutes for both training and research. But while training, with all the dazzle, claptrap, press-worthiness, optical impact and personal elation involved in program inaugurations, study touring, power of performance-reporting, awarding of certificates, and concluding dinners, still retains some of the roar of the first leap into administrative modernization, the slow, patient, impersonal, and glamourless nature of research could not have given it a more dynamic tenor in an environment where the action propensity of an administrator does not brook cold, microscopic observation of what has been done or is being done, its intellectual dissection or critical evaluation. Research has thus remained at the level of preparation and updating of training materials, editing of books, and documenting of monographs. Quick and easy publication has been the pursuit. More difficult areas, like indexing, preparation of reference guides, and codification have been overlooked, not to speak of any basic or problem-oriented research.[15]

This sad story is not restricted to Pakistan alone; indeed it is a fair comment to say this is the state in which most MTIs in developing countries are. Inayatullah paints this same sort of picture in his study of 22 MTIs in Asia.[16] As stated earlier, the neglect of both consultancy and research has adverse effects on the quality of training that an MTI will be able to engage in.

Thus, neglect of research and consultancy leads an MTI to become status quo oriented rather than innovative. It also causes the MTI to be unable to accurately identify its clientele organizations' management training needs. Authorities are largely agreed on the assertion that an MTI's inability to correctly and accurately identify training needs and structure and design its training programmes to meet these needs, is one of the major

constraints that cause institutional ineffectiveness and irrelevance of MTIs in the developing world. Samuel Paul writes:

> . . . the effectiveness of training is reduced by the inappropriate manner in which training needs are assessed. In part, this ineffectiveness is a result of the low priority attached to training by government agencies. But an inappropriate assessment of needs tends to compound the problem by generating training programs which do not meet the real needs of participants. The ECA Report of the Meeting of Ministers and APDAC studies highlight the severity of this problem.[17]

An important point which Paul identifies above is the contribution to the problem of needs identification that government makes in its regard or low regard for training. Al-Teraifi identifies four factors which may cause an MTI to encounter difficulties in this essential activity:

> (a) the absence of manpower planning to indicate the future needs of the government employees; (b) the lack of a position classification system to spell out what tasks constitute the jobs in the government agencies and the type of skills, knowledge and attitudes job holders must have to perform certain tasks; (c) lack of performance evaluation instruments to determine the areas in which public servants needed specific training; and (d) lack of adequate and competent personnel departments to define the training needs of their ministries' or agencies' employees.[18]

These factors obviously emphasize the importance of appropriate personnel and other administrative systems and procedures in the national administrative system as was argued earlier in this chapter. This is, however, not to excuse the MTIs in this all-important activity. Indeed, some MTIs would still have difficulty in accurately identifying training needs even in situations where the above-mentioned inadequacies do not exist. As Inayatullah

rightly observes:

> An adequate diagnosis of training needs would
> require an analysis of national policies, goals,
> and strategies of national development,
> appraisal of organization capabilities in
> relation to such policies, projection of
> manpower requirements, a profile of existing
> personnel, and information about constraints
> imposed by socio-cultural environments. This
> requires a high level of research capacity which
> few training institutions possess.[19]

It is this lack of research capacity which, in
addition to reducing an MTI's ability to accurately
identify training needs, also leads to the utilization of
ineffective and inappropriate training programmes, methods
and materials. This constraint necessarily reduces an
MTI's effectiveness in developing the manpower resources
of an administrative system.

Six of the seven observations listed at the
beginning of this sub-section can largely be attributed to
the employment of inappropriate training programmes,
methodologies and materials by MTIs. Samuel Paul notes
that:

> . . . there is a serious problem of poor quality
> in training. Country evaluators confess that a
> major criticism of public servants is that PAMT
> tends to be academic. The dominance of the
> lecture method in most training programs, the
> neglect of field research to produce indigenous
> training materials, and undue reliance on
> foreign textbooks, concepts and approaches have
> contributed to this repeated indictment of
> ongoing training activities. A recent IASIA
> study and Commonwealth Secretariat surveys
> indicate that these features are found in most
> LDCs.[20]

Inayatullah confirms this in his study of 22 MTIs in Asia.
Tables 12.1 and 12.2 below summarize Inayatullah's
findings in relation to the training methods commonly

employed by MTIs. The predominant use of the lecture method, in spite of its academic orientation and general ineffectiveness in management training is indicated by the fact that all the institutions studied use this method, while half of them combine it with at least two other methods such as case study, group discussion or field observations. "In fact, in about one half of the institutions, this method is used exclusively."[21]

TABLE 12.1

Frequency of Training Methods Used in
20 Major Training Institutions of Asia*

| Training Methods | Number of Institutions |
|---|---|
| Lecture | 20 |
| Case study | 12 |
| Field study | 11 |
| Group discussions | 10 |
| Syndicate method | 8 |
| Management games | 7 |
| Films | 7 |
| Seminars | 7 |
| Role play | 6 |
| Sensitivity training | 2 |
| In-basket exercise | 1 |

(* Data for two institutions not available)

Source: Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization", p.46.

TABLE 12.2

Proportion of Lecture Method to Training Methods
used in 18 Training Institutions of Asia*

| Lecture the predominant method | AAS | (Sri Lanka) | NIA | (Indonesia) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ASC | (Papua New Guinea) | NSA | (Vietnam) |
| | IPA | (Japan) | STI | (Singapore) |
| | | | | |
| Lecture combined with at least two other methods | AASC | (Australia) | COTI | (Korea) |
| | ACAD | (Korea) | NAA | (India) |
| | ASC | (India) | NIDA | (Thailand) |
| | ASC | (Pakistan) | NIPA | (Lahore) |
| | ASC | (New Zealand) | INTAN | (Malaysia) |
| | CEDA | (Nepal) | PEA | (Philippines) |

(* Data for five institutions not available)

Source: Inayatullah, "Administrative Modernization", p.47.

With regard to the curricula of training programmes, the

major constraint that MTIs face is the demand by most admini-

strative systems for techniques oriented programmes:

> Because most of these institutions are closely
> attached to one government ministry or another,
> there is a great deal of pressure for the how-
> to-do-it approach. Valuable time and resources
> are spent on teaching financial regulations,
> government orders, preparation of cabinet papers,
> techniques of minuting in file, etc. This
> vocational approach to administrative training
> can at best turn out a thoroughly competent
> civil servant . . . At its worst it trains a
> man to fill certain well-defined functions
> but limits his flexibility and efficacy by
> not giving him the important conceptions
> and questions about new problems and how to
> solve them.[22]

In a fast-changing, dynamic and critical post-colonial situation

an administrator who is only good at routine activities cannot

effectively manage change and development. Thus the effect-

iveness of the MTI at which he received his training is largely

marginal. In his usual, forceful way, Abbas argues that the

Pakistani training

programmes suffered from this problem of content and approach. He writes:

> For various reasons, training programs could not secure an optimum mix of ideology and expertise, conceptualization and empirical exercise, deduction and induction, analysis and synthesis, knowledge and behavioral technology, armchair deliberation and field involvement.[23]

By far the most difficult activity for any MTI is that of evaluation. As was pointed out in an earlier chapter, there are presently no appropriate fool-proof methods or systems for evaluating conclusively either individual training programmes or the impact of training on the performance of an individual or organization. There are, however, ways and means of reasonably assessing the influence of training, or at least of finding out whether learning has taken place after training. Thus evaluation of the process and product of learning can be carried out even though the results will not be conclusive, nor would they conclusively reflect that an individual's behaviour and performance have changed for the better solely as a result of the training. Because of these difficulties, most MTIs in developing countries do not evaluate training, or their impact upon their environments. Samuel Paul testifies to the difficulties MTIs face in this area:

> There is dissatisfaction with the present practice of evaluating training effectiveness solely on the basis of feedback provided by participants at the end of each training program. The APDAC studies of India, Malaysia, Pakistan and the Philippines have referred to this lack of attention to training evaluation as a major gap, so has the Commonwealth Secretariat survey of training in LDCs. Despite the dissatisfaction, evaluators confess that suitable methodologies for assessing the broader impact of training are simply not available.[24]

Indeed some MTIs make reasonable attempts to evaluate the impact of their training programmes, as the case of INTAN discussed earlier in this chapter shows. Some of the methods used are: discussions with course participants at the end of the course; administration of tests, examinations and questionnaires; follow-up activities and interviews with ex-trainees and their supervisors; and observation of behavioural changes over time. While the use of these methods may yield essential information which can be used to improve on future training programmes, these evaluation activities still remain what Siffin calls "indeterminate activities".

> Determinate activities are those whose results can be known. They are activities characterized by clear means-ends relationships . . . indeterminate activities . . . are activities whose goals and effects are not clear. Determinate activities can be assessed or evaluated in terms of their rationality. We can judge whether they do indeed serve the intended purpose . . . Indeterminate activities cannot be evaluated in this manner.[25]

In addition to the problem of indeterminacy, there is also the problem of contaminants, i.e. other factors which may influence the results that an evaluator will end up with. These contaminants are believed to become more influential the longer the interval between the end of training and the time of evaluation. On the other hand it would not be a worthwhile exercise to evaluate an ex-trainee's performance at his job on the first day that he resumes work after training.

In spite of these difficulties, as was emphasized in an earlier chapter, developing countries cannot afford

to commit scarce resources to management training without some way of knowing what the returns from such investment are. Neither can MTIs afford to neglect evaluation, even if it may simply be for the purpose of gathering feedback. Regrettably, as Inayatullah reports, some MTIs do not make use of this feedback for the improvement of training programmes:

> Though most training institutions conduct an evaluation of training programmes in order to improve the quality of training, in actual practice, the evaluation usually turns out to be an evaluation of the clientele rather than of the training programme. Even where the programmes are evaluated, which happens only in a very small number of institutions, the results are only occasionally utilized for improving future training courses.
>
> Most training institutions have not attempted to evaluate the impact of training on the performance of the administrative system. Some have not because they are unaware of the significance and utility of such an evaluation. Others did not find themselves adequately equipped to undertake such a task or did not consider it worth the effort.[26]

It was also noted earlier in this chapter that most MTIs prefer to conduct their own evaluation rather than request an external agency to do an evaluation for them. The reasoning behind this is that evaluation results have the double effect of reflecting the ability or inability of a trainee to learn and the ability or inability of an MTI to have a positive and desirable effect upon the trainee, his organization or the administrative system. To the extent that poor evaluation results can be construed to mean poor performance by the MTI, most MTIs prefer that such evaluation is best done by the MTI itself. For some MTIs, as has been noted elsewhere in this study, the fact that

the availability of financial and other resources they
need is not contingent upon their performance means that
they do not need to prove that they are fulfilling their
goals and objectives. This is obviously a situation which
can lead to complaisance and ultimate ineffectiveness.

It may be appropriate to conclude this section by
noting a few other constraints of MTIs in Africa as
identified by the UN Economic Commission for Africa
(ECA).[27] The first of these is the lack of funds for
training. The ECA Secretariat states:

> Training is a very expensive affair and in spite
> of the proliferation of training institutions,
> not many of them are endowed with adequate funds
> to ensure that they execute their functions
> effectively. In consequence many institutions
> have had to rely heavily on foreign aid for the
> expansion of their programmes. Even in countries
> where funds are available, attitudinal changes
> on the part of governments and top level civil
> servants are necessary to ensure the
> effectiveness of training.[28]

Indeed, in some countries whenever the government is
facing financial problems, the training vote is among the
first to be cut. The problems associated with heavily
depending on foreign aid have been identified and
discussed in Parts I and II of this study.

There is also the problem of management of
available resources and facilities in some countries:

> There is, sadly, a great deal of duplication and
> overlap of training institutions and facilities
> in many African countries which has tended to
> create unhealthy rivalry and unnecessary
> competition for scarce teaching staff, financial
> resources, and sometimes for trainable students
> and trainees.[29]

For example, it is surprising to realize that even in
countries where local universities had already established

Institutions of Public Administration (IPAs), the governments went ahead and cretaed their own MTIs as well. The ECA Secretariat recommended that each country establish a central co-ordinating agency to oversee all training in the country, and some countries adopted and implemented this recommendation, much to their advantage.[30]

As has been noted in Part I of this study, there are also constraints with regard to shortage and unsuitability of training material :

> There is an acute shortage of teaching materials, especially for African case studies as well as text books. As the main objective is to make training relevant to local requirements and to stimulate actual work situations, this predicament is naturally bound to have adverse effects on the quality of training.[31]

This author recently attended a four-week management course at the Asustralian International Training Institute (ITI) at which each of the twenty-three course participants (from developing countries) was required to write up a case study based on his/her experience or that of his/her organization. These case studies were later discussed and analysed, possible solutions identified, and recommendations made by the whole group and the trainers.[32] Although the participants were from no fewer than twelve developing countries (Asia and Africa), the case studies indicated that developing countries have strikingly similar management and development problems which are siginificantly different from those of developed (western) countries. This is one way in which an MTI can start to build up its own training materials with a

realistic national content. Indeed, the ECA Secretariat continues: "There are, however, plans afoot by ECA, CAFRAD and the ILO to train African Case Study writers".[33]

Although these last few constraints concerned mainly African MTIs, it is clearly evident that they are also applicable to MTIs in other developing countries. The purpose of this discussion on internal and external environmental constraints of MTIs is to provide an explanation for the low level of impact and effectiveness that MTIs in most developing countries seem to display. This study therefore accepts as valid, the third hypothesis of this study which states that: <u>as presently constituted, most MTIs in developing states do not lead to improved administrative performance and are therefore not viable and effective agents for change and development.</u>

## 12.2 Essentials of Institutional Management Training for Development

For most developing countries, the post-colonial period is characterised by a serious need for rapid and genuine development. While government policies and legislation are expected to go a long way in facilitating the development process, it is largely accepted that active public participation is the mainstay of all development efforts. However, the national government is expected, through its state machinery, to be the guiding force behind the various development activities.

The post-colonial period is also characterised by serious shortages of various essential resources. The major resource that is often in short supply at this stage is the human resource - i.e. individuals who have the relevant and appropriate skills, knowledge and attitudes to be able to constitute an effective development bureaucracy. This shortage is seen as endangering all other development efforts and, therefore, as requiring urgent and effective remedy. Management training institutions (MTIs) are considered to be the most feasible and effective instruments for the training of public servants to impart upon them the relevant skills, knowledge and attitudes. This study has argued that there are various additional obstacles to meaningful development in developing states. They have to deal with the lack of adequately qualified personnel for development administration. The political climate existing in most post-colonial economies is not favourable to development.

Political leaders do not only fail to agree on the appropriate ideologies and strategies of societal development, but they also fail to carry out real changes in the national developmental institutions to make them more effective. Public participation in development activities is limited; and the mechanics of conflict management and the welding of a united society are weakened by self-interest, sectionalism and outright corruption.

This inability effectively to transform the colonial system is evident in the lack of realistic administrative reforms in almost all developing societies. The continuation of colonial administrative structures and practices in spite of their inappropriateness for development necessarily leads to administrative incapacity and organisational paralysis and ineffectiveness. The fact that demands for an expansion of public services reach new heights only serves to exacerbate and compound the problem. Yet to meet any of these demands and the various other expectations of the new society requires much higher levels of resources than exist in these societies at the time. The need to create new wealth thus becomes urgent.

At this stage of national development, however, the technological and skills levels of these states do not readily facilitate accelerated generation of new wealth. The resort to foreign aid for financial and technical assistance has not been entirely without its costs some of which still haunt some developing nations to this day. Even where new wealth was eventually created, the manner

in which such new wealth was managed resulted in continued inequality and social stratification, if not polarisation. Faulty distributive mechanisms employed to manage such new wealth favoured the new indigenous elites and foreign capital. The 'deluge' that was expected to replace the economist's 'trickle-down-effect' did not materialise.

The colonial era for its part, had left its mark on the post-independence society. The values of the colonised had been so acculturated as to make the colonised hardly distinguishable. Lack of societal consensus on what norms and values to preserve, discard or adopt reduced these societies to positions of vulnerability never known before. Societal vulnerability necessarily rewards the privileged at the expense of the less fortunate. That the new values could be so manipulated as to influence, to no small degree, the processes of national development in all aspects - political, social and economic - has been shown in this study.

It is against this rather bleak picture that this study has examined the role of the civil service and MTIs as agents of change and development in developing countries. As national government's major instrument for change and development, the national administration is expected to initiate, guide and administer this desired change and development. Development bureaucracy is thus expected to suggest the relevant policies; translate policies into feasible and realistic development programmes and projects; manage all development

activities; sell new ideas and methods of production to the public; as well as mobilise the public to participate in development programmes and projects. To this end the bureaucracy in a post-colonial situation is considered to be crucial to the success or failure of whatever development aspirations the nation as a whole may have.

To be able to perform this radically expanded role for the nation, the development administrator requires a new set of intellectual, operational and orientational capabilities which are necessarily different from those required by his colonial predecessor. MTIs were created to enable the administrator to acquire the various desirable attributes quickly and effectively. They were charged with the specific task of adequately equipping administrators for especially innovative roles and functions.

When initially set up, MTIs were intended to train indigenous public servants for the inevitable process of localisation of the national administrations. Because the localisation process is such a short-lived exercise, MTIs have often had to pass through a phase of goal displacement, the phase at which the initial role, goals and objectives have to be modified or discarded and new ones adopted. Whatever new roles and goals an MTI adopts at this crucial stage tend largely to remain or to last for such a long time that even when the circumstances in its environment change and make these roles, goals and objectives irrelevant, the MTI is likely to continue to pursue and defend them. This adherence of MTIs to seemingly irrelevant roles and objectives is not entirely

without its support or justification, at least in some quarters that are external to the training field.

An interesting feature of the post-colonial situation is the emphasis placed on the need for reforms of all kinds. Everything colonial must go, says the rhetoric. In reality, however, very little changes. As this study has amply demonstrated and argued, for most developing countries, the post-colonial era is one of continuity rather than of change. The emphasis on change or reform results in MTIs being perceived as agencies for change. They are expected to be innovative in their major functions - training, research and consultancy - and pro-active in dealing with the development administration requirements of their environments. But, as this study has argued, this is a role which as presently constituted, structured and organised, most MTIs cannot effectively perform.

This inability of MTIs to be innovators and early-warning systems for their task environments is the result of several weaknesses and constraints inherent in both the MTIs themselves and in the environments in which they operate and are supposed to serve. In other words, the failure is a result of both internal and external factors of institutional capability. Nevertheless MTIs are looked upon as the best means of providing development administrators with the relevant training, which in turn is perceived to be the panacea for administrative incompetence.

This study has proposed that the six factors that

determine the capability of an MTI are: its institutional genesis; location; linkages; autonomy; leadership; and, internal structure and organisation. Available evidence indicates that MTIs which were created as a result of the initiative of national elements or groups tend to be better able to: receive adequate levels of support, resources and acceptance; forge functional linkages with the relevant groups in the environment and thus increase their potential for institutional effectiveness. Conversely, (MITs which were created as a result of the initiative of foreign elements result in such institutions being regarded by local elements as alien establishments which cannot effectively facilitate change and development in the new society. This tends to retard these MTIs' acceptance, support and ultimate effectiveness as agents of progressive change. Ideally, an MTI should be created with the active participation of various internal and external groups so that it will be able to obtain support from a diversity of groups even when the circumstances in its environment change.

It has been noted that on coming into office, most governments of developing states created MTIs and located them within their administrative systems. This seems to have been the pattern even in countries where local universities had already established IPAs. The location of an MTI inside or outside the administrative system has been shown to have a differential effect upon the MTI's autonomy, linkages, leadership and staff, as well as on its internal structure and organisation. When located

within the administrative system, an MTI tends to restrict its linkages to government departments and ministries and this has a constraining effect upon its ability to interact with other related institutions in the environment. This location also tends to result in limited institutional autonomy for an MTI and this makes it more difficult for the MTI to deviate from normal government practice and to introduce administrative innovations into the system.

Further, an MTI that is located within the national administrative system tends to recruit its leadership and staff from the regular civil service. This tends to exclude qualified non-civil servants such as academics who, although lacking in practical experience in government, may contribute significantly to an MTI's research and consultancy functions. With regard to an MTI's internal structure and organisation, this study has argued that an MTI tends to adopt the pattern of its superior organisation, whether government ministry or university faculty.

This study proposes that an MTI should be given a free hand in determining its own internal structure and organisation. To be able to do this requires that the MTI is given adequate levels of autonomy. Adequate levels of institutional autonomy should enable an MTI to make its own decisions on linkages, staff recruitment, budgetary allocations and control. The INTAN case study adequately demonstrates how possible such an arrangement is and the benefits that result from it.

Allowing an MTI to make its own decisions to establish its own linkages is essential for the purposes of enhancing the MTI's various activities. Linkages with related institutions in the environment and outside it can enable an MTI to bring into itself externally based experts to participate in its training activities. They also enable the staff of an MTI to exchange notes with other professionals and benefit from their ideas and research findings. This will not only facilitate the improvement of the quality of an MTI's activities and programmes, but will also increse the MTI's potential to generate, suggest and implement innovations in its activities and in the administrative system. In short, such elaborate linkages can only enhance an MTI's capability.

This study has shown that the task of exercising, projecting and defending an MTI's doctrine, goals, objectives, image and autonomy falls on the shoulders of its leadership. The leadership also has the task of determining the internal structure and organisation of an MTI. All these roles and tasks point to the need for an institutional leader who is adequately qualified academically and who has proven experience in development administration. The need is for a leader who is not only capable of identifying and accurately interpreting the national government's chosen strategies of development and administrative reform, but one who will also be able to impress upon the clientele organisations the need for change and improvement. An MTI also needs a democratic

leader who will ensure that the flow of information in the MTI is multi-directional, and the highest possible levels of participation in decision-making and other institutional activities remain an enshrined goal of the MTI.

The nation's political leadership also plays a significant part in the capability of an MTI. The extent to which the political leadership sees the role of an MTI as relevant to the manpower and development needs of the nation largely determines the level of support - financial, moral, legislative - that the MTI will be accorded in the environment This in turn enhances an MTI's acceptability to and impact upon the administrative and developmental systems.

The case study of INTAN has demonstrated that the support of the political leadership from the inception stages of an MTI greatly enhances the success, accept-ability and effectiveness of the MTI as a change and development agency. In contrast, the PSTC case study indicates that the political leadership and the admin-istration regard the PSTC to be unable to suggest any improvements or changes to present administrative practices, policies and procedures in the Zimbabwe Public Service. The personnel policies of INTAN have also been shown to be geared to providing attractive incentives for staff development, self-training and career advancement. The Zimbabwe PSTC does not have equivalent policies, and this tends to lead to lack of motivation among the staff and institutional

leadership.

This study argues that, as presently consitutued, MTIs in most developing countries are incapable of fulfilling the roles that are assigned to them. Even under perfect conditions, MTIs can only be catalytic in the improvement of administrative performance. Management training can, at best, only make but a modest dent on the nature of things in administrative systems. For them to attain this positive institutional effect, MTIs need to be supported by such factors as: a sincere will and determination by the political leadership to undertake genuine, appropriate and meaningful administrative reforms; clearly defined feasible strategies of development and transformation; and appropriate and acceptable personnel policies and procedures which take into account the training the MTIs provide in the determination of career advancement practices. These are factors that are external to MTIs but which considerably influence the impact these institutions can have on the developmental and administrative systems.

The two case studies employed in this thesis have amply demonstrated and validated most of the arguments made. Reference has also been made to other studies on several other MTIs in developing states. It may be appropriate to conclude this thesis by paraphrasing the three hypotheses around which this present study is centred. Firstly, it has been shown that most governments of developing countries firmly believe that institutional management training can lead to the improvement of

development administraiton performance, and therefore of the processes of development and change. Because of the lack of several other infrastructural, organisational and policy supports, the expectations of these governments are largely frustrated.

Secondly, in a post-colonial situation, the extent to which an MTI is capable of becoming a viable agent of change and development depends on the situation of such factors as its genesis, location, autonomy, linkages, leadership and internal structure and organisation. These factors significantly influence the role and functions of an MTI; its relations with other elements in the environment; what resources and other supports are likely to be at its disposal; what competition, resistance, or hostility it is going to encounter; and the extent to which it will be able to initiate and introduce innovations into the administrative system and the environment at large.

Thirdly, most MTIs in developing countries are not capable of attaining the desired levels of institutional effectiveness because of external and internal constraints. While some of these constraints can be dealt with by the MTIs themselves, others require the co-operation and support of agents external to the training field. This study suggests that if some of the measures proposed here are carefully examined and implemented in the context of a given institution or country, the work of MTIs could be of considerably greater benefit to the capacity of new public services to promote change and development.

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12. Samuel Paul, Training for Public Administration, p.60.

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14. Abbas, "Public Administration Training", p.266.

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16. Inayatullah,      "Administrative      Modernization",
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18. A.A.    Al-Teraifi,    "The    Institute   of   Public
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25. William  J.  Siffin,   "Factors   Involved   in   the
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    Inayatuallah,   (ed.),   <u>Management   Training   for</u>
    <u>Development</u>, pp.251-283, (251).

26. Inayatullah,      "Administrative      Modernization",
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    For  discussion  on evaluation of  training  see also
    A.C.  Hamblin, <u>Evaluation  and Control  of  Training</u>,
    McGraw Hill, U.K., 1974.

27. ECA  Secretariat, "Education  and  Training of Public
    Servants: An Overview  of the African Scene" in <u>IRAS</u>,
    Vol.45, No.2, 1979, pp.99-102.

28. Ibid., p.101.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. The case studies were typed and made into a mono-
    graph, a copy of which was given to each participant
    at the end of the course. The participants, who were
    all post-graduate students studying in Australian
    universities and colleges, came from the following
    countries: Nigeria, Uganda, Ghana, Ethiopia,
    Tanzania, Zambia, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh,
    Nepal, the Philippines, Indonesia and Zimbabwe.

33. ECA Secretariat, "Education and Training", p.101.

## APPENDIX A

### Public Service Training Centre
### Management and Training

### Follow-up Visit Questionnaire

COURSE: Training of Trainers
INSTRUCTION: The trainer/interviewer should fill in the
blank spaces.

Questions for ex-trainee:
1. How do you feel about your performance as a trainer
   since you attended the Training of Trainers' Course?

   ...............................................................

2. Is there any particular problem you are facing now and
   which you think could have been covered on the course?

   ...............................................................

3. Which topics do you believe to be more beneficial? Why
   do you think so?

   ...............................................................

4. Has the course solved any specific problem you had?

   ...............................................................

5. Would you like to call any of the topics irrelevant as
   far as your job is concerned?

   ...............................................................

6. Would you call the course job-related, career-related
   or both?

   ...............................................................

7. How do you feel about an 'Advanced Trainers' Course?

   ...............................................................

8. What could be covered in such a course that would help
   you in your career as a trainer/training officer?

   ...............................................................

9. How long do you feel this course should last?

   ...............................................................

Questions for the immediate superior:

1. Has the performance of the trainer/training officer improved since he/she last attended the course? Please take into consideration factors other than the course, if they exist.

........................................................

2. Which aspects of training might have been left out?

........................................................

3. Which topics do you feel were totally irrelevant?

........................................................

4. What further training does he/she need -
a) in the training function,
b) in supervisory duties capacity, e.g.
        - man management,
        - course co-ordination,
        - programme, etc.

........................................................

5. What should be the duration of this next training programme?

........................................................

APPENDIX B

## Public Service Training Centre
### Management and Training Team

## A report on follow-up visits: 1983

### 1. Introduction:
        This was the team's first effort at conducting
follow-up visits in order to evaluate our various
Management courses. The initial cross-section of trainees
included ten officers but appointments could only be
arranged to meet four officers and their immediate
superiors. A period of at least four months had been
allowed to lapse between the period of training and that
of interview. The ex-trainees chosen had attended either
First-line or Supervisory Management courses.

### 2. Procedure:
        Mr Tafirenyika, the Chief Trainer, had prepared
two sets of questionnaires, one for the trainee and the
other for his/her immediate superior. Other members of the
team were consulted. However, it was agreed that
flexibility should be observed regarding the use of
questionnaires. Questionnaires were to be used as
guide-lines.
        Regarding the actual style of interviewing, we
debated over various techniques. Such techniques varied
from individual interviewing to group interviews
comprising the superior and the subordinate. Finally we
left the choice to the interviewees concerned. Most
interviewees preferred the following sequence:
        ex-trainee to be interviewed first, followed by a
        joint interview of ex-trainee and his/her
        superior.
Only one superior wished to be interviewed in private as
he felt that what he had to say might offend his sub-
ordinate.

### 3. List of interviewees:

| Date | Officer | Ministry | Position | Superior |
|------|---------|----------|----------|----------|
| 15/11/83 | Mrs Matsveru | Roads & Road Traffic | S.A.O. | Mr Samere |
| 16/11/83 | Mrs Mudiwa | Education & Culture | Typing pool supervisor | Mr Tsungai |
| 17/11/83 | Miss Ruwana | Education & Culture | " | Mr Kurai |
| 17/11/83 | Mr Mugwagwa | Education & Culture | E.O. | Mr Rwisai |

Mrs Matsveru and Mr Mugwagwa had attended a Supervisory Management course while the other two ladies had attended a First-line Management course.

4. <u>Interview reports</u>:

(a) <u>Mrs Matsveru</u>

Mrs Matsveru's performance has considerably improved, especially in the field of human relations. Her superior mentioned that her communication skill had reached a high standard gradually since her training. She has now acquired the skill of saying 'No' in a diplomatic manner when dealing with the public. This refers to the nature of her work which involves the issuing of permits to the general public. She is more able to draw a line between a reasonable issue and one which is not.

He would like to see stronger emphasis placed on attitude training, attitude in this context being a positive attitude towards the public as well as towards one's own job/organisation. Otherwise he praised the effort of the Public Service Training Centre as a whole and pointed out that there was a marked difference between people who had attended a course at the Centre and those who had not.

Mrs Matsveru, however, suggested a more practical approach towards handling of certain concepts e.g. motivation. She recommended the use of more case studies instead of lengthy lectures. This, she felt, would encourage more class participation. She felt the course could have run for two weeks instead of one.

(b) <u>Mrs Mudiwa</u>

Training has positively helped her in the following areas:
- communication with senior officers;
- diplomacy;
- controlling group performance;
- public relations.

She faced the problem of motivating her subordinate staff at times. This problem could be the result of congested office atmosphere and fluctuation in the flow of work which directly affected monthly bonus of the typists. However, she specified that, at least, she was now able to establish personal contact with her subordinates which motivated both parties.

She felt rather inadequate when it came to staff development and she would like to see the topic extended. Her superior, Mr Tsungai, felt that Mrs Mudiwa had greatly improved in staff-control but lacked report writing skill.

(c) <u>Miss Ruwana</u>

She felt that her relationship with her superior and subordinates had improved since training, as the training she had received had inculcated a positive attitude in her. She now spent more time listening to people's problems. However, she wondered if we could give the issue of Human Relations more time. Her superior, Mr Kurai, clarified it further by stating that more emphasis could be placed on staff development through delegation

and training. He felt that successful delegation involved genuine trust in one's subordinates and he wondered if the training programme could inculcate such attitudes in the trainee supervisor.

(d) <u>Mr Mugwagwa</u>

Mr Mugwagwa felt that his working relationship, unlike before the course, had improved. There was a remarkable improvement in regard to two-way communication between Mr Mugwagwa and his subordinates. His interest in employees was now much better than before.

With regard to job behaviour, Mr Mugwagwa was quite pleased that training had effected great change in his ability to deal with different aspects at work situation. He confessed that before training, he could not motivate and at the same time remain firm in order to achieve the set objectives. As a result of this positive change in job behaviour, Mr Mugwagwa experienced a remarkable improvement in both quality and quantity of production.

His immediate superior, Mr Rwisai, felt that Mr Mugwagwa greatly benefited from the course. Before attending the course, there was a big backlog in his work. After the course, Mr Mugwagwa was able to clear the backlog and was now on top of the situation.

Mr Mugwagwa suggested that the duration of the course be two weeks. It is assumed that two weeks may be enough for details and some practical exercises.

Mr Rwisai, who had nothing to say about the Supervisory Management course, advocated a school clerk's course if possible.

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<u>NB</u>: The names used in this appendix are fictitious and not the ones used in the PSTC report.

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